

Benares, India.

View of the City of Benares

From the Water

A  
GENERAL COLLECTION  
OF THE  
BEST AND MOST INTERESTING  
VOYAGES AND TRAVELS  
IN ALL PARTS OF THE WORLD;  
MANY OF WHICH ARE NOW FIRST TRANSLATED INTO ENGLISH.

*DIGESTED ON A NEW PLAN.*

---

BY JOHN PINKERTON,  
AUTHOR OF MODERN GEOGRAPHY, &c. &c.

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ILLUSTRATED WITH PLATES.

VOLUME THE NINTH.

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NINTH VOLUME.

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\* By an error of the press, p.138, the reference is to vol. xi. instead of vol. ii. or last.

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A  
GENERAL COLLECTION  
OF  
VOYAGES AND TRAVELS.

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A S I A.

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EXTRACTS  
FROM  
THE TRAVELS OF PIETRO DELLE VALLE,  
*IN PERSIA.*

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THE AUTHOR'S PREFACE.

I HAD flattered myself that Mr. Schipano, a very learned man, and my particular friend, would have taken the trouble of adjusting the collection of letters he had received from me at different places, in which I gave him a sketch of the particulars of my travels; he having promised to digest my crude accounts into a connected and historical shape, so as to form a perfect book of them. Had he had leisure to dilate on them as they required, and put them in regular order, they would have afforded a much more finished production, in point of elegance and instruction, than from under my hands.

That this did not take place, I impute rather to the numerous occupations of my friend than any coolness towards me; and possibly the excessive abundance of matter with which my long letters were furcharged, tended to prevent his reduction of them into any proportionate body. On myself, therefore, has devolved the care of hindering my extensive travels from going without the reward more honourable than interested, of meeting the public eye, and of preventing the world itself from being deprived of the profit and pleasure deducible from them.

The mere recital made by me publicly in the Academy of Humorists at Rome, shortly after my return from the Levant, was insufficient to satisfy either myself or those who

read it; seeing that however just my description of the matter I detailed, I could in a discourse of no more than a few hours, but slightly and imperfectly expatiate on the substance. Much have I desired to see these relations in a more perfect form, and more regularly disposed in respect to the various matter, that they might so be better adapted to the instruction of the studious; this, however, to me would have been a labour as tedious as difficult, on which account, to save toil, as advised by my friends, I have resolved on presenting them to the public in the same shape of epistolary detail in which they were communicated to Mr. Schipano at Naples; and, notwithstanding I had neither the patience or inclination on the spots whence I wrote to take copies of them, I have had the good fortune of finding the whole of my letters complete, not one having been lost that I had addressed to my friend, who had favoured a number of persons of honour with copies of them, both at Naples and Rome, solicitous of them after hearing them read as amusing and gratifying to curiosity.

Either I am deceived, or they are now given much ameliorated and more correct than in the original, as I have been studious of amending every fault of language or orthography with which they were replete; of retrenching in many places light and frivolous circumstances relative individually to myself, which I had candidly and frankly related to a confidential friend, but without intention of publishing to the world.

In lieu of these frivolities retrenched I have substituted matter essential to the subjects, either omitted in hurry or superficially treated, with intention of amplifying upon them at leisure on some future occasion. My friends have generally conceived, in unison with me, that this form of letters is best calculated to please the reader, as much from its novelty (the familiar style being rather unusual for historical matter) as from the frankness and candour natural to the character of epistles ingenuously conceived and void of deceit. In them will be discerned that naked and simple truth, which in writing I have ever been anxious to display.

Of this description do I present them to the reader; and should they prove acceptable, my gratification will not be trifling; yet if the reverse be the case, he will possibly excuse the weakness of an author who has done his best. If not wholly ungracious, he will have some respect for my intention of studying as much as possible to attain perfection. I have further to add, that in composing these letters I have not sought a pure, choice, and elegant Tuscan style, such as might serve as a model for other writers, or an authority to be consulted as a specimen of the manner of the most excellent orators and historians; on the contrary, I have composed them in my paternal tongue, the Roman, and the ordinary dialect, without the affectation of piquing myself on the delicacy of the style, conceiving I effect enough in giving them that polite and ingenuous turn which is sought in familiar correspondence. If, however, the terms and style should fail to please my reader; if he should fail of discovering that depth of erudition he may require, let him reflect that my condition of life, my profession exact of me as a duty to be more delicate of doing well than of relating things with nicety. And in case I should be so unfortunate as to produce in these letters nothing which may accord with his fancy, let him consider at least, that in writing them I had no object of framing a source of entertainment for him, but merely of gratifying by their perusal, a friend who would receive them with delight. Now, therefore, on presenting them to the public, it is not to one particular place alone, not to the present generation that I give them, but to all the world, and to successive ages: so that if any thing should be distasteful according to the judgment of the public in one quarter, let it in compassion reflect, that in other countries it may be graciously received by other persons, and in other times.

I claim excuse rather than condemnation for having studied to satisfy the taste of different parties, not only in the present but in future ages, for not having confined myself to one corner of the globe, such as Naples or Italy, and for being desirous of shewing myself to the world, the chief parts of which, by my long travels, have become sufficiently familiar to me to justify my assumption of the title of a citizen of the world, as such to its various nations I wish my life and actions to be known.

## LETTER I.

*Constantinople, 23d Aug. 1614.*

I DO not merely imagine, I feel certain, that it will gratify you to hear from me at this place, and see me fulfil with pleasure what I consider a duty — imparting a description of my voyage. I shall not repeat the account of my journey from Rome to Naples, and shipment thence to Venice, but proceed to tell you, that on the 8th of June I departed early in the morning from Malamoco, in the Grand Dauphin, a Venetian galleon, mounting forty-five guns, and well provided.

On board we had, among five hundred persons, a strange medley, both male and female, consisting of soldiers, sailors, merchants and travellers, of various religions; Catholics, heretics of different sects, Greeks, Armenians, Turks, Persians, Jews, Italians of different provinces, Frenchmen, Spaniards, Portugueze, English, Germans, Flemings and others. The singularity of the assemblage would have made it more agreeable, had it not been for the inconvenience arising from so great a number compressed in such little space.

An infectious disorder was the result, and of twenty or thirty which were daily afflicted, Death failed not of his tythe. Among the number taken off were two travellers of distinction; fortunately neither my servants or myself had occasion for the remedies of the miserable barber-surgeon on board; a man whose appearance was so little prepossessing, that I should have been loth to have suffered him to feel my pulse even in perfect health, lest I should receive a distemper. Before we could hoist sails, in order to clear several shoals, we were towed for an hour by twenty-three barks of eight oars, as large as feluccas, each commanded by a good-looking man, lightly clad, with so much skill and such cheerful and accordant notes, as much delighted me.

At length the sails were set, the sea perfectly calm, but the wind so adverse as to oblige us to traverse frequently the whole breadth of the Adriatic; so often indeed, that we passed backwards and forwards from the shores of Italy to those of Slavonia, at least five-and-twenty times, ere we reached the narrow mouth of this sea, coasting occasionally on either side. I tenderly saluted, in passing the shores of the kingdom of Naples, mindful of the friends it contained. When clear of the gulph, we got on with more ease, having wider sea-room, the wind yet continuing adverse.

On losing sight of Italy, the first land we discovered was the mountains of Chimæra, anciently called Ciraunian.

Unde iter Italiam, cursus brevissimus undis.

ÆN. lib. iii. 507.

We laid for several hours at the foot of these mountains, which, from my affection for the poet who describes them, I regarded with delight; thence we coasted the shores of Epirus, where I noticed before we arrived at Corfu, the port of Chaonia and the town

of Butrinto, which still retains the very ancient name, a little disfigured by the corruption of language. The sight of it brought to my memory the tears and lamentations of Andromache, and the honors paid by her to the manes of her husband :

*Ante urbem, in luco, falsi Simoentis ad undam. ÆN. lib. iiii. 302.*

I saw this river, and viewed with pleasure those spots, anciently the abode of the allies of the Trojans. While gratified with the imagery which the scene before me raised in my mind, our vessel arrived at the port of Corfu ; about which the Venetians, on rocks which frown defiance, have constructed some very strong fortresses.

We entered the port on the eve of the festival of St. John, a day of great rejoicing at Naples, but different then with us ; a furious wind arising just after our entering the port, which drove us from our anchors, and but for the skill of the mariners, would have thrown us on the breakers ; they saved us, but the sea all day continued to run so high, that I was unable to go on shore till the next. Then I had an opportunity of visiting the town, which is small, and has little to recommend it ; the country about it, however, is beautiful.

We remained here four days, on each of which I went on shore to observe whatever was curious, treated always with much kindness by Signior Fabio Aronio, an officer there, and a countryman of ours, sleeping at night on board. The only thing I found remarkable was the fortress, defended by nature more than art, and impregnable. Here the body of St. Spiridim is preserved so perfectly, that although he lived in the time of the first council, his flesh appears yet lively and fresh, that of his leg when touched, rising again from the pressure. Here also lives a man reputedly of the race of Judas ; whether this be true or false (it is denied by himself) I know not ; I however, remember a servant of ours who had resided at Corfu, affirming that some of his race still existed there, and that a house was pointed out as one which he inhabited.

Corfu was an unlucky port for us ; just after raising anchor we were encountered by a hurricane, and dropping a sail, several sailors were injured ; upon this occasion we again ran great risk of being driven on shore, but were rescued by the people of a galley who saw our danger ; and, on the same day, from the negligence of a Jewess, part of the rigging caught fire ; our people were prompt at extinguishing it, or we might, in midst of water have been a prey to the flames. Hence we proceeded towards Zante the more pleasantly, from our having landed one hundred and fifty soldiers at Corfu, together with several merchants, which left us more room. On this course I saw the Venetian cruizers, the spot on which a great naval battle had been fought, and had opportunity of noticing Leucate, Nerito, Samos, the rocks of Ithaca, and the two Cephalonix, called by Virgil the Laertian kingdom ; I did not however see Dulichium, which with Samos, possibly formed a part of its domains ; neither did I meet with elucidation on the subject of that Apollo, dreaded by mariners.

At one after midnight we anchored in the port of Zante ; where I landed early in the morning. Zante no longer deserves the title of the woody. The island possesses no more any forests ; its soil is unrequiting and barren, and the town of a similar name is rather long, forms a kind of amphitheatre towards the sea, and is commanded by high hills at the back, much resembling those which surround Messina ; its buildings however, like those of Corfu, bear more similitude to huts than houses ; I did not go to examine the fortress, it being situated at a great elevation, and possessing nothing to recom-

\* — In shades, beside no real Simois's waves  
Fronting the town.

mend it to notice. Seventeen Venetian galleys weighed anchor before us; and here we received news of the Turkish fleet laying at Navarin in the neighbourhood, and that the Neapolitan galleys had shortly before left that port.

From Zante, where we remained four days, we bent our course to Scio, where we arrived by six in the evening. On the way, the first object I saw was the Strophades, no more the habitation of the harpies, but of forty or fifty monks, called Caloyers, who profess the Greek faith, and live an innocent and happy life, sequestered from the world. Their monastery built in the largest of the islets, of which I only saw the exterior, is handsome; and wears the appearance of a strong citadel to intimidate pirates. These good monks are benignant and kind to an extreme, making a practice of sending out a boat with provisions to every vessel that passes. To us they brought out vegetables and fruit which we thought the more delicious from the engaging and affectionate manner in which they were tendered. According to them, these islands are very fertile, and repay abundantly the diligence and care used in their cultivation, yielding every delicacy peculiar to the climate. They informed me also, that they have an excellent cool spring, which with certainty they have ascertained proceeds under the bed of the sea from the Morea, not sixty miles distant, articles being thrown up by it which could come from no other quarter. On taking leave, we presented them some tokens of our gratitude; and quitting the Strophades on our right, we pursued our course towards the Morea, coasting that part of it inhabited by a fierce and warlike nation, called now the Magorates. This is a free people, notwithstanding it be partially subject to the Turks, and is frequently at war with them; retaining much of the spirit of its ancient inhabitants. I remarked in this country the sites of many of its ancient cities. Sparta, which is now but an insignificant little town; Argos, and Mycene, which still exist, but greatly diminished of their former splendor; and the island Cytherea, or Cerigo, consecrated to Venus, and celebrated in the numerous fables related of that goddess. We passed through the narrow channel which separates this island from the continent, and being obliged to traverse frequently, owing to contrary wind, it afforded me the means of observing a number of islands and curious places, such as Milo, Antimilo, Falconera, so called from the number of falcons with which it abounds, Perrapello, Maurocaravi, Hydra, so denominated from seven large rocks which surround it, St. Giorgio del'albero, Egine, Zia, Andro, and farther beyond these, Thino, Micone, and Delos, sacred to Apollo. On the left, on *terra firma*, after passing the gulf of Corinth, at the extremity of which is situated Parnassus, we left Napoli di Romagna, and the illustrious city of Athens, which I beheld at a distance from the deck; and thirty miles farther the Cape of Columns, so named from a famous building sustained by a number of pillars, possibly a vestige of Athenian architecture, and, from its neighbourhood, presumptively within the dominions of Athens, but which the common people attribute to Alexander.

Still farther on we coasted along the island of Negropont, separated from the continent by a space of no greater length than a bridge; and lastly, that of Scio, near which, notwithstanding we were close upon it, we were obliged to remain three days before we could make the port, on account of the unsteadiness of the wind, which constantly veered, and drove us to different parts of the channel which separate it from the continent of Natolia; at length, we cast anchor in a sheltered situation, but eighteen miles from the town of the same name.

While there, Signior Vincent Justinian, learning that I was on board, came with horses and boats, accompanied by Signior Bernard Grimaldi, to take me to his house. Accordingly, on the 18th of July I landed with them on this island, deservedly called

the:

the delight of the Archipelago, and garden of Greece, as from our landing at a considerable distance from the town I had full room to observe. We travelled during the whole day through fields producing the mastic-tree, about which the country people had already cleared the ground for gathering the gum, and in some places had begun making incisions in the bark for it to exude. This tree is the common lentisk. It is worthy of remark, that one half of the island, that on which this tree grows, is stony and almost barren; and the other half whereon there are no trees of this description, is amazingly productive, yielding delicious grapes, trees which afford excellent shade, and abounding altogether in charms. One district in particular excels in beauty the whole; this furnishes a wine of exquisite flavour, called Homer's wine, from the spot of its growth being deemed either the birth, or burial-place of that poet.

We journeyed along at our leisure, in order the better to notice different spots extremely well populated; and in the evening slept at a very handsome farm-house, called a *tour*, possibly the best in the island. It belongs to the Sultaness-mother, but is hired of her by Signior Justinian, whose son entertained us hospitably through the night. In the morning we departed for the town, crossing the plain, about three or four miles in extent, and covered with similar farms, and a number of the most delightful gardens. I learnt that the inhabitants built these houses as places of refuge from the plague. We entered the town by noon. I took up my abode with M. Dupuy, the French consul, who expected me, and wished to keep me constantly in his house to avoid the danger I might incur from some new edicts, which prohibited any foreigner not belonging to a nation in alliance with the Porte, either entering or travelling in the countries dependent on the Grand Signor. Mindless of these, however, of which I was well aware before I left Italy, I persisted in my design of travelling, trusting to good management for surmounting every danger and difficulty.

I resided nine or ten days at Scio much gratified. The town is large and handsome, that, however, on account of its charming position rather than its buildings. I speak of the suburbs, where all the Christians at present reside, none being permitted even to enter the castle, which is that which, previous to its adoption for a fortress, was the town; the Turks living in continual mistrust, since the period that the Tuscan galleys attempted to take it by surprize. The population of the citadel and suburbs amounts to from twenty to twenty-five thousand souls. The fortress is peopled and guarded by native Turks alone. It is reported to be much more elegant, as well in its streets as buildings, than the lower town. The island is reputed ninety miles in circumference. Though this country be subject to the Infidels, as much tranquillity and freedom exist here as in any place whatsoever; the inhabitants spending their time in singing, dancing, and gallanting the ladies, not only during the day but through the night, as well in the streets till four or five o'clock in the morning; in short, I passed my time here so gaily, that had I remained longer I should have killed myself with excess of pleasure.

Justly does Belon describe the inhabitants of Scio as courteous and obliging; it is impossible to speak too highly of them. Through my friends, and the knowledge I had of their language, I made numerous acquaintance, and had as much familiarity with the ladies as I could desire: they are not only handsome but graceful, although their dress was not to my fancy. It consists for the head-dress of a sort of cap, tastefully worked with green, blue, and red silk intermixed, which covers the chief part of their hair, and most of their forehead, in a manner certainly destructive of the gracefulness of the countenance, and their bodice is so short that the waist is not where nature has marked it, but much higher, scarcely below their bosom, and going under the shoulders, which much disguises the elegance of their shape. Their lightness and agility, however, are conspi-

cuous

cuous enough, not only in their walking but in dancing, in which they make very pleasing steps. Their shoes are pretty, and fancifully made of velvet.

While thus amused, our vessel came round to port. Looking out one evening I saw she was making ready for sail, and that it was requisite for me to hurry on board, which I did, angry with the pilot for depriving me so soon of so much entertainment, in exchange for exposure to the mercy of the waves and contrary winds, which prevailed for a week, in such a degree as to occasion much difficulty in making any good port. During all this time I only saw the island of Egnusi, where we interred one of our crew who died. Continuing our course, we left Lesbos on the right, and Lemnos and Imbros on the left, with Mount Athos, called likewise the holy mountain, in the distance. At length, on Sunday, 3d August, early in the morning we anchored under the island of Tenedos, but far from the city, at the mouth of the channel which separates it from the continent, near to Troy. Finding myself so nigh this famous spot I felt pity powerfully awakened in me, and dispatched my faithful servant Thomas to provide a boat to carry me on shore, that I might see the ruins of that famous Troy,

genus unde Latinum,  
Albanique patres, atque altae moenia Romæ \*.

ÆN. lib. i. 10.

After my man had departed, our large vessel was enabled to get nearer to the place; and the next day I embarked in the forenoon on board an eight-oared boat, steered by a Turk, with a crew of Greeks, together with Thomas and Lawrence, two servants I brought with me from Italy. I then took my leave of my companions on board the galleon, for company's sake taking with me three Caloyers my friends, a Franciscan monk of Constantinople, and a French merchant, with his servant, each desirous as well as myself of beholding the remains of the much celebrated Troy. I had the precaution, however, to leave on board the good Tumişk, hermit Brother André, to take care of my baggage to Constantinople. He had already travelled several times to Jerusalem, and intending to go thither again was presented to me by Cardinal Crescentio at Priësi, in whose diocese he dwelt, as one who might be useful to me as a faithful and expert companion on my voyage. We reached the shore in less than an hour, which I kissed with reverence and affection, mindful of our ancestors who came thence, and collected some small pieces of these ancient ruins, which I still preserve. I traversed the country with pleasure, and found objects worthy of remark in greater abundance than I suspected, from the number of modern works constructed on the ruins of the old.

Ardently curious as I was, I slighted the caution given me by those who talked of the assemblage of banditti in these unfrequented spots, and travelled for a couple of leagues in hopes of meeting with somewhat curious. Troy from my observations was built on the sea-shore opposite to Tenedos, precisely as described by Virgil, between two capes, the one now called Cape St. Mary, the other nearer to Constantinople, the Cape of the Janissaries, which was formerly the port of Sigæum. These capes form the extremity of the country, called after its ancient name, the Troade. Some miles from it Mount Ida serves as a kind of *epaulement* to the town, and is visible from sea; I recognized it without difficulty at dawn by the words of the poet,

Jamque jugis summæ surgebat Lucifer Idæ  
Ducebatque diem †.

\* — Whence rose our Latin race  
Albanian fires, and Rome's high towering walls.

† And now o'er Ida's summit, Lucifer  
Rising lead on the morn.

The country about Troy to the mountains is full of gently sloping eminences of no height; it is not barren, but abounds in herbs and flowers, particularly wild thyme; that it produces nothing else, I am satisfied is owing alone to want of culture. No fresh water is to be found for nearly a league from the town, for as to the rivers Hanthus and Simois, I could not discover them near any of the inhabited spots; their beds are most likely a league distant, as I shall hereafter notice. A little beyond Ida, about two days journey off, is another mountain, called by Belon the Olympus of Phrygia; it did not, however, appear to me as represented by him, so high as Mount Cenis; I might, however, be deceived by the distance.

I discovered a mole of ancient construction on the sea-shore, distinguished as such by the pillars round which the cables were fastened to hold ships; these pillars, which are of marble, owing to the corrosive nature of the sea air and the lapse of time, have entirely lost their polish. This mole served formerly as a rampart to some port or dock, at present nearly filled with sands; in it a little salt water still lodges and forms a kind of marsh leaving a froth on the circumjacent borders, of which salt is made. I found likewise several traces of columns, of dimensions not inferior to those of the Rotunda at Rome. Near were two columns thrown down, one of them broken was thirty of my feet in length. In different other places I discovered columns laying on the ground, with large pieces of marble of different sorts, and handsome marble tombs, the blocks six inches in thickness, possibly the resting places of the brave warriors who died in defence of Troy. I saw likewise an aqueduct large enough to allow of a man walking erect. This I judged to be rather a sewer than a conduit for pure water, it being pretty deep in the ground, and stretching towards the sea, level with the waves. I noticed another also of similar structure, but of greater size, being large enough to allow of a coach being driven in it, and when I entered its mouth I took it for a bridge; it was, however, neither a bridge nor an aqueduct; it is stated to project considerably in land, and may possibly be that subterraneous passage by which Andromache passed, described lib. ii. 458 et seq. of the *Æneid* —

et pervius usus  
 Teetorum inter se Priami, posteq̄ue relicti  
 A tergo; infelix qua se, dum regna manebant,  
 Sæpius Andromache ferre incomitata solebat,  
 Ad foceros, et avo puerum Astyanacta trahebat\*.

The successive ruins also of numerous large houses, towers, and temples, are still to be seen, among which I recognized some remarks noticed by Belon and others, which I imagine he had not seen, as well as two Latin inscriptions, that I observed minutely, not mentioned by that author, which evidently establish the fact of this city having been rebuilt and repeopled by the Roman Emperors. A mile and a half from this spot I discovered a palace which may be that of Ilium, or, as believed by the inhabitants of the country, of more modern structure. It was, however, certainly some royal palace or fortress, the walls being all of marble, and from 25 to 30 palms in thickness, the porticoes and towers large, and every thing corresponding with the abode of majesty. Belon speaks of the remains of a large tower, which, as he imagined, served for a light

\* ——— and a gallery  
 Between the tents of Priam and the walls  
 By which, while yet the empire stood, oft-times  
 The unfortunate Andromache was wont  
 Without attendants, to rejoin her friends  
 And lead Astyanax to see his fire.

house; I saw one similar, but it appeared to me too far distant from the sea to serve for that purpose, and seemed rather the watch-tower described by Virgil, whence the city of Troy was discernible, as well as the Grecian fleet. I distinguished no more than one of those cisterns built of black stone, so frequently mentioned by Belon; I tasted of the water it contained and found it good and cool. The whole of the ground on which the city stood, if one may judge by its remains, occupied a space of several miles in circumference and must have contained an immense number of inhabitants. At the sight of these ruins, on reflection that the spot bestrewed with them was once covered with magnificent streets and superb palaces; that a frightful solitude now reigns, where the busy hum of men was heard; and that in lieu of gardens and well-tilled fields one sees but a frightful and barren wilderness; the mind is oppressed with melancholy, and contemplates with pain the vanity of human pursuits, the nullity of human grandeur.

Night now was drawing on; and satisfied with what I had seen on this shore we got on board our galley; and with some difficulty, from the wind being in our face, reached the town of Tenedos by two o'clock in the morning, where I slept at the house of a very courteous Greek lady, and in the morning examined the country about, which exactly corresponds with the description given of it by Virgil, save that the town, and its territory, is plentifully inhabited; and that it is a place of trade and great resort for shipping. One thing that appeared to me singular in the island was the dress of the Christian women, which was similar to that of the inhabitants of the Troade, differing from that of the European Greeks, and being reputedly of great antiquity.

I departed in the evening to go to the two castles, but being driven back by contrary wind was detained for two days; when sailing along the shore of the Troade I met a Greek, who pointed out to me between two hills a valley, through which flowed among the herbage a stream, which the inhabitants say is the Xanthus. It is not that river which passes through Lycia but rather the Scamander, for it has its source in Mount Ida, unites with the other stream the Simois, and discharges itself where described into the sea, and is the only one in the whole country. It is called by the people the river of the Troade, as Ida, the mountain of the Troade. I was desirous of seeing its course; but the wind, more resolute than myself, drove me back to Tenedos, where I waited for better weather to the 9th of August, on which day I departed anew, and in about twenty hours I arrived at the Cape of Janissaries, the ancient port of Sigæum, famous for the burial of Hecuba, Queen of Phrygia, according to Julius Solinus, where I landed to observe the ruins of the castle or town, noticed by Belon.

This place at present is inhabited by a few Greeks, dispersed over the mountain, having their dwellings contiguous to the ancient edifices. At the foot of the mountain are some springs of excellent water. After diligently observing every thing worthy of notice I embarked, and the same evening arrived at the spot where the Xanthus, joined by the Simois, disembogues itself. Without having seen I could scarcely have credited these rivers being so small; they are almost wholly dried up in summer, and in winter are not to be recognized again from their abundance of water. According to the relations of the country people, vessels enter the mouth and proceed ten miles up the river; and I myself saw a ship of moderate size, said to have come from anchoring in it. At night we laid to under the land, and in the morning entered the streight which separates Europe from Asia, where there is as strong a tide as at Messina, but differing from that in its regular flux and reflux. We had the tide against us, and found we could make more way by dragging our vessel along the shore than by using our oars, reaching thus by eleven in the forenoon Abydos, the birth-place of the unfortunate Leander. Here I landed, and dined with a Turk, the vice-consul for foreign Franks, who shewed me

great civility. Hence I saw Sestos on the opposite side, which with Abydos, about half a league apart, are known by the denomination of the two castles. Here I dismissed the galley, and in the evening took a boat to transport me to Gallipoli, where I arrived at dawn of day, reposing myself for a short time at the house of a monk of the order of St. Francis, who acted as vice-consul for all the European nations. The monk not being at home, a Greek servant of his received me and prepared me a bed. I slept here till awakened for dinner; after which I walked about the town till dusk, and remained there the whole of the next day, that I might observe it at leisure.

It is a large place, and extremely well peopled; its houses are built low, in the Turkish manner, without any windows looking on the streets, the materials of which they are built being only earth and wood. In the trading-streets, which are numerous, the houses have a number of small windows, like those in the roofs of ours in Italy, to admit light and refreshing air, and extremely requisite in so hot a climate. At Gallipoli I took another boat to reach Constantinople, stopping at various places on the way, as we coasted along the shores of Thrace, to notice any thing worthy remark. We passed by several towns and villages, which we discerned without approaching them as we sailed pleasantly up the channel. The names of these were Aradisa, Miriosito, a small town, and Rodosto, opposite to which we laid to during the night, distinguishing its houses and lights. The other places at which we landed were the city of Peristasi Chora, an archiepiscopal see, where I dined at the palace of the Archbishop of Heracleum. The city comprises ruins of handsome buildings, bearing inscriptions, which I copied; and what appears singular to me, in possession of a Greek Caloyer, I was shewn a book upon the ancient decisions of the Rota of Rome. Another day I dined at Siliurea or Seliurea, likewise an archiepiscopal see, where I saw some churches and modern edifices, together with the ruins of others more ancient.

At length on the 15th of August, Assumption-day, I arrived at Constantinople, highly delighted with the whole of my voyage, notwithstanding the fatigue I had endured, and suffered but trivially from sea-sickness.

The strength of our vessel dismissed all apprehension from pirates, of which we were met with by none, although under suspicion occasionally at sight of strange sails, when we prepared for combat, and, as I knew well the strength of our ship, an engagement would have been to me an amusement. I met with Signior Crescentio Crescentii very opportunely, just before his departure, and had some conversation with him. I am lucky also in arriving at a time when the city is nearly free from the plague, it prevailing infinitely less than last year, so little indeed that there is no danger.

We have in this part an obliging nobleman, Achilles de Harlai Baron de Sanfy, the French ambassador, as learned as he is polite, who insists on my residing at his hotel, and shews me infinite kindness. The air at his abode is delightful and the society charming.

You may if you please write to me under cover to Signior Francesco Crescentio. Remember me with friendship still, you as well as Signior Coletta, and may you enjoy as much happiness and content as I do. Humbly and tenderly do I salute you both.

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Our traveller, after residing some time at Constantinople, describes his voyage to Egypt, touching at Co and Rhodes afterwards examining several parts of that country proceeds to Palestine, traverses Syria to Aleppo, journies thence to Damascus, and across the desert to Bagdad; as however more recent accounts of the various countries through which he past have appeared, we shall omit this part of his work, and accompany him to Persia; an empire little known, and of which his description still possesses the charm of novelty.

## LETTER I. — FROM PERSIA.

*Hispahan, 17th March 1617.*

I AVAIL myself of the occasion of sending this express to Italy on matters of business, to communicate to you as succinctly as possible, a detail of my travels from Babylon to this city.

As I advised you of my intention in my letters from Bagdad of the 23d of December, in the last and of the 2d of January, in the present year, I departed thence on the 4th of the last-mentioned month, in the manner I shall describe.

The Persians now at war with the Turks, having made irruption into the province of Bagdad shortly before Christmas, and entirely devastated the town of Mendeli, the Bashaw in order to oppose them, and prevent the recurrence of similar violence, dispatched an army against them, of from seven to eight thousand men. This state of warfare acted as an interruption to trade to such a degree that merchants, especially if inhabitants of Bagdad, no longer dared to travel for fear of the enemy. However, as Bagdad cannot subsist without the provision it draws from Persia, the Bashaw, notwithstanding the great losses he had sustained, still not only permitted the intercourse of caravans, but solicited the departure of the traders, under assurance of protection, and gave them every facility in his power, particularly as the public good was not less concerned in this than his private interest; the custom dues upon various articles producing him annually a considerable sum. For my part desirous of setting out on my journey, and fearing nothing from the Persians, they being in friendship with us, I secretly persuaded a captain of Persian muleteers then at Bagdad, to obtain a passport from the Bashaw for himself, his people, and whatever merchandize he chose; advising him as absolutely necessary, to hire one of the Chiaoux of the Bashaw as an escort, as far as the frontiers, to act as a restraint on the licentiousness of the soldiery.

The captain's application had all the success I could wish; and finding myself by this means, secure in traversing the Turkish territory, I made due preparation for my departure. On this occasion, several relations and friends of Madame Maani \*, my spouse, visited us and passed the evening at my house, where, as is usual with them on similar occasions, they had fires kindled in the court, over which the children amused themselves in leaping, as is practised in Rome on the festival of St. Peter and St. Paul. This ceremony was attended with a singularity. A number of young ladies of the party lighted each a wax candle at these fires, which, after carrying till they were tired, they placed in sconces, suffering them to burn throughout the night, and taking especial care to prevent their extinguishing, as such an accident would be deemed ominous for her to whom the taper might belong, either foreboding her not getting a husband, or some such misfortune.

The next day we were on the point of departing, but, as I had described myself to be the son of a Venetian merchant well known in that country, trading to Orinus, and the Bashaw had made strict enquiries respecting me, indicating suspicion, notwithstanding the Franks be allowed this commerce, I was apprehensive of meeting with some embarrassment, or being detained; therefore, without saying any thing further of my intention, I suffered the muleteers and those who accompanied them to leave the city without me, and, as is customary, to repair beneath the walls of the castle, and after

\* A Babylonian lady, represented by Signior della Valle as a model of perfection, as well for the beauty of her person as her acquirements and virtues, to whom he was betrothed at Bagdad, and who accompanied him through great part of his travels.

the cavalcade had been duly inspected by the officers of the customs, understanding that on the evening of the 4th of January (new stile) they were about to commence their journey, I dispatched, by little at a time, in the course of the day, the greater part of my equipage, and in the evening filed off my people by different streets of the city, leaving it myself after sunset, without changing my dress, under pretence of taking an airing on the banks of the Tigris. Without the gates, on a very fine plain, I saw from sixty to seventy Turks extremely well mounted, belonging to the Bashaw, who were amusing themselves, galloping, crossing each other, darting sticks; an entertainment common with them as well as in Spain, called in the latter country, the game of canes\*; I was much pleased with their dexterity, stopping some time to admire them, but night drawing on they withdrew from the lists, and I, after the city-gates were closed, to join my companions; when, by two o'clock in the morning, having loaded the mules with our luggage, we escaped from the Turks with such secrecy, that even the Chiaoux who accompanied us knew nothing of our junction with the caravan.

We travelled all night long, mounted on mules and horses of the country, which are very swift; and whose speed we put to the proof, apprehensive that the Bashaw might repent of his civility towards us, and dispatch some of his people to stay our progress: so that by day-break we arrived at the Diala, a river that empties itself into the Tigris, and which, owing to there being no more than one boat to waft us over, we were employed till noon in crossing. This Diala I deem the ancient Gyndi, which Cyrus, angered at the loss of one of his sacred horses, divided into three hundred and sixty channels, according to Herodotus in his *Clio*, so that his army forded it on his expedition against Babylon. After passing the Diala we encamped on its banks, judging ourselves sufficiently distant from Bagdad, and remained there till midnight, in the neighbourhood of a village called Beherus. At that time the signal "to horse" being given, we pursued our course as quickly as before. The country from Babylon is flat and marshy in places, chiefly a desert, as cultivated spots are unfrequent, not owing however to the barrenness of the soil, as was evident from the myriads of wild plants and herbs it produced.

The sixth day of our march we passed first a town called Techic; afterwards another denominated a city, on account of its extent; and again Sheravan, under which the Turks from Bagdad were encamped, and where they held council whether they should advance, possibly fearful of inconveniencing the Persians, but more probably from fear of being worsted. We afterwards passed another town called Harounie, from a certain haroun, close to which we encamped for the night, but were much troubled by thieves, who came galloping up to rob us as we slept; many thus lost part of their property, and something of little consequence was stolen from my tent. This, however, being perceived by my painter, he kept watch, and on the thieves coming a second time, he fired and wounded one, which afterwards kept me free from depredation. The next day, after paying some duties, we continued our journey, traversing certain mountains, entirely bare, even of the least herbage, afterwards a similar plain, and in the evening erected our tents under a place called Kizil-rabat, the last under the dominion of Turkey. This part is inhabited and commanded by one Ahmed, or Muhammed Bey; the chief of a number of Curds, and holds his possessions in perpetuity of the Grand Signior, on condition of his protecting the country from the incursions of the Persians.

\* See a description of this amusement in the account of the diversions of the court in Bourgoanne's *Picture of Modern Spain*.

Curdistan, or the country of the Curds, separates Turkey from Persia, and is in breadth from ten to twelve days journey, but in length is of great extent, stretching from the province of Babylon, or Chusistan, to the Persian Gulph towards the south, and on the north above Nineveh, between Armenia and Media, almost to the Euxine. It is a strong country and difficult of access, being full of mountains, branching from Mount Taurus, which pervades Asia, and terminate as before observed at the Persian Gulph, as if nature intended it as a natural rampart between two empires; as now those of Persia and Turkey, and formerly those of Rome and the Parthians. The ancient name of this country I am unable to discover, or whether it was in old times known under any general denomination. From its northern extremities issued the Carduchi, who, as related by Xenophon in his admirable book on the wars of Cyrus, annoyed him so much in his retreat as to oblige him to tread back his steps.

The idiom of the people of this country is peculiar to themselves, differing from that of their neighbours, whether Arab, Turk, or Persian, having, however, most affinity with degenerate Persian. Many of the people live in tents, and wander from place to place with their flocks; but the chief, the best informed, and most respectable, dwell in towns. They are subject to different lords, to whom they render homage as vassals; some to the Turk and some to the Persian, according to their contiguity to the one or the other; while others again of the most noble of different degrees of grandeur and authority maintain themselves as independent. Among them, some such as the Prince of Bettis, can bring into the field from ten to twelve thousand horse, while others again, the Bey I have cited for example, can produce scarcely three thousand. The more powerful do not render homage after the manner of vassals to their lords with us, but merely profess to live under the protection of one or other of the two monarchs, and, as is common with our petty Princes of Italy, change masters according to circumstances. The less powerful are not only vassals, but do not possess the right of devolving on their children the governments they fill, satisfied with holding them during their life. Their dress resembles that of the Persians and Turks, but is coarse. Their women go abroad freely unveiled, and converse familiarly with foreigners as well as natives. Their religion is the Mohammedan of the sect of Ali or Omar, according as they depend on Persia or Turkey; in their faith however they vary from other Mussulmen, by whom they are considered as heretics, retaining certain superstitions peculiar to themselves. In some parts of their province, such as in Gezira, a city of Mesopotamia, situated in an island of the Tigris under the government of a Curd, and in the mountains called Tor, by the Chaldeans, where to this day the Chaldee tongue is spoken, the Curds reign independently and with absolute power. Among these people are a number of Christians, Nestorians, or Jacobites, who fight in the armies of their Princes. But let us return to Kizil-rabat. We departed thence the 8th of January at day-break, after paying some small tribute, and quitting this territory, entered upon a country formerly fertile and inhabited by the Turks, but entirely wasted by the Persians in their last wars with the Turks, and made a complete desert: for here it is held, and with reason, that there can be no safer rampart against invasion, than by making a wilderness of the country bordering on a kingdom, as the small number of people that can traverse it at a time, from being obliged to take provision with them, can effect but little injury; and the passage is rendered impracticable to large bodies, who would perish in the attempt of hunger. Hence, where wide deserts separate two adjoining kingdoms, the inhabitants of the frontiers are much released from apprehensions on account of the enemy.

The same day we forded a river of considerable breadth and difficult to pass, notwithstanding it was near its source; it was the same river we had crossed before, that is to  
say,

lay, the Diala. The following night we passed in the country, by the side of a rivulet, and on the succeeding day came to a large place in ruins and abandoned, called Casri Shirin, or the palace of Shirin. Shirin, in the Persian language, signifies sweet; and is also a proper name for either man or woman. A Princess of this country had that appellation, who became the wife of Chofrou, to whom possibly this city belonged, and whose amours form the subject of a fine poem, still subsisting. On leaving Casri Shirin we discovered, in the evening, a large body of Persian cavalry, commanded by one Casûm Sultan, governor of the frontiers, who had been pillaging and sacking Mendeli. I was delighted at seeing them, considering myself now delivered from the Pharisees: and the advanced guard, on the look out as I suppose, upon seeing approached us, and on my discovering myself as a Christian, concealment now being useless, they all flocked about, and happy was he who could get nearest me to make *tamascia*, that is to say, his remarks on something new before his companions, the Persians being exceedingly fond of novelties. They accompanied me for the space of some leagues with much politeness, conversing in the Turkish language, which is as much in esteem in Persia as the country-tongue itself, and continually used in conversation at court, in the army, and by people of quality, although all the public acts be issued in the Persian dialect; the greater part of the nation, even the women, being thus acquainted with both. This custom arises from the *kizilbashi*, or the chief soldiery, which are numerous, and even most of the nobles in the country being originally Turks, who have preserved their native language in its genuine purity, and being more masculine and nervous, it is used even by the King, the Persian being a soft and tender language, best fitted for the fair sex and poetry.

These Persian cavaliers had no other arms than bows and arrows, and a curved scymiter, such as was deemed by Xenophon, an experienced captain and good foldier, the best adapted for cavalry. By their not having any other arms, I conjectured them to be a light company, seeing they are not destitute in the main army of lances, match-firelocks, and other instruments of war. They, however, all fight on horseback; their horses are small, hardy, made as well for swiftness as fatigue, and require little food. We shewed them, among other things, our arms, and excited much surprize by the celerity and ease with which we managed our muskets with spring locks, which they much admired; confessing that with such weapons we should be a match for four times our number of them. Taking their leave at length they continued their road, while for our part, to benefit by the water, we passed the night on a spot contiguous to the same river we had crossed, and several inhabited villages; whence the Curds, both men and women, resorted to our camp, loaded with provision of different kinds, which we purchased, such as milk and pistachio nuts, with the shell yet green, quantities of which grow in Curdistan, and other similar articles.

On the tenth day we had to pass some small mountains, in order to obtain forage for our cattle; and in the evening arrived near a small stream called *Tenghi Imaun*, below a town belonging to the Curds, called *Tenghi Conaghî*, that is to say, a fresh resting-place, where we passed the night. Here it was I metamorphosed myself, leaving my Syrian to assume the Persian costume; and desirous of being deficient in nothing, I sent for a barber from the village, who with much ceremony, curtailed me of my long and famous beard *à la Turquie*, which with great inconvenience I had suffered to grow ever since I left Constantinople, having my face and chin clear, and preserving my whiskers alone on the upper lip, as worn by the King of Persia. In short, I was so much transfigured that such as knew me in Turkey would have had difficulty in recognizing me. Madame Maani, however, who knew nothing of my intention, upon

seeing me, was angry in extreme, at the little regard I had for my chief ornament. I did all I could to appease her, and at length succeeded, telling her how necessary it was to accommodate oneself to the usages of the country through which we travelled; and that she must be prepared to see me in Italy under a still more fantastic appearance, with a beard, which properly might be termed of a goatish fashion. In this garb I mean to have my likenesses taken, which for your amusement I will either send or bring back with me to Italy. In Jenghî Conaghî it snowed and rained during the whole of the night, for the first time during our progress; the cold however was supportable.

On the eleventh day it was late before we set off, having waited to dry our tents, which, hardened and frozen during the fall of snow, were difficult to fold, we notwithstanding reached betimes the foot of a high mountain which we had to pass, near a castle called Leshiver, newly constructed on that spot for the security of the frontier in which the Casumfultan, before noticed, resided at the time, with about five hundred of his soldiers, the residue being dispersed in different places on the confines. We rested here the whole of the twelfth day, as well to give repose to our cattle before we crossed the mountains, as because it is a common practice for the caravans to halt here some time, and make a present to the Sultan, to whom not only many towns and villages are subject but likewise a number of Curds, who wander about the mountains. Here, for two nights, we endured much from extreme cold, accompanied by a furious wind, which rendered the tent-pegs and cords for fastening them almost useless. On the succeeding day we crossed the mountain, entirely covered with snow, by which we were much incommoded all the way to Hispahan, not, indeed, by that which fell from the clouds, but what had already fallen on the road. Its shining white much affecting the eyes, we had recourse to an expedient adopted on a similar occasion by Xenophon, covering them with a black crape, which served in some measure as a protection.

We took refuge early in the evening in a sheltered spot in the mountains, where we had the good fortune of meeting with an uncovered portion of ground on which to pitch our tents, and sleep in the day. Near this place among the precipices was a small town inhabited by Curds, called Kieren, whence a number repaired to our caravan, according to custom, with a quantity of provisions. Madame Maani was curious of seeing their houses; and as they appeared to be at no great distance, we went thither on foot, accompanied by some of those females of the country, who had visited us with their merchandize. We arrived there at night, and a civil man having instructed us that a certain Kanum Sultan, the lady of the place and several other circumjacent villages, was in the town, Madame Maani wished to pay her a visit. The same person who happened to be the steward of her house, led us thither; where we were received with the greatest kindness imaginable, Madame Maani by the Kanum Sultan, and myself by her brother, her husband being absent on some employ, to which he had been appointed by the King. We were desirous, as it was late, of taking our leave, but this they would not allow, ere we had previously supped; when the women by themselves, we men in a separate apartment, were regaled with different viands. The bread, as I remarked, throughout all Curdistan and frequently in Persia, was light and excellent, consisting of flat cakes, very white and well baked: the hands served, however, in lieu of either spoons, knives, or forks, according to the custom of Persia. The meat was not of the best quality; but the friendly manner in which we were treated, and the extreme urbanity of our hosts, made it a feast for Sardanapalus or Heliodorus. Nor did their civility finish here; after receiving the handsomest compliments on our departure from the Kanum Sultan, on which occasion her brother interpreted the Curd language into Turkish, he absolutely insisted on accompanying us back, together with some of his servants.

Madame

Madame Maani by these sent to the Kanum Sultan in return a basin full of fruit and sweetmeats of various kinds, and other little articles not to be met with in these countries, together with a profusion of perfumes and scented powders.

On Saturday, the fourteenth day of our journey, after having scaled a very irksome mountain, we encamped in a beautiful and spacious meadow, surrounded by several small hills divided from each other, rising in various quarters, and forming one of the pleasantest prospects I remember to have ever seen. The nearest town, which was on the summit of the lowest mountain, whence rolled a considerable stream, was called Harounabad, that is to say, the colony of Haroun, called otherwise by corruption Harijava. On the following Sunday we set off, according to custom, more than three hours before dawn, and notwithstanding the quantity of snow with which we were almost constantly loaded, we travelled over a considerable space, not halting even at a spot where the caravans usually do, but proceeding much farther to a small rivulet near a village called Mahidefer. On the Monday, for us a very unpleasant day, on account of the snow continually falling, accompanied by wind and rain, we took up our lodging in a small town built on a bridge, under which a river flows, called Kara Sou, or black water: the place being called in Persian Puly Shah, and in Turkish Shah-kiopresi, words of similar import, signifying the King's bridge. Unwilling to repose on this occasion under our tents, we had an opportunity of ascertaining the kindness and obliging manners of the inhabitants of Curdistan, being treated by our host with every thing comfortable in an apartment kept pleasantly warm by a large fire.

I noticed here one matter which I deem worthy of mention, not as regarding Curdistan alone, but the whole of Persia, even in the most considerable houses. They kindle their fires not under a chimney, as is usual with us in fire-places, but in a kind of oven called tinnor, about two palms from the ground, formed of a vase of burnt clay, in which they place burning coals, charcoal, or other combustible matter, which quickly lights. After this, they place a plank over the oven in shape of a small table, which they cover entirely, spreading over it a large cloth which extends on all sides to the ground, over a part of the floor of the chamber. By this contrivance the heat being prevented diffusing itself all at once, it is communicated insensibly, and so pleasantly throughout the whole apartment, that it cannot be better compared than to the effect of a stove. Persons at their meals, or in conversation, and some even sleeping lay on the carpets round this small table, supporting themselves against the walls of the apartment on cushions kept for the purpose, which likewise serve for seats in this country, the tinnor being so placed as to be equally distant from the sides of the room; by this means, those to whom the cold is not unpleasant put their legs only under the cloth, others who feel it more sensibly their hands and the rest of their body; so that a mild and penetrating warmth diffuses itself agreeably over the whole body without any injury to the head, as I have repeatedly experienced. Of the excellence of this contrivance I am so fully persuaded, that I am resolved on adopting it when I shall return to Italy. Those who feel no necessity for additional warmth, or who are sufficiently warmed, by throwing aside the cloth, feel no other temperature than that of the apartment itself, which is heated to a pleasant degree. The smoke from the coals is conveyed by means of a pipe from the oven under ground, and by means of another communicating with the grated bottom of the fire, it is supplied with air. In certain parts where nicety is less regarded than in great houses, such as the villages of Curdistan, they cook their meat at and bake their cakes on a flat sheet of iron laid over the tennor in little more than an instant of time. In other parts, where the bread is made thicker, they use ovens.

On Tuesday the 17th of January, as is usual at this period, we were much incommoded by extremely cold winds, accompanied by frost and snow. We hoped to pass the night of this day at a caravanferai, that is to say, the palace of the caravan, answering to a khafe in Arabic, situated a long day's journey before us, and about it a number of small houses have latterly been constructed; this place is called Sker-neu, or New Town. We reckoned, I say, on sleeping at this caravanferai, but on arrival found not only the whole place, but likewise all the surrounding villages occupied by a caravan, consisting of two thousand six hundred camels; the number of people travelling with it was so prodigious, that notwithstanding every house was filled, many were constrained to lodge beneath their tents. Seeing this, we no longer lost any time, but encamped on a spot where there was least snow, and that most trodden. We lighted fires, but found it impossible to sleep, owing to the cold and the wind, which threatened not only to blow down our tents, but even to carry away our beds and bedding. Next icò dur, however, as the Turks say, *this is a trifle*; inconvenience past is forgot. Our sufferings were great, but, whether owing to the excellence of the air, or other causes, notwithstanding I was frequently exposed without covering to a humid atmosphere, the cold and the snow, for a length of time together, I felt not the least injury in consequence; being even less subject to colds than I was wont in Italy, where a similar exposure would assuredly have brought me to death's door. Yet why do I speak of myself; a man who, although of weak habit, am inured to hardships; even my Maani, a young and delicate lady, brought up in a warm country, with such tenderness that the wind was never suffered to "visit her face too roughly;" my Maani bore with the cold, bore with the comfortless damps, and was not ill in consequence. Here, however, I must make a remark. Generally, notwithstanding my head has been shaved, I have been accustomed to sleep without any cap; in consequence of the cold I was induced to wear a napkin fastened round my head, by which I became afflicted with a catarrh that lasted until I laid aside my napkin. This I deem the more singular, from my constantly wearing a turban during the day, and my sleeping booted and in my clothes, well covered, at night.

We quitted Sker-neu on Wednesday, having as long a journey to make as on the preceding day, but with more favourable weather, it ceasing to snow. We reached Sêhênay, or Sahanay, in the evening, a large town inhabited promiscuously by Persians and Curds; where, it being of extent, we found accommodation in the house of some Persian ladies who spoke the Turkish language; and, in order to rest our horses, extremely fatigued by their marching through the snow, we halted here the whole of Thursday. This place is the extremity of Curdistan and the beginning of Persia, at least, if the general use of the Persian language be the criterion; any other I could not discover, finding none capable of pointing out to me distinctly the borders; for here the people are used to call each province by the name of the actual governor; as in Turkey, on the contrary, a nobleman is called by the name of the city over which he presides.

The Friday following we took up our abode at a large town called Kienghièr. Here I began to observe the great superiority of Persia over Turkey, as well in the good disposition as the number of its inhabitants; the excellent culture of the lands; and numerous other circumstances, in which Persia is little inferior to Christendom. We no longer now had any occasion to pitch our tents, finding every where caravanferai, built either by different Kings or individuals. The accommodation they afford is gratuitous; it is only shelter: some of these inns have apartments, while others have only piazzas, with which the people of the country are satisfied. For my part, desirous of

comfort and neatness, I always avoided them, lodging when possible in private houses, in which I was more at my ease, for a trifle of extra expence. In Kienghievèr we found a very neat and handsome house, and were provided with many different sorts of fruit, such as pomegranates, apples, and fresh grapes; a matter which exceedingly surprised me in so cold a country, then almost wholly buried in snow. Saturday we travelled a great way, commencing our journey at midnight; and, after passing through numerous villages, halted at a large town called Saad-abad, or the colony of Saad. This was the native place of our muleteers, to please whom, notwithstanding we were impatient to be gone, we were obliged to remain for three days, lodging in their houses. On Wednesday the 25th of January, we ascended a very high mountain, descending with great facility owing to the excellence of the road, notwithstanding it was covered with a quantity of snow. We afterwards passed several other villages, arriving at night at a town called Zaga, or Zagan, and the next day by noon reached Hamadàn, where our caravan finished its course, the muleteers being engaged to conduct us no farther. Here I hired a house, and remained for several days, as well to make my observations on the city, as to lay in necessaries for the remainder of our journey.

Hamadàn is a very large and well populated city, and one the most frequented of any in Persia. Its buildings are rustic, as well as the dress of its inhabitants. Its gardens, however, of which there are a number interspersed among the houses and in the public squares, are ornamental, nor is the vine a stranger; the Persians, notwithstanding they be Mahomedans, drinking freely and without scruple of its exhilarating juice. In this city merchandize of every description is to be found, whether of provision or for cloathing, and all the streets in which these are sold, called bazars, are arched over, a common practice throughout Persia. We met with great quantities of fruit here, with many kinds of which we regaled ourselves, such as apples, pomegranates, grapes, and the like; this to me was surprising, seeing the cold was so intense that liquors froze even in our chambers. Hamadàn is the residence of a Khan, to whom several Sultans are subordinate, as well as a number of circumjacent villages: the nature of these distinctions I shall explain as I proceed. We met with great civilities in this city, and were waited upon on the very evening of our arrival by the Daroga, or governor, who commands in the absence of the Khan, the latter being with the army. Thinking to entertain me, he brought with him some women-singers, but as I was extremely fatigued, and had already retired to the ladies, more disposed for sleep than diversion, I deputed one of my people to represent me, and state that I was indisposed; he doing the honours at a collation presented according to the custom of the country.

This was not, however, the only instance of politeness: straw and oats being so scarce here as sometimes not to be had for money, Scheich Ahmed Bey, one of the principal inhabitants, a person I had even never heard of, sent me a present of these articles for my horses. On another occasion he invited me, with Madame Maani and her ladies, to dine with him. Here, however, it is fit I should make a remark.

The Persians, who are extremely liberal of presents, expect a return of at least an equivalent value. I am told even that where their courtesy has not been followed by such an acknowledgement, they have been hurt even to tears, and required restoration.

I shall give you a description of the entertainment afforded us, which, as all are conducted with the same ceremony, even those given by the King, will serve as a general picture of their customs and forms on such occasions. In the first place, Ahmed Bey sent a horse elegantly caparisoned for Madame Maani, which she mounted after the fashion of the country, sitting astride, but in her Babylonian dress; the servant who brought leading the horse, (such being the mode in this city) and some of her waiting-

women

women in her suite on foot. We followed her shortly after, and, on our arrival, were met in the court by the master of the house, who introduced us into an apartment on the ground-floor, their houses being built wholly of one story to prevent the labour of an ascent. The apartments, however, do not as with us communicate one with another, but each has a separate entrance. Each house has a distinct room for each purpose; a hall for reception of visitors, a sleeping room, another for storing provisions, and several for the master and women, those of the mistresses apart from the servants'. The apartment into which we were introduced was square and small, covered with a carpet, the walls white and unadorned, the roof a dome of a capricious fancy, ornamented with Arabesk paintings. It was heated not by an oven, after the manner of the Curds, but by a fire-place, around which, close to the walls, those were seated who had been invited, and had arrived before me. Of the number was the Daroga, whose name was Nazar Bey, near to whom, as the most honourable place, I was seated with two of my people, that is to say, Alexander and the painter. There were there three female musicians with instruments. One of these had several strings, but bore no resemblance to our lutes or guitars; others were tambourines of a larger size, more melodious, and better made than those which are used by young ladies in Italy. These singing-women are very amusing, and on similar occasions are hired to divert company; one of them, called Filfil, (an Arabic word signifying pepper,) was much caressed and treated with great civility, notwithstanding she was both old and ugly, merely on account of her being one of those who occasionally appeared before the King. The floor of the room was covered in many parts with fruit, such as pomegranates, pears, grapes, chick-peas salted, of which they keep good stores, pistachio-nuts, and the like, of which the guests ate when they pleased. They were seated on their legs in the middle of the chamber between the various dishes, while two young pages, apparently slaves, surrounded by bottles of wine, were employed in filling certain silver cups, in the shape of those spoons with which one eats soup, but smaller, and presenting them round to the company without any salver. The two cups, one on each side, changed hands incessantly, but in regular order going about, so that the last having finished, the first received it again. Yet, notwithstanding the number of these Sipo, I doubt if the quantity drank was so much as is taken by a Fleming or a German at a single meal, particularly as I noticed none surprised with wine.

As for me, who drink none, as they knew, I was excused, only once taking coffee, to which I am very partial, particularly when very warm. According to the religious custom of the Persians, which perfectly agrees with the description in holy writ of the freedom enjoyed at the banquets of Ahasuerus, none were entreated to drink against their inclination, as is usual in northern countries, but when satiated, each passes the cup. This batch of drinking and eating fruit continually was very irksome to me, but much more so the custom of sitting cross-legged upon our heels, which, however, is indispensable, extending the legs being considered an intolerable mark of incivility; add to this, the silence maintained was far from agreeable to me; no other conversation passing at these feasts than in whispers with those immediately near to you. The female musicians, however, consoled me in a degree; these sung various airs in the Persian language, as well sitting as dancing, and accompanying their voice with their instruments in a very pleasing manner. Their dances, which are voluptuous, less so, indeed, than those of the Egyptians, much resemble the voleros of the Spaniards, but their gesticulations with the arms appeared to me void of grace; and their uncouth dress, which is very tight and fastened by a band which goes under their haunches, was ill adapted for the display of their harlequinism. I did not comprehend their songs, as I am yet a novice in the Persian, the language in which they sung. I distinguished, how-

ever, the frequent occurrence of Shah Abbas, the name of the King, and conceived thence that they were eulogies of that Prince, who, indeed, is held in such veneration by his subjects that they swear by his name; and when they wish you well, frequently exclaim in Turkish, *Shah Abbas murandi vir sùn*; "May Abbas the King be kind to you;" answering to our God bless you.

These diversions, and the collation, lasted till the beginning of night, when, instead of sweetmeats being handed round, as is customary at a royal or princely entertainment, the wine and fruit was displaced. A sofa was then spread on the ground, that is to say, a large painted cloth, which covered the whole of the floor. On this two servants kneeling, handed round in order to the different guests seated near the walls of the room eight large dishes of pilâd, made of rice and meat, each of different flavour and variously seasoned. Upon the cloth, in different places, several large flat cakes are laid pyramidically between the dishes, the servants waiting on the guests, who were so seated in the midst of the dishes, as that without change of place three or four could commodiously help himself from each dish. They use no napkins, but in lieu wipe their hands on large handkerchiefs of painted linen, embroidered with silk or gold, suspended from the waist. In this instance the Persians are less nice than the Turks, but so prevalent is this custom, that it is followed even by the King. Some wooden spoons were placed, however none but we Europeans used them, the Persians always using their fingers and hand alone in eating, curving their fingers dexterously to serve as spoons; a practice which to us seemed indelicate and coarse.

After the pilâd was removed, water was served for washing the hands, which they use warm in summer as well as winter, to clean the hands the better; they sent likewise to our servants who were at home some dishes of the pilâd, which had not been touched, saying it was but right they should participate in the feast.

While thus regaled the ladies were entertained in a separate apartment, and the singing-women who ate with us repaired to them at intervals to divert them; for, notwithstanding these females be of very loose morals, they yet are admitted as actresses into the society of ladies for their diversion. The feast being ended, the guests retired. I was one of the last to depart. It was late, and night had set in; and, when about to leave, the master of the house not only offered to conduct me home with all his servants, but even wished to present me with several very handsome horses, and many other things, which, however, with much gratitude I declined. I omitted to state to you, that in the morning before I paid him a visit, not being ignorant of the usage of Persia, as an acknowledgment for his present to me, I sent him a packet of nick-nacks from Italy, partly eatables, and part ornaments; neither did I forget the Daroga.

Persia is every where inhabited, and on its roads travelling is unaccompanied with any danger; this kingdom, unlike Turkey, being entirely free from highway robberies, the districts being made responsible for the security of travellers passing through them. On this account, being tired of the caravans, I resolved on travelling by myself. However, before my departure, as it got wind, several persons determined on accompanying me, but each travelled as he listed. For me, I gave orders not to hurry away so soon in the morning, desirous of enjoying sleep till sun-rise.

After passing the whole of the day in packing and weighing my baggage, the charge for its transport being according to weight; satisfied with having begun our journey, after travelling for an hour, I stopt at a town or village called Gaurfin, or the land of Guebres, where I passed the night in the apartments of a very large spacious caravan-ferai. Orientals, whether they travel, or are on their way to join the army under a chief, never make much progress the first day; in order that every one may commodiously join the body at the appointed place, as well as that if any thing should have  
been

been forgot, or be wanted, time may be afforded to obtain it; an ancient custom practised by Cyrus, as related by Xenophon.

On Saturday I lodged at the caravanferai of a small village, and on Sunday noticed an immense number of farms; on one of which was a royal stud consisting of five thousand horses. We took up our abode at night in the house of a nobleman, in a large town called Dizava, but spelled Diz-abad, signifying the colony of Diz. On Monday I reached Saru, a large town, stopping at a private house. I observed here, as well as in other towns of Persia, that the doors of the houses were very small, and of marble, which open and close in the same manner as those of the sepulchres of the Kings of Jerusalem: they are, however, of rather clumsy construction. Tuesday I remained all day at Saru, to suffer those who accompanied me to go before, on account of the inconvenience I experienced from their arriving at the various places before me, owing to their monopolizing the oats for their cattle. Wednesday I made a very short journey, stopping at a small village called Eibeig-abad, where the hostess, in spite of my inclination for sleep, was absolutely resolved on diverting me till midnight with music, songs, and dances, by a woman with little to recommend her, being dirty in herself and her voice cracked and hoarse, and some little boys who displayed much taste and gracefulness. One of them among the rest, dressed to suit the subject, danced and sung in character of a woman in labour, and was so diverting as almost to kill us with laughter. On Thursday we arrived in the evening at a capital house, in a large town, called Shehrackird. On Friday at Enghevùn, a word signifying, a place for carpets, there being here a considerable manufactory of that article. We received repeated visits here, and were continually amused with the conversation of very handsome women, but in particular that of a Kanum aga, so civil and so agreeable, that at her instances we were induced to remain here the whole of the next day, she inviting Mad. Maani to take a bath, and shewing her every kindness imaginable. In the mean time there was no want of music, singing, and dancing, in the house.

On Sunday we crossed a mountain very tiresome to pass, owing to the rapidity of the acclivity, and the depth of snow, and in the evening reached Charavend, a large town, in which we met with pleasant society, and were visited by ladies of great beauty. On Monday, after a long and tedious journey, we halted at Gûl-pâigan, where we arrived late in the evening. This city resembles Hamadàn, but is smaller; its name signifies a sheath for the roots of roses: we passed entirely through the middle of the city, from one extremity to the other, night not having yet set in, and took up our lodging in a caravanferai, not yet entirely complete, but of elegant structure. We were but ill-accommodated here; however, not finding any provision in the place, and being without means of obtaining any from without on account of the lateness of the hour. Tuesday we arrived at Oniscion, where we passed the night at the house of some very civil, beautiful, and gallant ladies, one of whom called Aga bibicè, bitterly bewailed her hard fortune in being united to a husband, too far advanced in years, and was so melancholy as much to excite my compassion. Our muleteers, who now were near their home, in order that they might pay it a visit, pretending their cattle were fatigued and required changing, left us, with a promise of returning shortly. They delayed their return, however, till Friday afternoon: in consequence, notwithstanding it was late, I ordered the mules to be laden, and to punish them, took up abode in a wretched caravanferai at the extremity of the village, but at some distance from where we were. On Saturday by night we reached a castle, situated on a high and rugged rock, of very difficult access. It has, I learnt, two different names, Rahmet-abad and Khiuneiràn: but finding a more convenient lodging, we rested at a bath in a

room under a small dome, where such as chose to bathe undress and dress themselves.

In the evening at least five-and-twenty females, led by the lady of the governor of the castle, came to make *tamascia*. The curiosity of the Persians is indeed surprizing, yet not less so their hospitality, which is still the same as related by Philostratus, in his life of Apollonius. Even with the King it is enough you should declare yourself a foreign traveller. A certain Augustin monk, resident at this court for the court of Spain, related to me, that the King one day giving an entertainment to a Prince of Tartary, who had lately arrived there, and custom making requisite he should pull off the boots he wore, on walking on the carpets with which the floors are covered, the servants were directed to pull off his boots; but as he could not easily support himself on one leg, while they pulled the boot from the other, the King himself held him up on the occasion; and noticing the Portuguese monk, who was present, to appear surprized at his condescension, as well as others, who were by, he looked at him with a smile, and being of extreme ready wit, made use of a proverb of the country, which, however, is taken from Homer: *Metrimanez choda*: — a guest, a man from God.

To return to my travels. On Sunday the 19th of February, we arrived in the evening at a spot so well peopled as to deserve rather the name of a city than a town or village, called *Dehhè*, or *Dehà*, and passed the night in a very neat, nay, elegant apartment. On Monday we slept at an old caravanferai almost in ruins, in midst of a country deserted on account of the unwholesomeness of its water; the name of this canton is *Alei*. On Tuesday we made a long day's journey through a similar country, reposing at a caravanferai as miserable as that of the preceding evening, at a place called *Chialifah*. Here I found a servant dispatched to me by the Carmelite friars, who had waited for me there for three days. These friars reside at *Hispahan* on the part of His Holiness, and, in consequence, are highly respected by the King; and, as I had advised them by letter of my intention of seeing them shortly, they informed me by this express of what had taken place between them and one of the King's ministers, resident in *Hispahan* as *Vizier*. They, as well as several others, had informed him of my arrival; and knowing that I came in quality of the King's visitor, being so persuaded by the friars, and, moreover, that I was a Roman, and *Beigzade* or noble, he determined on setting out to meet me, and paying me the first visit at my house, in which he would not fail to be copied by the principal persons of the city; but he was dissuaded from his intention by the good fathers, at my request, who represented to him that I considered I should be wanting in the respect due to so great a King, in making parade in a city dependent on him, before I had had the honour of being presented, and that I should be entirely satisfied by his doing me the favor of appointing apartments for me. My answer gratified the *Vizier*, who informed me he should have to dread His Majesty's displeasure, had he been deficient of shewing me every attention. He accordingly assigned me a house of honour, belonging to the King, and destined for the reception of foreigners; which being communicated to me on Wednesday, 22d February, after dispatching some of my people before me, to acquaint the fathers of my arrival, I entered *Spauhawn*, as the city is called, although it be spelt *Hispahan*; the initial vowel being left out before the *S*, as we are accustomed with those of the Spanish words, with an *S* preceded by *E*.

On arriving at *Hispahan* I dedicated the first days to paying my devoirs to the Carmelite friars, as submissive and obedient to the Pope as they are to the King, respectable men, of great liberality, in whose society I felt myself extremely happy. Living yet incognito, I had to resolve on what plan to follow. At first I thought of setting out

immediately to join the King, then from thirty to forty days' journey distant, on the frontiers of the Turks and Georgians, with whom he was at war; but receiving intelligence, that if the difference with the Turks were not altogether adjusted, a cessation of hostilities had taken place; and that the King, after visiting the frontier towns, would certainly arrive in a little time, to receive certain embassadors from the King of Lahòr, or, as he is called, the Grand Mogul, I have changed my intention, and await his return in Hispahan. By this express I forward to my friends in Rome and Constantinople, directions to remit me wherewithal to bear my expences, here as well as on the rest of the travels I project: their answers, if not from Italy at least from Constantinople, I expect will find me in this city; and intend, whatever be my reception on the part of the King, to remain here till after the month of August, and amuse myself with the enjoyments which Hispahan affords.

This city is very large, handsome, and well peopled, so much so that in all the East I have met with none which excel it; for notwithstanding in point of situation Constantinople certainly surpasses, in many other points it falls short of Hispahan. Hispahan itself, that is to say, the space contained within its walls, is nearly as large as Naples, but three other quarters adjoining it, have lately been begun under direction of the King; one is the New Tauris, inhabited already by the colony transported from that place; the King however has given this quarter the name of Abbasabad: another is the New Chiolfà, peopled wholly with very rich Armenian merchants, brought from various parts on the frontiers, that they might not be exposed to the risk of his losing them as subjects by any future wars, for the better defence of his kingdom devastating the borders, and bringing their inhabitants to cultivate lands assigned them in the heart of Persia; thus securing these people, who contribute not only to the grandeur, but also to the opulence and beauty, of the city of Hispahan, the principal abode of His Majesty, and a city in which, if we may judge from the multiplicity of structures continually erecting, and the great expence lavished upon it, the King exceedingly delights. The third quarter is that in which dwell the Guebres, or idolaters and infidels; and by the place it is apparent that Shah Abbas means to connect the whole of these with Hispahan, the works for the purpose being carried on with incredible energy. When complete I conceive that the circuit of the whole will be superior to that of Constantinople or Rome.

The buildings, generally speaking, are superior to those of Constantinople, but not so lofty. On the eastern part of the city the houses are handsome and well constructed, but particularly the bazars; these are elegant, symmetrical, very large, with piazzas, and built according to the nicest rules of architecture. In these all kinds of merchandize are to be found conveniently disposed for such as wish to buy or barter. There are also a number of caravanserais for the accommodation of strangers, well built, still better furnished, and spacious; and as the revenue from them is considerable and lucrative to the King and individuals to whom they belong, they take especial care to have them solidly constructed, and kept in good repair.

They have no mosques in this city comparable to the five or six in Constantinople; but to make amends, they have two curiosities not to be equalled either in Constantinople or any city in Christendom.

The one is the Meidân or the grand square that fronts the Royal Palace. It is six hundred and ninety of my paces in length, and two hundred and thirty broad, ornamented entirely round with most elegant arched porticoes, of the nicest symmetry, their uglarity not being interrupted by any street. These porticoes, over which balconies are

are constructed with large windows, are so many shops in which different articles of merchandize are exposed. I can assure you that this grand succession of symmetrical buildings has such a fine effect, and delights the eye so much, that notwithstanding the houses of the square of Navona be more lofty and magnificent, from its want of similarity, and other recommendations possessed by the Meidān, even that square must yield it the palm. A large rivulet, or rather a small river, running in a direct line with the quays which border it on each side, flows incessantly round the Meidān near to the porticoes, watering in a very agreeable manner each quarter of the square: just above the level of the water of the stream a handsome pavement of stone is laid on one side for the convenience of people on foot, while on the other, next to the piazzas, are a number of fine trees, planted in a line at regular distances from each other, and of equal height, whence I conclude that, when in a few days they shall put on the dress of spring, nothing can be more delightful than the prospect they must afford. The middle of the square consists of sand: it is consequently always dry, and extremely suitable for exhibitions of horsemanship.

The gate of the King's palace is on one of these noble fronts, about two-thirds down its length. It is rather pretty than magnificent or superb. A little below is the Lady's Gate, not yet finished. Opposite to that of the King, on the other side, is a mosque, with a beautiful portal and dome of a kind of porcelain, fancifully painted. On one side the foundations of a new mosque have been begun, on which the workmen are barely employed; and from the other, towards the bazars, you have a charming perspective, corresponding with the mosque, with two galleries raised on porticoes. Hither, every night, musicians repair, who play on martial instruments; some after the Turkish, others in the Persian manner: the music of them is highly grateful to the ear, and yet so powerful, that it is distinctly heard over all the square, notwithstanding its vast size.

The other curiosity is an immense street, at present out of the city, but which, when the four quarters become connected, will join them exactly in the middle; it is from two to three miles in length, and twice the breadth of that of Ponte Molle at Rome. At the head of this street, on the side of Hispahan, a small square house is built, in form of a pavilion, surrounded by balconies and windows, enriched with paintings and numerous ornaments, expressly for affording from its high site a prospect of the whole length of the street. There is a communication between this place and the Royal Palace by means of a corridor. Two walls of equal height form the two sides of this street: and within the walls are the King's gardens, which every one is allowed to enter, and eat of the fruit of infinite sorts which they contain, by making a trifling present to the gardener. On each side the street, at regular intervals, and opposite to each other, are entrances into the gardens, with small lodges for the convenience of such as chuse to rest and refresh themselves with fruit. The number of these gates, with tasteful frontispieces, is considerable, and gratify the eye exceedingly by the exactitude of their properties and symmetry. Without as well as within the walls trees are planted the whole length, of equal height, in a direct line and at equal distances, the verdure of which relieves while it charms the sight. In addition to this, in the courts of the largest and handsomest houses, are proportionate canals, without parapets, of different forms: the water which supplies these flowing nearly level the length of the street, in a bed of stone, leaving on each side sufficient space for horse and foot passengers. In many of these reservoirs are spouting fountains, and where there are acclivities, cascades, which delight the ear with their murmur. The street itself is paved in the middle, and next the walls with small stones, not inconvenient for the passenger either on foot or

on horseback, and the interval between the pavements on each side is planted with flowers and shrubs, which in spring must needs be incomparably grateful, as well from their beauty as their fragrance.

The river which flows along the middle of the street is very broad but not deep; it is formed by a number of small streams, which fall from the neighbouring mountains, and afterwards again it divides into many rivulets, which lose themselves without proceeding to the sea, or disemboguing any where. Over this river is a bridge built of brick, broader than that at Rome, and three or four times as long. It is of singular form, with porticos and galleries on the sides in lieu of parapets, which serve as a promenade both above and below, the latter under cover, the upper not: but what please me most, are the walks on level with the water, built on large piers of stone, which traverse the double rows of arcades, and which in summer must be delightful, at once shady and cool, while the ear is charmed by the murmur of the waters falling from a cascade constructed on purpose in this spot, and forming a very agreeable prospect. Beyond the bridge the street continues the same, lined with walls, trees, houses, gardens and reservoirs; the houses and gardens, however, no more belong to the King, but individuals of quality, who, to enjoy the beauty of the site, have constructed them here, each emulous of excelling his neighbour in the elegance of them.

This street terminates in a large garden called Hazar-gerib, signifying it to contain a thousand gerib, a certain measure of land; the garden and the street itself, however, is otherwise called Chiahâr-bagh, or four gardens; that being the number here formerly, now reduced to the one I mention. You ascend to this garden by steps, but of so little height and so broad, that you may go up them on horseback. This garden contains nothing but fruit-trees planted in lines, and so low that persons on horseback, and even those on foot, may readily gather them as they go along. This garden belongs to the King, but is open to all, and produces such abundance of fruit as to enable all the inhabitants of the town, who frequently resort hither, to lay in store. Each kind of fruit grows in separate squares by itself; figs in one space, peaches in another, pears in a third, and so on. In it are alleys as long as the eye can reach, crossing each other; others of the length of the street bordered with cypress. At the extremity, on the most eminent spot, is a large stream, beyond which is a wall, which encloses the whole. A number of large streets, scarcely second to this in beauty, cross the city in different parts; these it will be needless to describe, what I have mentioned being sufficient to give an idea of the Chiahâr-bagh, and shew it truly royal and magnificent; and placing it much before the Del popolo at Rome, or the Poggio Reale at Naples, the street out of Genoa, or the Monreale at Palermo.

This city possesses other curiosities which are not marvellous, but for their singularity deserve notice. Among these a minar, or tower, whence the hour is proclaimed to the people at the King's stables, to call to prayers. This minar is built entirely of the heads of wild goats and other animals killed in one general hunting-match, given either by the present King or some of his family, and exhibits a remarkable specimen of the whimsical fancy of the Persians, in which characteristic, I understand, none excel His Majesty himself, the number of instances he has afforded in proof of this being sufficient to fill a volume; some of them on a future occasion I shall communicate. In addition to this, the first hall of the royal palace, where the King usually receives ambassadors or guests, and in which he entertains and holds conference with them; I say the first hall, because the palace where the King resides is distant at the bottom of the garden; and into this, according to the custom of the Princes of the East, very rarely is any one admitted; but in the grand square, the Meidan, over the gate of the first entrance, there is a pavilion,

which, as I before have noticed, is rather pretty or handsome than magnificent. This is the building destined for the purposes I have observed. When the King comes thither it is always on horseback, through a wide alley between two rows of very high walls, reaching from the gate of entrance to the palace where he resides. The utmost reverence is shewn to the gate of entrance, so much so, that no one presumes to tread on a certain step of wood in it somewhat elevated, but, on the contrary, people kiss it occasionally as a precious and holy thing. To the apartments over the entrance you ascend by a narrow staircase, which does not please my fancy. These consist of a small room in the middle on each story, of which there are several, surrounded by small antichambers: on the side fronting the Meidan, and that opposite to it, are small balconies after their manner, to allow, while seated on the floor, a prospect of the neighbourhood. There are in this place so many apartments, cabinets, and passages conducting to them, that I was assured by the parties, there were no less than five hundred doors in the house, although small, in this particular resembling the rooms themselves.

The beauty of this house consists in its walls, which are enriched with gilding from the ceiling to the floor, with excellent miniature paintings in various colours, with dark ornaments, which have a very fine effect, and the more so, the walls being of a shining white, resembling satin. The domes likewise are loaded with decorations, gilding, rich colours, sculpture, and alti-relievi, in different compartments, and without confusion; and are well worthy our imitation in Italy.

On the walls of the different apartments are pannels at intervals, on which various figures are painted, but as they are unacquainted with history or mythology, all their pictures are representations of men and women, either single or together, in lascivious postures standing, drinking with bottles and cups in their hands; some overcome with wine and sleeping, others reeling, in short, displays of the votaries of Venus and Bacchus. Among these, mostly dressed in the costume of the country, are some with hats, intended to represent Europeans, apparently designed to intimate that Persians are not the only ones addicted to wine. These figures, notwithstanding they be painted in extremely rich colours, are badly drawn, the painters of the country being far behind ours; I was in consequence apprehensive of losing mine, if the King should chance to learn his merit.

I had yet to see the Gul-i-staan, or garden of roses, but defer visiting it until in perfection. No one when the King is present is suffered to view the apartments of the palace; now, however, that he is away, individuals such as ourselves are secretly admitted. In it I noticed the workmen very busy, altering and completing the works not yet finished. On days of ceremony alone certain persons are admitted to converse on business with the Shah. Others who do not enter ride on horseback before the palace, waiting for the King's appearance, who every day rides out also on horseback into the middle of the Meidan, when sometimes he amuses himself in conversing with each individual; at others exercises his horse backwards and forwards on the square; at others again, listens to any one who wishes to address him. Occasionally he has refreshments brought him into the middle of the square. Now he takes an airing in a different part, accompanied by his courtiers; at other times, and most frequently, he rides by himself among the bazars, to see what is passing.

In Hispahan, besides lions, tigers, and other similar animals which are common, I saw three elephants, a present to the King from India; they were but small. The manner of their guiding and punishing them is extraordinary. They use for this purpose a stick pointed with iron at one end, with which the keeper pricks them, and at the other with a crooked piece of iron, with which he tickles the inside of the ear, or scratches them be-

tween the ears, without sparing the flesh. I shall now proceed to describe the country of Persia; its inhabitants, manners; its military, and officers.

The country in the neighbourhood of Hispahan is fertile and the air temperate, notwithstanding its inequality, it being a mixture of vales and mountains, not connected but standing separate; so that frequently a very lofty and rocky mountain rises in midst of a beautiful and extensive meadow.

The inhabitants of Persia are of several descriptions. They consist, firstly, of strangers of various countries, who resort thither to traffic, of whom the Indians are the most numerous; among these some Banyans, chiefly from the Guzurat, which formerly belonged to the King, but is now dependent on the Grand Mogul; of these a part profess Islamism, the religion of the King of Lahòr, sovereign at this time of the greatest part of India; while the others are Gentiles adoring numerous idols. The religion of the Persians is also various. Some are Gaurs, or Guebres, and are said, on account of the extraordinary care with which they preserve it, to adore fire; however, as I proceed I shall be more diffuse on their head. I shall only just remark, that these are the descendants of the ancient Persians who lived in the time of Alexander; but having suffered materially by the wars waged by different sovereigns against them, they are now reduced to a handful of people, dispersed through three or four of the cities of Persia, of which Hispahan is one, where they live separate in one of the quarters I have described, which is to be united to Hispahan, and render it a capital city comprized of four so near to each other as only to be separated by the breadth of the beautiful street, the Chiahâr-bagh, and the river which crosses it. The disposition of them is as follows: Hispahan lays north of the river and east of the street; on the opposite side of the street, on the west, is Abbas-abad. On the south side of the river, in the angle opposite to Abbas-abad, is Chiòlfa, and adjoining this and opposite to Hispahan is Gabr-abad, inhabited by the Guebres, the Gentiles I have just mentioned.

There are, moreover, Christians of different sects; Syrians, Georgians in much greater abundance, and an infinite number of Armenians. These latter are extremely rich, carrying on most of the commerce of the country, particularly that with Turkey: besides these the Mahometans, who may be ranked in two different classes, the one common and general, called properly Agemi, or Agiami: these are Mahometans descended from the ancient Persians, who changed their religion with their government, and are likewise called Tat, that is, a vassal and cowardly race; the other Kizilbashi, comprising the soldiery and the nobility, who are now in high esteem. Agem is the general name for the empire of Persia; Farsistaun, or Parsistaun, whence Persia is derived, denoting regularly no more than a province, although by acceptance it be used in common with Agem for the whole. The Kizilbashi come originally from Turkey, and subdued and governed the country for a long time with absolute sway, until the assumption of the empire by an ancestor of His present Majesty. This personage, the forefather of Shah Abbas, was by origin an Arab of the race of Mahomet, who becoming powerful by means of the Turkish soldiery, and tired of submission to their sovereigns, by acquiring the reputation of a saint, and, lastly, by confirming himself in the esteem of all by new opinions which he introduced into the law, he deprived the Turks of their sway, but did not disqualify them from the use of arms, or the management of affairs under the will of the Kings who have since ruled.

Ismael Sofi, which was the name of the first King of this dynasty, having a number of followers among the Turcomans, who adopted the tenets of this disciple of Ali, in order to distinguish his sectaries, gave the Turks who fought under his banners a red cap to wear under their turban, surmounted by a knot with twelve small plaits about it, in

renewance of the twelve descendants of Ali, whom they revere as their apostles, and the chiefs of their sect. These descendants are called by the title of Imami, signifying sovereign pontiff of the faith. This sect was called Somites, and reigned under the specious and superb name of Califs, that is to say, successors of Mahomet in spiritual as well as temporal affairs; preserving their empire for a long time, first in Damascus and afterwards in Bagdad.

To his Turkish followers Ismael gave the name of Kizilbashi, that is to say, red heads, on account of the cap in which he dressed them; and entered Persia, then much divided. As at this time it was parted into many signories, whose chiefs were perpetually at war, he found it no difficult task to make himself master of the whole. From this Ismael the reigning Prince descends in a direct line, and among his other titles is called Sheich zadi, or son of the Scheich, that is to say, of that man so much renowned for sanctity. On some solemn occasions, I understand it is usual for the King himself to wear this red cap, called tag, or crown, which is a mark of the wearer belonging to the army, and of nobility.

The Kizilbashi are likewise of two sorts. The one the heirs of their predecessors, who inherit from father to son the dignity and rank of their sires in the army, the other occasionally appointed by the King, whose subjects or slaves of whatsoever nation they may be, if established in the country and enrolled among the Kizilbashi, become thereby naturalized and ennobled, they and their posterity. Sometimes also His Majesty, as a token of his esteem for a foreigner, makes him a Kizilbashi, by bestowing on him the tag, this, however, is rarely the case: in fifteen years, that a gentleman speaking to me on the subject had resided in the country, he had known but once of such an occurrence, in the instance of Sir Robert Shirley, who received this honour upon his going as ambassador from the court of Persia to Rome.

All the Kizilbashi bear the title of Bey, or lord, but their captains, commanding mostly a hundred men, are called Luzbashi, or chief of a hundred. These Luzbashi are inferior to Sultans. In Turkey this title signifies King, but in Persia a general of an army, or commandant of a city, or some strong place. A Khan is lord over several of these Sultans; this name is also that which Kings assume among the Turks, but with the Persians it answers to Viceroy, or governor of a province, possessing, however, absolute authority, and nominating at pleasure all the officers under him as well civil as military, subject to no other orders of the King in his province than what regard the number of his people to be drafted for war, or matters relative to the state. Among the Sultans there are likewise some of the most powerful, although the number of these be small, who, acknowledging no superior jurisdiction of a Khan, depend immediately on the King. All these officers hold their appointments at the will of the King; in Persia, however, according to ancient custom, they are seldom displaced from caprice when they do their duty, but when removed it is usually to assume some higher station as a reward for their services.

The King in general grants the dignity of Khan to a subject not for his life alone, the children most frequently inheriting, so that there are families in which this dignity has descended for two hundred years, whence their subjects look on them rather as their true and legitimate lords than as officers of the King, or ministers of the state. I understand, however, that the present King is disposed to annihilate this custom, on account of these gentlemen being too absolute in their districts, as he experienced at the beginning of his reign. Except, however, the government of provinces, cities, and large towns, the children inherit from their parents whatever they possessed; but as a token of submission and dependence, the son, on the death of his father, gives a declaration to

the King of what the deceased died worth, as well in moveables as immoveables, when, in case of any thing pleasing His Majesty, he takes it, and leaves the rest. If, on the contrary, the conduct of the defunct should have been defective and treacherous to the state, confiscation then ensues, and the King takes all.

Persia has a number of these Khans, some more powerful than others. The most eminent is that of Shiras, the metropolis of Persia Proper, situated about twelve leagues from the spot where stood the famous city of Persepolis, demolished in a drunken bout by Alexander, and the residence of the Magi, who followed the star to Bethlehem, in order to adore Christ, capital of the province of Fars; its peculiar government is very large, extending to the sea of Hormouz, some days' journey from Hispahan.

The Khan can send twenty-five thousand horse into the field; and his province, as I am assured by people conversant in the matter, is of much greater extent than Portugal. In Hispahan, the capital of Irak Casbin, a principal city also of Irak, and in some other considerable cities there is no Khan, these places being royal cities. In these the King has his palaces, furnished with slaves, women, and every requisite; this, on account of his residing rarely for any length of time at one place, and the inconvenience attendant on journeying with a large train. He takes pleasure in travelling occasionally with only two or three attendants, excellently mounted; their horses journeying with such speed as to perform in the space of five or six nearly thirty days' journey. On this account, he has constantly some of these horses ready saddled and bridled in his stables, the hour or even minute of his departure being ever uncertain.

It is now, however, time to turn from public matters to my own concerns. On Sunday 12th of March, Father John, the vicar-general of the Carmelites, availed himself of the departure of a courier, who left this place for the camp where the King is, to inform the King's steward of the household, or Mehimandar, of my arrival, and that I remained at Hispahan, waiting for intelligence whether His Majesty was on his return, or, if not, where I might join him. We shall, no doubt, have an answer to this letter, which will determine my stay or departure hence.

On the same day I was visited by two ladies of quality, Christians of the Georgian church, resident in Hispahan. They possessed considerable property in their own country, but owing to the suddenness with which the army of Abbas, consisting of one hundred thousand men, fell upon their estates, they had no time to escape, as did Trimuraz Khan; but following the example of a relation of theirs, a governor, they surrendered themselves to the King. Preserving themselves stedfast in their faith, they shut themselves out from the bounty of the King, and, having sold all their slaves and property for subsistence, are reduced to accept of the eleemosynary aid of the monks who reside here. Touched by their misfortunes and noble demeanor, we became much attached to them. The natives of the country whence they come have ever been famous as good soldiers; the country itself, I understand is beautiful, and much resembles the finest parts of Lombardy.

I find an inconvenience in keeping Lent here, owing to the want of fish in the few and very small rivers which Persia can boast, and the distance of the sea in any part from Hispahan. The Mediterranean being sixty, the Persian Gulph thirty, and the Caspian Sea twenty days' journey distant. The fish we eat at present comes from the Caspian, and (perhaps on account of there being no other) appears to me excellent; when, however, we may without scruple eat meat, we shall fare extremely well, there being here of all descriptions in abundance. In Hispahan, where living is dear, for a piastre of Spain (the money most in esteem throughout all the East) you have five or six fat pullets; but on the road when travelling, in several places the same sum paid

for

for provender for the mules and horses, and food for four-and-twenty persons we had with us. As for fruits, it may suffice to tell you that we are now living on most excellent melons, and have been for this month past, whether owing to the care with which they are preserved, their being sown late, or of a different species I know not; yet from the excellence and purity of the air or the dryness of the earth suiting and preserving them, they are eaten here all the winter, and at that period are of a most delicious flavour.

At the drug shops, I have found a matter sold here under the name of Hamama, of which I send you a specimen, I do not however conceive it to be the amomum we look for; of the larger cardamom also, which I was solicitous of meeting with, understanding it much resembled the amomum, I send you a parcel. Whether it be the amomum as I conceived or another species of cardamom unknown to us, I am satisfied there is none of the sort in Italy, as it is not to be procured in Turkey, and is very rare here. It possibly may be dear; I shall however obtain as much of it as possible. There are here a thousand other drugs from India, Cathay, and other places; as, however, I am not a connoisseur in this article, and have nobody who can give me information on the matter, I know not how to make a collection.

In the packet, you will likewise find a small branch of a shrub, which instead of leaves or flowers, as you will distinguish, produces filaments of a lightish green colour, which yields a very refreshing liquor held as a sovereign remedy for alleviating the heat of fevers; in addition it is of a very grateful smell. It is called bidmisk or the musk fallow, owing to its resemblance in fragrance to musk and its being deemed a species of willow.

The day of the vernal equinox, called here *Neu rouz*, or new day, is one of great festivity in Persia. On this day, mutual presents are made, and gifts are tendered on the part of dependants to their superiors, and of the whole kingdom, and the ministers to the King; every one appears in new dresses, feasts are given, and greater freedom and more diversions reign than on other occasions, the country about the town being all alive from the number of parties enjoying themselves. These entertainments continue for several days; and in these the Indians participate, erecting tents in the courts of the caravanserai, where they pass the night in singing and dancing. The astronomers here, if I mistake not, differ from us in the ascertainment of the day of the equinox, but as it is not yet come, I shall be better able to speak of this hereafter. Astronomy is so well known in Persia, that there is not a soldier in the army, however ignorant he may be, but without consulting the *tacuin*, or almanac, he wears at his breast, can readily tell what conjunction or opposition of planets occur on any particular day, and is equally prompt at other matters. The King is constantly attended by a judicial astrologer, and undertakes nothing ere he has first consulted him. Those among this people also who prefer the peaceful muses to the noisy god of war possess much genius, and produce enchanting compositions. Among these are many of great nobility, and even of Royal blood, who are styled *Mirza*, that is to say, sons of Princes; and these are the real nobility of Persia, although degraded for policy's sake, and neither soldiers or *Kizilbash*. They delight much in study, and compared with the rest of orientals are very learned, yet not equally so with our men of intelligence.

Methinks I have said and written a great deal, the short time of my residence here considered, and the little knowledge of the country I have hitherto acquired. I shall conclude, therefore, begging you not to wonder at the confusion of my letter, as I have written precipitately as the matter flowed; I hope nevertheless that the information

it affords may be serviceable, as from the evidence I have had of your genius, I am aware that it will not be difficult for you to extract order from the chaos of my writing, and give it a new and more regular form.

*Hispahan, March 17, 1617.*

It escaped my memory to mention two things, with which it is fit you should be made acquainted, the one, that the title of Kizilbashi is common not only to the soldiers and nobles, but, in common with Fars and Ajem, to the country itself; it is however more in use among the Turks and foreigners than the natives themselves; the other, that in Persia, by a particular and very ancient privilege, liberty of opinion is allowed to all, each following the religion his conscience dictates, and living as he pleases under protection of the law. Hence each nation has a distinct quarter of residence as I have described of Hispahan. Moreover they are allowed to administer justice according to their own laws in civil as well as criminal cases, the courts of His Majesty having scarcely any jurisdiction over them. This right indeed is so prevalent at present, that not only distinct nations but even ambassadors of Princes, the King's guests, and others of similar description, exercise a similar authority, not only over their own servants, but also over those who may be subject to them only for a time. The priors of convents enjoy the same privilege.

I must further remark that whatever be the crime of an individual who flies for refuge from justice to the palace of the King, it is a sacred asylum. At present there is a man of quality whom the King was desirous of putting to death for some state treason; but being quick enough to enter the palace (although if he made but a step without the gate, he would instantly be put to death without further process) he is secure from every violence. None is refused admittance to the palace, but on passing the threshold, which he kisses, as I have before remarked, he has claim of protection. This threshold in short is in such veneration, that its name of Aftanè is the denomination for the court and the Royal palace itself. Thus by adding the term doulet, or prosperity, Aftanè y doulet means the court of prosperity. The palace is also called Doulet chanè, the house of prosperity.

Here, likewise, it may be proper I should mention that the present King has instituted corps of infantry called fusileers, as better adapted than cavalry for besieging and defending fortresses: these, however, have no red knot, and are not Kizilbashi or gentlemen, and are commanded by captains. Of these, at present, there are some in all his dominions, and in every province. They do not however follow the army, as its march is too rapid for their accompaniment.

Letter the second of Pietro delle Valle combats the objections raised by Signor Schipuno against compiling an account of his travels; and a discourse intended to be delivered by him to the Academy of Humourists, not being material to the description of Persia, it has been omitted.

### LETTER III.

*Hispahan, December 8, 1617.*

IN my preceding letters from this city of the month of March last, I described to you my journey hither from Bagdad, and so much of the curiosities of Hispahan, and matters in general respecting Persia, that at present I have little information to afford you. I promised in one of these to give you on some future occasion more particulars respecting the Guebres. A few days ago I visited their new city, the position of which I have

I have before described. It is called the Guebriftun; or the place of the infidels. It is well built, the streets very wide, straight, and much handsomer than those of Chiòlfa, having been constructed since them with more experience and attention: none of the houses however have more than a ground floor, and all are destitute of ornament, corresponding with the poverty of their inhabitants, and differing from those of Chiòlfa, which are magnificent. The Guebres follow no trade, but earn their livelihood by rustic occupations with much labour and fatigue. They wear all the same kind of dress, and of the same colour, that of cement made of brick-dust.

These people bear great resemblance to the Persians of the present day, but are coarsely built; they wear a round cap generally white, without any mixture of colours, of a fanciful shape like that of the modern Persians: they do not however like these shave the cheeks and chin, but suffer their beard to grow like the Turks, and wear their hair long like women, precisely in the same manner as their ancestors are represented to have done by Herodotus. The women likewise dress all alike; their costume however more resembles that of the Arabs or Chaldeans than the Persian; it much resembles the frock usually worn with us by pilgrims, but without any girdle or collar. Their dress is improved by a veil which they wear over the head, of a greenish yellow. This is very long and wide, of the same fashion as those worn by the Arabian and Chaldee women, which, covering the face, they suffer to float in the wind, as low as the waist, and hang down to the ground behind. In the streets they go with their face uncovered, differing in this respect from the Mahometans.

According to what I gathered from one of their sect, a simple and uninformed being, they have a distinct language, varying, as well as the characters, from the Persian of the present day; I was however unable to learn from him whether or no like the Latins they write from left to right, nor any particulars concerning their sacred fire. He told me, however, that they pray three times a day, at sun-rise, noon, and sun-set; that they adore one Supreme Being, creator of all things visible and invisible; and on my stating that we had a direct contrary opinion of their belief, "How?" said his wife, who was standing by: "Gracious God! we not know thee. Make me thy sacrifice! (a common expression with them) Who ever saw thee, or knows how thou existeth?" Whence I conceive them not to be idolaters as they are represented. They acknowledged indeed that they revered the sun and moon as angels, but of inferior degree. They detest Mahomet, looking on him as an impostor, and his followers as infidels; nor call themselves Guebres, as termed by the Mahometans, but Behen-din (of the true faith). They have great abhorrence of frogs, tortoises, crabs, and other similar animals, which they say infect water, and kill them whenever they find them; probably land-insects also and vermin, such as serpents, ants, and the like; in this conforming with the practice of the Magi, as related by Herodotus. They do not burn their dead, but place them upright with their eyes open, in which posture they leave them to decay, or be devoured by crows. I shall endeavour, on some other occasion, to obtain more ample information respecting this people.

Four things curious enough in themselves I have remarked while in Hispahan. The first, the practice of the people here on the occasion of the total eclipse of the moon on the 16th of August last. Upon this event, the whole population got on the flat roofs of the houses, rending the air with their noise and songs, and the found of brass pans, either to frighten the animal about to devour the moon, or to strengthen her in her sufferings in passing through a door or very narrow passage. Similar superstition exists in Turkey, but here I was surprized at finding the people so ignorant, learning prevailing here much more than in Turkey.

The second, I noticed in visiting Hussein culi Mirza, a near relation of the King, and descended according to report in even a more direct line from Ali and Mahomet than even His Majesty himself. In his Divan-Chanè, that is to say, the hall that serves for an audience-chamber and eating-room when strangers are invited, was a recess as is common in all grand houses, the palaces of the King not excepted; the Divan Chanè is generally in some low story, yet commanding a view either of gardens or courts, and is open in front like our galleries or porticos: in the recess I speak of, their victuals is cooked in the presence of the guests, with the greatest nicety and cleanliness imaginable, without any fire, smoak, or dirt of any description common to kitchens, disgusting the eye. Opposite to the entrance is this recess, which is a broad and long niche, resembling a small tribunal in our churches, lined all round from top to bottom, and the floor entirely covered with varnished shining tiles of different colours, on which are represented with much taste either figures or very handsome and well-painted flowers; the walls of the hall are also covered with tiles of similar description, but only to the height of about three feet, for guests to lean against sitting on carpets. The walls in the East being bare of furniture, on the floor of the recess are small openings, purposely left for large dishes or other suitable vessels to be placed upon, in which the victuals is cooked; the fire to heat them is under ground, but so disposed as to allow a vent for the smoak as well as the flame, which is invisible in the apartment; and notwithstanding this, over these holes their meat is extremely well cooked, and even roasted, or rather baked. Amid these holes rises a small fountain of pure water, which serves for cleansing the meat, and afterwards runs off by two canals which are concealed, and takes away every species of filth, so that the most delicate eye can receive no offence.

This mode of cooking in presence of the party invited is less, I believe, for the convenience itself, than a precaution against poison. Owing to an apprehension of attempts of this kind, is it, in my opinion, that the King does so many things which ignorant people tax as whimsical and unworthy of Majesty; such for example as cooking for himself, which is common with him, particularly the fish or game he has himself caught or killed. On such occasions, he will dissect the animal he has destroyed with the greatest nicety, separating with so much epicurism the daintiest morsels, as to collect no more from the carcase than a pound in small slices, which he seasons with different ingredients that are grateful to his palate, and makes of it when cooked a most hearty regale. At other times he will dine in the streets from cooks' shops wherever any grateful odour salutes him from the steaming kitchens. In this he is not particular, many individuals, on account of the superior cooking at these shops, being served from them with their meals. Again, in riding along His Majesty will enter a house, and dine on whatever the family may have provided for itself.

The third matter worthy of remark is an annual solemnity in memory of the death of Ali, which is celebrated on the 21st of the month Ramadhan, on which occasion there are two processions by two of their congregations, each of them accompanied by a great part of the city, and a number of the nobles of the kingdom; when in the city, the King even follows in either the one or other of them. The first rank in the procession is filled by a number of horses covered with ornaments peculiar to the country; on their saddles are trophies of bows and arrows, swords, and shields; and on the pommel of the saddle, a turban representing the arms of Ali. These are followed by a number of colours, pikes and lances of extraordinary length, with bandroles, supported with difficulty by the men who carry them on foot; these, so long that the weight of the end causes them to bend, are possibly meant to represent part of the arms

of Ali, and designate his immense bulk. Afterwards follows a bier, and sometimes a number of biers, of black velvet, and covered with trophies of various arms, offensive and defensive, raised very high and surmounted with tufts of feathers and other similar decorations. These biers are accompanied by a number of singers, with cymbals, gongs, and fifes, with which they make the air resound, leaping about incessantly, and roaring out with all their might in a most hideous manner. People of quality go on horseback in the procession, the mob, which is extremely numerous, on foot.

This procession marches round the Meidan or great square, which I have before described and stops for a while before the Royal palace, and again before the principal mosque opposite, whence after certain prayers each repairs to his home. The Vizier of Hispahan on the one part, and the King's treasurer on the other, appear on the square, each attended by a number of cavaliers, who clear the way of the crowd. It is their special care also to prevent quarrels between the two processions on account of precedence, which sometimes happen, and terminate in the loss of lives.

The fourth object I have to notice is the Feast of Roses, which lasts the whole time of their remaining in bloom. During this period you see nothing but dancing to the sound of various instruments in all the public places, by night as well as by day, and people regaling themselves with coffee. A number of young children also in the coffee-houses display their agility in a loose and lascivious manner, and run about the streets in the neighbourhood of the Meidan, attended by others carrying flambeaux and chandeliers full of lights, who scatter roses on all they meet, receiving money in return. In other parts men and women repair without the city, where they take refreshments, and amuse themselves with throwing roses at each other. This feast of roses appears to me a remnant of the ancient festivities held in honour of Flora, in the same season of the year.

As for the temperature of the air in this country, both the heat and cold are very tolerable, notwithstanding, in the open sunshine, the warmth far surpasses that of Italy. The cold is never very intense, although in the months of January and February, the only ones of winter, there falls a quantity of snow. It rains so seldom, that, from the time of my arrival up to December, I have never remarked more than once a few drops in the beginning of autumn. Owing to this dryness, and the mild and refreshing breezes which frequently prevail, the air is incomparably pure and salubrious; whence nobody retires to close apartments to sleep in the summer, (that is from May to September,) but take repose on the floor of their houses, without any counterpane of mats, as is usual in the rest of Asia, and several parts of the Archipelago, or any other covering whatsoever, but wholly exposed to the open air. Others, however, not inclined to rise with the lark, retire to the Divan-chane, fronting their courts or gardens.

The dryness and natural sterility of the earth, which contains a quantity of nitre, exacts of the husbandman considerable care and abundance of manure. In this country they use indifferently the dung of cattle and men, and such is the demand for the latter, that instead of its costing any thing to have privies emptied, the servants receive a handsome compensation from those who take away the soil. From the drought and requisiteness of water, great pains are taken to obtain it, and bring it from considerable distance for irrigating the lands; by which means, and by the addition of compost, the fructifying influence of the sun produces almost every thing in this climate. If any thing be wanting produced in other countries, it is less owing to the ignorance of the inhabitants, or the want of value for such articles on their part, than the incapacity of the amended soil or the climate to yield them. Above all the delicate or delicious

fruits which grow in this country, that which in my esteem excels the rest is a kind of apricot, called by the Persians, to distinguish it from other species, by a mixed word half Arabic half Persian, *tokhm esk-sheims*, signifying sun's seed.

Melons here are eaten nine months out of the twelve, and are of an exquisite flavour; grapes all the year round; of these there is a species called *chiskmisk*, of a greenish colour, oblong; and without stones. This, either fresh or dry, is delicious, either by itself or mixed with their different dishes, particularly *pilão*. Here is likewise found a certain sort of pulse called *mask*, unknown in Italy, and excellent: it is of a greenish colour, not much larger than lentils, not so flat, more resembling a pea in shape, but not of equal size.

As I have nothing further to write to you of matters relative to Persia in general, I shall give some account of my individual affairs, knowing as I do that they will not be indifferent to you. First, then, I enjoy good health, am somewhat leaner than formerly, of which I know not the cause; it is not occasioned by the heat, for it agrees with me, not to over exercise; for I have been almost idle for ten months back. Is it owing to my being married? I cannot think so; for when much more plump than at present, I was not less the servant of the ladies. Possibly it may be owing to the different food. Hispahan becomes wearisome to me in the absence of the court and all the nobility, notwithstanding its beauties and population; and were it not for the conversation of some among the good fathers which has kept me alive, I should surely have died of the spleen.

However, thank God, I am on the eve of leaving it to join the King, wherever he may be, and for the purpose have already provided myself with tents, horses, camels, carriages, and other requisites; since I as shall have to follow the army, I must carry my house with me *à la Scythe*, and be provided with horses to harness to the carriages at an instant's notice, either by night or day. I have therefore a chain of camels, (a chain consists of seven) but am fearful as my baggage is weighty these will scarcely suffice. I have chosen them of a Persian race, on account of their being best fitted for fatigue; hardy, and capable of enduring the winters of Armenia, where usually the army encamps. The camels of Persia differ from those of Egypt, Arabia, Turkey, or any other country; are stronger, larger, and have more hair on the neck and legs. I take but four saddle-horses with me, which will be sufficient for myself and those I most regard; as for war-horses and horses of parade, I shall meet with them on the spot, superior and cheaper than any I can purchase here. All that I wait for now is the making of certain dresses, and horse accoutrements, which I must take with me hence. All my liveries are complete; they are red and yellow, and will I trust appear novel and extraordinary at court, as it is not usual to dress servants in this manner; I may thus set a fashion eventually, as the Persians are great imitators. The King, as I have before noticed, has long been apprized of my arrival, and I understand from the Augustin monk and the English resident returned from court, (whither the latter had gone for the Royal decision on a difference between himself and the Portuguese resident,) that His Majesty made many enquiries respecting me and signified that he was impatient to see me.

Enough of my preparations; I must now proceed to give you a description of the solemn sacrifice of the camel, at which I was present out of curiosity a short time ago. The first day of the Little Bairane or Mahometan Easter, called likewise the Bairane del Curban, or of the sacrifice in commemoration of the sacrifice of Abraham. It fell this year on the 9th of December. The Mahometans are accustomed to make sacrifice of a number of victims on this occasion, on the 10th day of the moon in their  
twelfth

twelfth month, called by them Di'l hadjè and kill several lambs in their own houses, part of which they eat, and give the rest to the poor; but in the principal cities, or wherever the King happens to be, a camel is sacrificed, the Persians reputed the animal slain by Abraham in lieu of his son, whom they say was Ishmael and not Isaac, to have been a camel, and not a ram as stated in scripture. The Turks, however, read the text after our manner, and ridicule the sacrifice of the camel.

The ceremony of the sacrifice of the camel is as follows. Three days previously, a female camel is led all over the city crowned with flowers, such as violets, and many similar still in bloom, together with different herbs, among which I noticed a branch of the pine, accompanied by a great concourse playing on cymbals and fifes. A mulla, or doctor of the law, follows, who at intervals chants their confession of faith and certain prayers. The people as she passes by pull off hair from her, which they preserve as a relic.

On the third day, which is ushered in with the sound of trumpets, cymbals, and other instruments, particular prayers, and where possible, by discharges of artillery; after prayers, all the nobility, and the King, if he be on the spot, together with the people, a mingled mass of all descriptions, some on foot and others on horseback, repair without the city. In Hispahan, the place where the ceremony is performed, is a large square or esplanade, full two miles from the gates. Here a large circle is formed, the inner rows of which are occupied by the most distinguished persons, in their richest and most superb dresses; all the people being habited in their best. Here they wait the arrival of the victim, which is first conducted round the town again in the manner before described. Before the camel a lance is carried, or rather a zagay, handsomely mounted with steel at the end, with which she is to be slain. As soon as she arrives at the destined spot, she is driven into the circle, and surrounded by a number of the people resident about Hispahan, as well as others. After placing her in the posture requisite, one of the most considerable personages present, (this year Haider Sultan, captain of the gate of the King's haram,) magnificently dressed and covered with ornaments, takes the lance, and, as she lays on the right side, back-handedly pierces her through the heart. Immediately the people about throw themselves upon the victim, and with swords, knives, hatchets, or any other cutlery they may have, separate it into a thousand pieces; the mob, armed with bludgeons, disputing for participation. After the division, in determining which cudgel-logic is of much more efficacy than oratory, the mob tumultuously return to their various homes.

Part of the flesh of this animal is cooked and eaten with great devotion, the rest salted and preserved throughout the year, is regarded as a remedy for all kinds of infirmities. The head was sent to the King, the quarters are distributed all over the city and the various villages adjoining, the number of which within a circle round Hispahan of from twelve to fifteen miles is more than a thousand.

On account of the absence of the court, few people of high rank were present; the number was confined to the Vizier of Hispahan the prime minister, Haider Sultan before-mentioned, and Melek Bey, who likewise is Melek Ettùgiar, or king of the merchants.

Lala Bey the great treasurer was to have been present, but receiving orders from the King, he departed from Hispahan some days before. He invited me to accompany him, but as my doing so would have subjected me to many ceremonial inconveniencies, I excused myself on account of not having every thing ready, which was actually the fact. I begged of him, however, to leave one of his servants with me to escort me on the road, whose presence may do me credit, and be of service to me.

The Vizier likewise has promised to furnish me with a letter of credit, and engages for my being well received by the governors and officers of the cities and towns through which I shall have to pass. From appearance, therefore, no more than one thing will be wanting to me, and that a companion of my own country, to take part in my adventures, and share my pleasures. You must know I have no one any longer about me from Italy, or even from Europe, having been obliged to rid myself of the only two I had, the one a Venetian whom I engaged at Aleppo, the other a Flemish painter. My present household consists of Asiatics entirely, among which one old man as major domo, and haram kie kaifi, or keeper of the women; one Armenian Christian as a harbinger, and three Chaldeans, one a cook, another a running footman, and the third as yet without an office.

The King has already taken up his winter-quarters, and although yet uninformed of where, I expect to find him in Mazanderan, a province which makes a part of Hircania, or rather Media, in a certain city on the Caspian Sea, which he has lately caused to be built, called Ferhabad, a word composed of Arabic and Persian, and signifying colony of gladness. The King is much delighted with this city, and takes a pleasure in augmenting and giving it every possible embellishment. It already is considered as the metropolis of that province; surpassing by much every other in reputation and grandeur.

We shall, therefore, direct our course to Hircania, and visit the Caspian Sea, whence I shall not fail to write to you. I kiss your hands.

In the third letter, of which the preceding is an extract, much extraneous matter occurring, either relative to India, gathered from the accounts of others, historical relations generally known, or communications of a personal nature not interesting to the reader, they, as well as many repetitions, are omitted in the translation.

#### LETTER IV.

*From Ferhabad the beginning of May, 1618,  
and Cazwin the 25th July following.*

SHORTLY before my departure from Hispahan, I addressed a letter to you, in which I gave an exact account of my travels up to that time. As I am constantly mindful of the promise I made you, I shall continue to relate occurrences as they happen, detail my progress through the countries I visit, and the curiosities I meet with. With this view I have to inform you, that on the 30th of December last, while yet at Hispahan, the Mahometans perceiving the new moon on the previous evening (the beginning of their day, after the manner of the Jews) began to celebrate the first day of the month Muharrem, the beginning of their new year, the 1027th of the Hegira, that is to say, the flight of Mahomet from Mecca to Medina, on account of his being ignominiously driven thence for introducing his new opinions and false religion. In consequence, this day was the first of the Ashur, or the ten, during which the Persians give public and authentic demonstrations of their regret for the death of the unfortunate Hussein, the son of Ali and Fatima the daughter of the Prophet.

This Hussein, canonized by the Mahometans and acknowledged by the Persians as the true Iman and sovereign chief of their sect, and from whom the present Kings of Persia boast of being descended, was attacked on his way by those of the opposite fac-

tion,

tion, and, together with from seventy to eighty of his followers, was massacred in the deserts of Arabia at a place called Kirbulæ, where he is interred. His sepulchre is still in high veneration, and his death bewailed with certain ceremonies. During the Ashur nothing is heard but lamentations, most of the people wearing black, a colour they never assume at any other time. No one during this period either shaves or bathes, and all scrupulously follow the prescriptions of the Koran, abstaining from every kind of sensuality, all pleasures, and all diversion. Many of the poorer sort are accustomed to bury themselves up to the mouth in the streets, covering their heads with a vase, over which earth is deposited, and remain thus from dawn till sunset, and even during part of the night, other poor persons sitting by the while, and asking alms of passengers.

Others again run naked about the streets, with only their privities concealed with a piece of black cloth or facking of a dark colour, their flesh daubed over with shining blacking, so as to resemble as many devils. These are accompanied by others painted red, in token of Hussein dying covered with blood, and collectively they sing in a mournful strain the praise of Hussein, and descriptions of his martyrdom, beating time with two pieces of wood or ribs of certain animals, which produce a melancholy sound, and dancing all the while in midst of the crowd. Sometimes they unite with mountebanks, selling their theriaca, thus gathering money from the spectators.

Every day at noon one of their mulla, of the race of Mahomet, repairs to the spot where these exhibitions go forward. This mulla is not called an emir, as at Constantinople, nor a sherife, as in Egypt, but from an Arabic word *seidi* or *monsieur*. This mulla, then, dressed on this occasion in a green turban, of which colour it is never worn by the Persians at any other time, mounts an elevated pulpit, where seated in midst of a number of people, men as well as women, either on the floor or very low seats, he recites a panegyric on the virtues of Hussein, and describes the manner of his death; exhibiting occasionally to the people, extremely attentive to what he says, certain figures representing the circumstances to which he alludes, and endeavouring to excite their commiseration and tears. This ceremony is likewise copied in the mosques, and the most public parts of the streets, which are adorned and illuminated for the purpose: the audience all the while bathed in tears, sighing and moaning, beating their breasts and displaying the greatest affliction, frequently repeat with much expression of agony these last verses of one of their poetic monodies, *Va Hussein! Shab Hussein! Alas Hussein! the Shah Hussein!*

On the tenth day, the day on which the murder was effected, there are processions in every quarter of the city, resembling those on the commemoration of the death of Ali, with similar ceremonies, except those on a certain camel three or four young children are placed in panniers, in memory of those of the defunct who were thrown in prison, singing mournful ditties. There are likewise biers covered with black velvet furnished by the tag. On some even are a green turban and a sword. The trophies, similar to those in the procession for Ali, are carried on the heads of men, who dance incessantly to the sounds of cymbals and gongs, turning continually as they dance, and keeping time with much grace. The country people from the neighbourhood accompany the train with cudgels, to use where occasion against those in other processions whom they may chance to encounter, not only to secure to their assemblage a precedence, but also in commemoration of the strife in which Hussein was killed; they holding for certain, in case of being slain on this occasion, that they shall enter paradise immediately; believing, moreover, that all who die during the ten days of the Ashur are transported thither directly.

But

But to my departure. Having provided a litter on the back of a camel for Madame Maani, my lady, and all things being in readiness, on Friday in the evening, the 19th of January 1613, I left Hispahan, escorted by all the brotherhood of Carmelites, Augustines, and other secular Europeans then in the city, who accompanied me to the beginning of the road to Ferhabad, the city at which the King was represented to be. The first day we travelled no more than a league, it being late when I left Hispahan, and rested at a village called Beftabad; the country about which is barren, and white as if covered with snow, a circumstance owing, as I conceive, to its abounding so much in nitre.

That I may omit nothing, I must inform you that distances are measured in Persia by leagues, or parasanga, as mentioned by Herodotus, Xenophon, and several other authors, called, however, by corruption, *ferseng*. The Turks, indeed, call them *agaj*, or trees, they being marked by trees. The length of them is similar to those of Spain, that is to say, equal to four Italian miles.

The manner of travelling here is as follows: the haram, or ladies, go before, with all the camels and carriages, together with the domestics who escort them. These last go on foot chiefly, well armed, yet without fatiguing themselves, as when weary they mount the camels. Having eight servants with me, four or five are allotted to this department. The chief or governor of the haram accompanies the ladies, on horseback. This person is usually either an eunuch, or a venerable old man with a white beard, who is armed as well as the rest, and has the command of the escort. It was one of the latter description which I employed, who had had the care of Madame Maani from her youth, and loved her with the tenderness of a father. He it was who, when obliged to fly from Mardiu, her native country, like Mitæbus who followed Camilla, never quitted her for an instant, but carried her from the destruction of war, seated before him on horseback. When, however, any difficulties occurred on the way as we proceeded, I sent to his assistance a Marseillois, whom I have lately hired, and who is at present the only European in my service. I find him more clever than the rest of my servants, and use him when occasion as an *avant courier* to clear the way.

After the haram is sent forward the master mounts his horse an hour afterwards or so, with the other servants who accompany him on horseback, as it is requisite he should have a respectable appearance. Among these I have constantly a methu, or squire, who looks after the horses, and serves me as a valet, carrying behind him two large portmanteaus, comprising a small carpet, mattrass, pillow, and coverlid, for one person, that they may be ready on occasion, without having resort to the luggage borne by the camels, and a robe lined with fur, with a great coat and other similar defences against cold, rain, &c. In these also are carried provisions and sweetmeats to eat on the way. After this description, you will not wonder at the small number of leagues we travel in a day.

The second day we made no more progress than two leagues, passing the night in a dilapidated caravanferai, at a small town called Rie. On the third day we travelled eight leagues, beginning our journey an hour before dawn, taking up our lodging at a caravanferai called Serdehew, standing by itself. Here, however, we found provisions, the host keeping always a store for the use of travellers. In these caravanferai on the road the traveller is received gratis, and may remain as long as he pleases. In the cities he pays a trifle; but unlike those on the road, which are open, the rooms of the latter have locks to the doors, for the maintenance of which the charge is made. They are, however, entirely destitute of furniture.

From Hispahan to this caravanferai we traversed over a flat country. On the fourth day we journied five leagues on a level road, between hills entirely bare of vegetation of any

any kind, like the whole of the province of Irak, which passes with some for the ancient Parthia; the labour of the inhabitants and an abundance of water alone making fertile those places which are peopled. This day Madame Maani and myself dined midway of our day's journey, in a garden belonging to the King, called Tagiabad, or the colony of the crown. Over the gate there is a small pavilion, similar to that I have before described over the gate of the entrance to the palace in Hispahan, but not so large, so handsome, nor so costly. Here I have to observe, that the architecture of all the houses belonging to the King which I have hitherto seen is the same; the houses are small, contain a number of rooms with many doors, and the decorations are wholly similar. The garden was full of trees and fruit; its only remarkable beauty, however, was a long alley reaching from the house to the extremity, lined with cypress-trees and paved with stone. In the middle of the garden ran a large stream, whence flowed several pleasing branches, and numerous water-falls, or rather courses, over irregular beds, afforded a pleasing murmur.

After dining on the banks of this stream, we arrived in the evening at a town called Kaur, taking up our abode in a private house, the caravanferai affording shelter only for our cattle. On the fifth day, after travelling four leagues, we rested at a town called Dep-abad; well watered with rivulets abounding so plentifully with fish, that they may be taken out with the hand. We passed the night in the house of one of the principal inhabitants of this town, which is of considerable size, from whom we met with great civility. The sixth day, after going over again four leagues, we lodged with some private persons, at a town called Buz-abad, or the colony of ice, but met with only indifferent treatment: mid-way we saw a large reservoir of water, to which you descend by steps, constructed for the convenience of travellers, there being no fountains in this part; and towards evening passed by a large mosque, with gardens, apartments, and conveniencies for the persons resident on the spot, who look after this place of worship with great care. It is held by the Persians in great veneration, and called by them Saleh i Musa Cadhum, from the person interred here; the seventh day, Thursday 25th January, five leagues beyond, we reached the city of Cashan, and took up our residence in a very large and handsome caravanferai belonging to the Shah, out of the city, and in the neighbourhood of the King's palace, where we remained for some time to refresh and rest ourselves.

Cashan is a city of small size for Persia, though both larger and better peopled than Averfa, or Capua in the kingdom of Naples. The traffic in it is considerable, on account of its being the high road to Casvin, Tebriz, the western parts of Turkey, the Caspian Sea, and all the north. Among other articles there are here numerous manufactories of silks; the chief part of those used in Persia or sent abroad being made here. Here they manufacture silks of all descriptions, but not with such taste nor of such fine colours as with us; they particularly, from want of cochineal and its dearth, dye very few of a crimson colour.

The site of Cashan is on the extremity of an extensive plain at the foot of very lofty mountains. So great is the heat in this city, that the winter is scarcely felt, but, on the other hand, the summer is intolerably hot. The inhabitants, however, are plentifully supplied with cooling fruits of every description, such as oranges, lemons, limes, and the like. As for its buildings, there are none that are handsome, the baths and the caravanferai excepted. Before the King's palace in the suburbs is a very wide and long street, terminating with the gates of the city, the palace being on one of its sides. The streets of bazar within the city are built with piazzas, according to custom, and in the middle of the bazar is a little square white building, surrounded by walls, with numerous windows  
and

and balconies, perfectly symmetrical and exactly proportioned, which makes a very fine appearance.

As I am ever desirous of forming acquaintance with the learned, in the little time I remained here I got introduced to a Jew, a native of Shiras, whose family, however, came originally from Safet, at present a seminary of the most learned and most religious among the Jews in Palestine; his name Mullah Messih. He was brought to Caschan by the King to practice physic. He carries on this profession publicly, receiving persons at his house with great civility, but visiting none; where necessary to send to the patient, from his being too weak to come to consult him, he dispatches some ignorant servant, and prescribes from his report of the symptoms, without examining the urine, feeling the pulse, or seeing the patient. He shewed me his library, which contained nothing curious; and besides this, two balls, which he informed me were of mercury, that he had fixed, the secret of which art he proffered to disclose, on condition of my acquainting him with the method of making looking-glasses, an art on which I had been discoursing with him, and of which I was master; but I declined his offer, not being partial to chymistry, being wholly ignorant of it, and expecting nothing but some paltry deception from a Jew whose knowledge appeared to be far from extensive.

While at Caschan, employed in conversing with this Jew, Madame Maani, wishing to buy some silks and other matters, repaired for the purpose to the Bazar-i-staun, a place in the middle of the Bazar, surrounded by walls. Now, in this quarter no women of quality are wont to go in the day-time with their customary attendants, and in the night it is closed; Madame Maani, therefore, went incognita in a servant's dress, with only one of her domestics, her lalou or governor, and two other servants at a distance. Passing along the Bazar in a crowded part, an insolent man, taking her for a servant, pushed her, laying hold of her arm as drunkards in the streets are wont to do with the women they meet. Upon this, Madame Maani, forgetting she was dressed as a servant, put herself in a rage. Decorum, however, prevented her from making a noise, she therefore simply expressed by signs to the two men behind what had happened, and pointed out the offender. One of them who comprehended her followed the man, and gave him a beating, but being joined by one of his comrades, who, as well as the offender, were servants of a son-in-law of the King, rendered insupportably insolent by the distinction shewn them, and both being armed, my two servants immediately drew their swords, and conducted themselves so bravely that the boldest and most offensive was laid on the ground, having received, besides two mortal blows, such a violent cut from a scymetar as separated both the shoulders. The others who had come to his assistance were dispersed with many a kick, without my people being subject to any inconvenience. As soon as I heard of the affair I waited upon the Daroga, or governor of the city, to acquaint him of the circumstances of the quarrel, and satisfy him of the innocence of my servants; in which I succeeded, meeting with great civility, and receiving excuses on his part for not having furnished me with a house, which, had he been informed of my arrival, it would have been his duty and pride to have done.

The robe of the Persians, which is made of cloth, differs in some respects from that of the Turks, being more simple, straighter, and more open above. The under waistcoat, which they wear in winter only over the shirt, and which is not seen, is generally made of India cotton extremely fine. In summer they wear simply an outer jacket, or rather coat, quilted and lined with cotton, which fits the body exactly, covers the stomach, and is very narrow at the waist, on the right side of which it is laced; it has long, narrow, plaited sleeves, without any buttons at the wrist. From the waist downwards

it expands in the manner of a bell, reaching to the calf of the leg, where it is widest, and is kept expanded by the strength of the quilting.

In general, these vests or coats are made as before observed of Indian cloth stained of a single colour, but the figures are whimsical, and are therefore so much the more prized. When these cloths are new, they are as glossy and lustrous as satin. They wear two sashes below the stomach, one above the other. The longer as well as the shorter are of silk, extremely fine and handsome, frequently worked with gold, as their chief pride is in the number, variety, and beauty of their sashes, which distinguish the high classes from the lower. The shorter, to relieve the beauty of the other, and shew it to greater advantage, is only of one colour, and much more simple than the first; and although this second girdle be frequently of cotton, or camel's hair, it is not in less esteem, being oftentimes of greater value than those made of silk.

In winter the Persians wear but one upper garment, made somewhat to resemble a frock coat, and chiefly very short, so much so, that it scarcely flaps the haunches of the horse when they ride; the common people wear it somewhat longer, but never to reach lower than the bend of the knee. It is principally of cloth, but of a curious colour, different from that of the vest, and trimmed with cords and silk frogs. On grand occasions, their coats are of silk and gold, and mostly lined with fur, of which they have abundance that is very handsome, of white, black, and grey colours, with some unknown among us, particularly that of a kind of lamb, peculiar to the province of Khorasan, the hair of which is long and curling: their shoes are of cloth of some lively colour; the women, however, wear them of velvet and gold cloth alone.

They take especial care that every part of their dress shall be of a different colour, in this varying from our practice; nor do they choose common colours, such as blue, green, and the like, but compound and whimsical tints, such as bronze colour, that of the camel, of wine lees, olive and similar; but of all, that which in my esteem is the most brilliant is a flame colour, by the side of which our liveliest scarlet or carnation appears as nothing, and among their darker colours, a certain deep green pleased me highly than the most fashionable of any in the East. It is called *Negti* or *Neft*, from its similitude of tint to that of a certain oil exuded from the earth in the neighbourhood of *Backu*, a city of Albania on the Caspian sea, dependant on Persia. This oil being very cheap is used for burning, and produces a considerable revenue to the crown; it has also some medicinal qualities, and is not unknown to our druggists.

The swords here are much more curved than those of Turkey, and have only one edge, the guard is simply a cross, the blade is usually damasked. The sheaths are shagreen of either a black or red colour, the extremity like the hilt damasked after the Persian manner; the belt, narrow and very handsome, is of the natural colour of the doe-skin of which it is made.

They always wear a turban of a striped colour over a ground of white cotton, very rarely is the turban wholly white. People of rank have it either embroidered with gold or silver, or plain, as they happen to fancy; it is always so large as to conceal the little cap in the middle. I have not hitherto perceived that the turban, except that with a tag, marks any distinction of rank. Many in the winter time, when very cold, wear a long pointed bonnet under the turban, the extremity of which appears above, and the lower part serves to keep the head and ears warm. It is of the same description as Xenophon describes the Thracians to have worn in his time. Some wear this kind of cap alone, but these are only the common people; except, indeed, the Georgians, who, having the turban in abhorrence, wear it indiscriminately, both high and low. In this part,

however,

however, the Christians accommodate themselves to the common practice. Green is allowed to be worn here, which is expressly forbidden in Turkey. Of this colour not only do they wear coats and turbans, but even shoes or boots, which are frequently of shagreen among people of rank: I, however, who find them too stiff for my feet, wear them of Morocco leather like the common people. The shape of their shoes is different to those of the Turks, being pointed at the toe, with high heels.

The dress of the women is very simple, and without ornament, although the rich are not sparing in having a variety of cloth, silk, and gold, with handsome tissue of various kinds. Their dress is much less loose than that of the Turkish ladies, and in my esteem is not so becoming; their fash, likewise, is tied very low, almost below the haunches, which appears to me very ungraceful. The veil they wear resembles that of the women of Bagdad, and is tied in the same manner in front, but trains to the ground on each side: it is of various colours, extremely fanciful and extraordinary. Their head-dress is simple, and adorned with precious stones. They wear here only one row of pearls, not round the neck as with us, but about the temples, and pendant for about four fingers in length over the face. They wear likewise two loose ringlets of hair proceeding from the top of the head, and hanging indifferently on the one or the other side of the face, which have a beautiful effect. When ladies go into the city they cover their head and body with a white sheet, after the manner of the Syrians, on horseback, and generally led by a servant.

To return, however, to my travels. After making the remarks I have detailed at Cashan, I left it on Sunday the 28th of January, proceeding however according to custom no more than a league from the city, and taking up my abode at a caravanserai in a large town called Bidyal. On Monday we were enabled to continue our progress, and reached two caravanserai which are together at a place called Deckien, after travelling seven leagues over large plains of loose and barren sands, in which the horses sunk to their girths, without seeing any villages or habitations, the country being entirely a desert. On Tuesday we made six leagues, traversing large plains of salt; the country is very even and white as a sheet, nothing vegetable grows upon them; and in summer, from the reflection of the sun's rays, the heat is so extreme that travellers commonly journey by a way somewhat about in order to avoid it. In winter this country is often inundated with rain to such a height that the horses are wet to the very flaps of the saddle, and the country out of the beaten track being then boggy, in case of getting out of the road the traveller runs great risk of being lost, to prevent which posts are fixed at distances to mark the course of the highway. Fortunately for me there was no waters out on my travelling the plain, the season being unusually dry.

The salt of this plain, which I tasted, is very white and palatable, but is not used by the Persians on account of their having sufficient of a superior quality called mountain salt. About the middle of this plain, which is five leagues in extent, I discovered a small patch of black earth transported thither by order of the King of Persia, who going a pilgrimage on foot to one of their mosques in Khorasan which is much frequented, and unable to pass this wide plain in one day, had it brought hither that he might lodge dry for the night. At present, it serves for the caravans who travel this way in the winter.

This day we traversed the whole of this salt plain, but could not arrive at any place of retreat by night fall, we consequently having had the precaution of furnishing ourselves with every requisite, not excepting even wood for firing and water. The evening being very fine, Madam Maani would not have the tent raised nor sleep in her litter,

but slept with me, heaven for our canopy spangled with stars, but under good quilted counterpanes of cotton, with furred caps on.

On Wednesday, the last day of January, after travelling from five to six leagues we rested at night at a caravanferai called Scyah-cuh; that is to say, black-mountain, from one which appears at a distance of that colour, in the neighbourhood. That day we dined near a reservoir of sweet water, of which we laid in store, there being none but what is salt at the caravanferai; on account of which, the King has ordered the construction of another at a short distance, and severely punished the architect of the present for his improvidence in building it where was no good water.

In this caravanferai, after a long abstinence from wine, I took some at supper; the motive for which was the strong importunity of Madam Maani, solicitous of having children, she had consulted with certain physicians who had ascribed her barrenness to my abstinence from wine.

On Thursday the 1st of February, we rose two hours before day, as we had eight leagues to travel ere we should arrive at a resting place. We enlisted along a road, level, indeed, but difficult to travel, on account of its being so muddy that the horses sunk in it up to their girths. Now, however, it is amended, the King having caused a road to be constructed and paved over this boggy flat. This road, which is five leagues in length, being perfectly straight, wide, and handsome, is very extraordinary, and has a superb appearance, being perceptible owing to its evenness from one extremity to the other. It is not yet entirely completed, but the workmen labour hard to finish it. For the passage of rivulets in various parts arches are formed, among the rest one of this description about the middle is extremely spacious. In its sides small places are made for the traveller to rest upon. This arch or bridge is over a river called Ajji Chiai, that is to say, bitter river, the water of it from the quantity of salt with which it is impregnated being actually bitter.

Having passed this bad road, and three leagues of good before and subsequent thereto, we rested at night in the caravanferai of a small town called Reskimè. Friday, which was the day of the Purification, as well on account of its being a festival as to mend the girths of the camel which carried the litter, we remained at Reskimè until evening, and travelled thence only one league to a large town called Mehalle bagh, or the vineyard of the neighbourhood. This is a little out of the road, but we proceeded to it, as most do, on account of the quantity of fruit and other conveniences to be found there. This town is situated at the extremity of the plain, at the foot of very high mountains which traverse the country, and apparently are a branch from those of Syria, which send forth many, reaching even to China, under the different names of Taurus, Caucasus, Imaus, and others. The inhabitants, indeed, are unacquainted with the different names given them by various ancient and modern authors, but this is not astonishing; for, separate from the difficulty of obtaining faithful relations of matters at so great a distance, they are not accustomed to give general names to their mountains, each one having the name of the village to which it is contiguous, and their villages are numerous.

We rested for the night at Mehalle bagh, in the house of one of the most powerful in the province, who shewed us many civilities, and to whom, on our departure, we made a present in return of a vest, a gift in high esteem in this country. On Saturday we entered the mountains, which we traversed by a very deep and narrow valley, much resembling that you have seen in Umbria in Italy, called Valle Strettura; this, however, is much longer.

Through

Through this valley we travelled by a very even road, the ascent or decline being scarcely perceptible; the mountains on each side being very lofty, and in parts the passage is so narrow where the road winds that one could scarcely get through it with the litter. A small river or rather a large rivulet runs through the bottom of the valley, on the brink of which we discovered an uninhabited village in ruins. We were so much charmed with the freshness of the water, that Madame Maani and myself halted here to dine, sending on the servants. We perceived likewise a small streamlet formed from several springs, and extremely pellucid. Tempted to taste its water, we were surprized to find them as bitter and unpalatable as that of the other was fresh and agreeable; which quality, on examination, I discovered to proceed from one of its currents of supply running over a vein of salt as it winded along.

We arrived towards evening at a certain spot in the same valley, where in a grotto formed either by nature or art the caravans are used to halt, there being no other shelter for a considerable distance. Madame Maani would not however stop here on account of its being very dirty, having the day before been the residence of a number of pigs marked red and white, which the King, who is but little scrupulous on matters of religion, either to please himself or gratify the Christians of Ferhabad, and enable them to preserve the breed among them, had caused to be driven thither from Hispahan. The mode of transport adopted was curious, as, in order to shorten the time of their journey, they were carried in panniers like women.

The grot being found in a filthy condition, we continued our journey till midnight with great difficulty, and very unpleasantly, owing to the gloom of the valley, and a fall of sleet, from our having also frequently to ford the rivulet I have mentioned. This was also the first day of our perceiving snow on the mountains, or experiencing inclement weather. At length we reached a town at midnight called Heblî-rad, where we rested all the following day to refresh our cattle. On the succeeding day, 5th of February, we continued our route still through the same valley, which we discovered was divided into two by a ridge of mountains. The road to the left appearing to us most beaten, we took that in preference, and had proceeded about a mile when we learned from some shepherds that we were going astray, and trod back our steps to take the road on the right, which was covered with snow, and muddy owing to its beginning to thaw.

We had a fall of snow again towards evening, and at length after journeying four leagues arrived late at a town called Firuz-cuh, or the victorious mountain. This town is on the summit of the mountains in an exposed situation, to which however, notwithstanding its eminence, the ascent is gentle. This town is the last of the province of Irak, in consequence of which the copper money of Hispahan ceases to pass for more than half its value. It is a remarkable circumstance in Persia, that although silver coin be universally current at the same value, copper should pass in a different province to that in which it was issued at only half its price, notwithstanding it be larger and heavier than that in circulation of the stamp of the province in which it is tendered. Tuesday, we remained all day at Firuz-cuh. Wednesday we continued our course towards Mazanderan, always on a descent, that province bordering on the sea, and being a level country, so that we had to go down half as deep again from the mountain of Feruz-cuh as the valley from its summit whence we ascended. Here, however, it may not be improper to give you a description of Mazanderan.

This province is situated as I have before remarked on the Caspian sea, in the south east, having the province of Asterabad, dependant on a Khan subject to the King, on the east, and the sea on its western side; Ghilan, which was annexed by his present Majesty to Persia, and which is governed by a viceroy, on the west, and the pro-

vince.

vince of Irak on its southern side. But in order to give you a better comprehension of the position of their various countries, I shall make the tour of the Caspian Sea; specifying the divisions and modern names of the countries, to enable you to compare them with the description of ancient authors.

As before described, west of Mazanderan, on the Caspian Sea, lies Ghilan; beyond which towards the west, in the neighbourhood of the sea, but above Ghilan, Albania is situated, which is annexed to the former province; the first city of which is Backee\*, or more properly Bagh-cuh, pronounced by the Persians, Vaccuh. It is remarkably strong, being built on rugged rocks, on the margin of the sea, called also by the same name. This city is said to have been called formerly Albana, and is at present the residence of a sultan. In the same country, also, on the western shores of the sea, is Derbend or Demir-capi, that is to say, Irongate. Albania terminates here, and Mount Caucasus begins; inhabited at present by divers nations, but particularly upon the sea by certain Mahometans called Lezghi, who acknowledge no king. These are much divided among themselves, under the dominion of an infinite number of petty tyrants, called Mirza; some of which have no more than twenty subjects. They are a people of gross habits, who prefer a residence in villages, and in the country, to cities; a brutal and barbarous race, the dread and horror of their neighbours,

Who rove for booty, and subsist on spoil.

Beyond the Lezghi is the country of the Asiatic Sarmatians, that is to say, the Circassians, who follow the Greek faith, but are without books, priests, or churches, so that they are Christians only in name; and, divided as they are among themselves under the sway of different Mirza, from the Lezghi on one side and the Tatars on the other, they carry on incessantly a freebooting war with their neighbours. Hence the immense number of men and women slaves, Circassians, Russians, Tatars, and Lezghi, dispersed over the East by this infamous traffic.

Circassia extends along the Caspian Sea to the country of the Russians, called by us Muscovites, to the mouth of the Wolga, where the city of Astracan, as called by us; but by the Persians, who carry on a considerable traffic hither, denominated Agitarcan, and by its inhabitants, Aftarcan. On the northern shores of the Caspian Sea, the Russians have the Tatars for neighbours, among which are a certain race called the Usbeck Tatars, a name which signifies independant lords. These people inhabit a country of immense extent to the east of the Caspian Sea. Beyond them, towards the rising of the sun, are the Tatars of Cathay; and south of them lays India. Among other considerable places belonging to them, is Samarcand, anciently the residence of Tamerlane. Towards the south they have Balk, or Bukhara, on the sea, the residence of one of their principal khans, who is frequently at war with Persia.

Between the country of the Usbeck Tatars, the Iagatays who inhabit Scythia citerior (undoubtedly the ancient) Sogdiana and Bactriana, and the province of Aftabad which I have before mentioned, the country on the borders of the sea is an absolute desert inhabited formerly by the Turkmans, who now are dispersed over the whole empire of Persia as well as of Turkey. These Turkmans were a wandering people, without any fixed abode, living in tents. Their ancient and ordinary country, however, was that part of Scythia called by geographers Turkistan, where they obtained the name of Turkinans, a corruption of Terck-imaun, which means, he has changed his faith; when from Gentiles, which they were before, they became Mahometans. Since that period this name has been applied to those only who remained in the country and their

\* Scythly written Backu or Bakku, but properly Bagh cuh, the mountain garden.

colonies, the rest becoming powerful carried their arms farther towards the west, in Asia, and into Europe, and retrenching the man or iman from their names, were afterwards called Turks. Some of these people, as I have observed, remained between Asterabad and the Usbeck Tatars; but these were afterwards exterminated by Abbas, on account of their being Infidels, and joining with the Tatars of the same creed as themselves (which is similar to that of the Turks) in desolating the borders of Persia. However, there are yet a number of these Turkmen in other parts of his empire, that is, in Media, Albania, and elsewhere; some of which are established in villages and cities, others have no fixed abode. They are governed by Sultans and Khans, who serve the King with scrupulous fidelity.

I shall now return to Firuz kuh. On leaving this place we travelled three leagues through the snow, which laid very deep, to the frontiers of Irak, where we descended from the summit of the mountains. We however no sooner entered Mazanderan, descending from the mountains by rude acclivities, than we found ourselves again enclosed in a very narrow valley, at the foot of the mountains we had crossed. The country we quitted was barren, and bare of either trees or plants; this, on the contrary, was covered with forests, abounding in water, and skirted by mountains clothed with beautiful and very lofty trees, which much delighted me from the resemblance it bore to Europe; such as I had never before seen in any of the countries of Africa or Asia through which I had travelled, nor indeed had I since my departure from Italy ever before met with such profusion of wood and water.

After five leagues journeying we arrived after mid-night at the first inhabited spot in Mazanderan. This retreat, built on the road, as well as many others, by the present King, is called Suzkar abad. In order to compel the people to dwell in these buildings, and leave the barren mountains, he destroyed their houses there, leaving only a few for the convenience of travellers. In this place I met with Mr. Gifford, an English gentleman with whom I was acquainted, with the interpreter of his nation returning from court to Hispahan.

Thursday, which was the 8th of February, we travelled three leagues in this same valley; and as it expands here a little, and is watered by a small stream which flows gently to the sea, it was well cultivated, and entirely covered with rice, which is sown so plenteously all over Mazanderan on account of the quantity of water in the province, and the humidity of the soil, that one readily takes it to be the only food of the people. In fact,—whether owing to the soil not suiting the growth of wheat, or their want of partiality to the culture of that grain, the bread used in the whole province is made from rice alone, which likewise constitutes their only food. The people disliking meat, and fancying milk, butter, with every sort of unctuous food injurious to health, live entirely on rice cooked with a little water and salt, and called *chilao*, taking with it every now and then a spoonful of some sort of acid, such as verjuice, the juice of pomegranates, vinegar, or the like. To this food they are exceedingly partial, and maintain that there is none more conducive to health. In Lent I lived myself almost wholly on this food, and found it far from bad. I do not consider it, however, to be highly wholesome; the people of this province, who eat nothing else, seldom having much colour, owing perhaps to this mode of living, perhaps to the quality of the air. They are almost universally of a brown, fallow complexion, with black hair, eyes, and eyebrows.

The women, however, were in my eyes perfectly beautiful; and I had full opportunity of judging, as, unlike other Mahometans, they never cover the face, but converse freely with man. In addition, they are affable and exceedingly obliging. In courteous manners the men are not inferior to the women; particularly they are ever ready to offer  
their

their houses to strangers, seek their company, and are gracious and generous in extreme ; so much so, in short, that I may say with safety, there is no country in the world in which the people, even of the very lowest rank, possess greater urbanity of manners. Thus Hyrcania, if Mazanderan form a part thereof, from the horrid country it was depicted by the ancients, the repair of tigers and other ferocious beasts, is now metamorphosed into the finest country I have hitherto seen in Asia, and that in which the inhabitants are the most civil, prepossessing, kind, and trusty of any upon the surface of the globe.

We discerned on the road this day, on the declivities of the mountains, some castles formerly used as fortresses. Certain petty noblemen who had assumed the state of sovereigns, and claimed independance, caused them to be erected during the minority of Shah Abbas, and the latter end of the very long life of his father Choda-bendè, in which period Persia underwent several changes. But at present all these castles are in ruins, having been razed by Shah Abbas, after reducing this country to subjection. We saw likewise on the slope of another mountain, extremely high and of sharp ascent, which serves as a rampart to this valley, a grotto, with walls of masonry, to which it is impossible to have access, no one knowing the road to it, and the mountain being so rocky and perpendicular. It is related that a young lady, tall as a giant, lived in this grotto, and was used to ravage the circumjacent country, and that in this part all intercourse was stopped by her between the neighbouring provinces.

They relate also a thousand stories, not only of this maiden, but also of several giants of the country, whose large tombs are to be seen ; but as I look on these as old women's tales, I paid no attention to them. I shall only remark to you, that in these same parts, on the margin of the stream which runs pleasantly along the bottom of the valley in which we dined, I found in the morning a quantity of celery, wild endive, and several other excellent herbs met with in our country ; with violets and other pleasant flowers in abundance on the side of the road, delighting us with the grateful promise of spring. Amid the charming diversity of prospects, and the delightful fragrance with which we were regaled, we continued our journey, and in the evening entered one of those little huts newly built, called Mioni kiolle. Of these there are a number on the road, so that travellers may halt wherever they will.

Mazanderan possesses no places set apart for the accommodation of travellers ; but each individual is anxious to receive the stranger, and loads him with kindness, without exacting any gratuity ; he however refuses not the boon you tender as a present. On Friday we set off rather late, and moreover found the road extremely bad and muddy, the ground being of a very slippery nature ; so that, but for the road in places being cut in form of stairs, it would have been impossible for us to have got along. On this account we advanced but two leagues, arriving in the evening at a small village called **Giret**, situated on the slope of a mountain, where, the men being at Ferhabad in attendance on the King, we were received with all imaginable kindness by a very handsome and highly courteous hostess, called Zohara, at whose house we were visited by almost all the females of the place, each with a present. In return, Madame Maani presented them with some trifles, which, from their rarity in this quarter, were highly esteemed, and much delighted them.

With other things, she divided among them a quantity of hanna, or alcanna as it is called by our druggists, for staining the hands ; and after supper, in order to celebrate our arrival, she insisted on all present using of it with her ; it being the custom in the East on any joyous occasion, such as weddings or the like, to fasten it on the hands while in conversation. This alcanna is nothing more than the powder of the dried leaves

of a certain plant, which, as the Orientalists never wear gloves, possesses the faculty of embellishing the hand, and preserving it from injury by the weather. The manner of applying it is as follows: after supper, just previous to their retiring to bed, they moisten the *alcana* with water, and with the paste cover the hands, or such part of the body as they are desirous of staining, binding it on with linen bandages. The evening is therefore chosen for the application, as in the day-time it would be inconvenient for the ladies to have their hands confined. The paste remains thus fastened during the night, and in the morning, on removing the bandage, the paste is reduced again to powder, and the part to which it had been applied is stained of a bright orange colour; sometimes, if a greater quantity be used, it is more inclined to red; and sometimes again, so much is used as to make it of a very dark colour, approaching to black. This dye is the most esteemed by the Persians, as it serves to set off the whiteness of the skin.

On Saturday we left this place, and continued our journey by a tiresome and very bad road. In the evening we lodged at a village called Tallarapascet, where I found some mountaineers who were so excessively stupid, that having bought oats of some of them for the horses, in order to learn what number I had to pay for them of a certain copper-money of the value of a farthing, we were obliged to reckon the amount with beans, and in settling it spent more than an hour. On Sunday we quitted the vallies and the mountains, and entered on plains. We passed then through a large forest, the road through which is straight, broad, and well shaded by the trees, which are large and of great height; many of them covered with wild vines.

We were much fatigued in travelling this road, the soil being slimy and moist, on account of the numerous rivulets by which it is watered in many places; so that in the winter it becomes so muddy that even camels, notwithstanding their great height, sink in the soil to the girths, you may judge therefore what the condition of horses or smaller animals must be. In order to remedy this inconvenience, the King has ordered a road to be constructed and paved, for which purpose a quantity of materials are collected by the way-side, and huts have been built for the workmen. The plan however is not yet begun, on account of the season; it raining almost continually in Mazanderan throughout the winter.

We at length waded through these bad roads, but with so much labour and difficulty that this day we travelled no more than two leagues, night overtaking us in the forest. We listened attentively for the barking of dogs or the bleating of sheep, to point out to us some place of refuge for the night; at length, finding no habitation but what was at a great distance from us, we rested that night in the forest, having the trees for covering in lieu of a tent, through the foliage of which the beams of the moon playing made our canopy appear of dark green and silver. A quantity of dry leaves served us for carpet and bed; and for firing we found abundance of dry wood. We sent our servants then to the nearest village for provisions. Its inhabitants, owing to some misconception, took offence at our people, with whom they were near coming to blows without knowing why; but finally, informed of who we were, they were extremely civil, and came to proffer us lodging and make us presents; and on our declining to go to the village on account of the distance, the principal of the village, with the chief inhabitants, came to our camp loaded with excellent provisions, and passed the night gaily with us, bringing a musician with them who treated us during supper with woodland songs, in the language of the country, which is impure Persian; accompanying his airs with an ill-strung violin, giving us little pleasure save what we felt from the good-will he manifested to amuse us. The Monday following we travelled two leagues farther through the wood, over an equally bad road; passing here and there over some well-cultivated

fields, irksome to cross on account of the rains, but in which the road was somewhat better.

In the evening we arrived at Saru, a very large and populous town, wherein the King has a palace; it is not an enclosed place, but has the denomination of a city. I did not notice in it any handsome buildings. The houses are mostly thatched with straw, few being covered with tiles. The name of this place signifies yellow, perhaps on account of the quantity of oranges and various fruit which grows about the town. Here we met, in a brother and sister of tender years, with most obliging hosts, who shewed us all imaginable attention, as well as some of their relations, which induced us to give rest to our beasts, and remain here the whole of Tuesday. On Wednesday, the 4th of February, we departed from Saru, and continued our way for four leagues through large plains, formerly a forest, of which the trees have been felled, and the lands put into excellent cultivation. They are inhabited in different parts by an infinity of people, mostly Christians, sent hither by the King not long ago from various countries, but principally from Armenia and Georgia.

The roads through these plains are wearisome and unpleasant; yet, being more open, are not equally bad with that in the forest. I trust, however, that they will soon undergo the repair projected, and indeed already begun. They are intended to be paved, and will be broad, straight, and continued the whole length to Ferhabad. The houses on the road-side are built coarsely of the trees felled, and earth; as, however, clay abounds, they will no doubt soon be replaced by brick buildings, which the materials of their houses, and the great store of wood they have, will serve them to burn. I am confirmed in this opinion from the number of kilns constructed in the neighbourhood of Ferhabad, and the immense provision of fuel prepared for heating them, sufficient together for the construction of not only one city, but several.

At length, after undergoing so much fatigue, we reached Ferhabad in the evening of the same day we computed to do on leaving Hispahan, and with it the term of our journey. As for the last four leagues of road from Saru, it was so closely peopled that it seemed but one continued town. The King on my arrival was not at Ferhabad, but, constantly on the wing, had gone to a certain place at six leagues distance, attended by very few; the court, and the troops which customarily winter with him, remaining in this city. As soon as the Viceroy, who is governor of the city and the whole of the province of Mazanderan, heard of my arrival, he immediately appointed me one of the best houses. But before I proceed to speak of my adventures, it may be proper to give you a description of Ferhabad, and point out its situation.

Some years are past since the King first laid the foundations of Ferhabad, or the colony of birth, on a spot where the province of Mazanderan joins the Caspian Sea towards the north, in midst of a large plain which spreads to the sea, but two miles distant thence. The increase of buildings, however, is so prodigious, that I have little doubt but in process of time the city will reach the sea.

Two motives induced the King to build this city. A desire of embellishing his kingdom, which he has manifested by the numerous places he has caused to be founded in various parts; and a peculiar partiality to the province of Mazanderan, arising from the circumstance of its being the native place of his mother, and the strongest and best defended of any in his dominions, it being surrounded by the sea, in this part of difficult navigation, and wild and barren mountains, pervious only by very narrow and difficult passes. Add to which, this country being the farthest distant of any from the enemies with which he has to contend, and principally the Turks, is the most secure of any in his dominions; and, as the fortune of war is uncertain, should any reverse oblige  
him

him to fly before his enemies, he might have in this country a secure rampart from every insult on their part, and would find in the population of the province sufficient means of upholding his authority and rank as a Sovereign. On this account, he takes the greatest pride and pleasure in improving Mazanderan; which, uncultivated and unpeopled before, by his exertions is now filled with inhabitants, who spend their labour on no ungrateful soil, the fecundity thereof amply repaying the husbandman.

Having begun the construction of Ferhabad, and appointed it the metropolis of Mazanderan, to people sufficiently not only that city but the whole of the province, he had resort to extraordinary, violent, yet highly politic measures; by which he filled it with innumerable colonies, of various religions and countries. These inhabitants are of two descriptions; such as have been carried away from various places belonging to his enemies, thus weakening them while he increased his own strength, of which description are numerous dependencies of the Turks and Georgia, and his own subjects who lived in countries of insecure defence, bordering on the territories of unfriendly powers, to whom in exchange for possessions which he ravaged to interpose an impervious wilderness between their and his dominions, he gave lands and houses in this fertile and inaccessible country, where they might live in peace, and free from the fear of seeing their property, their families, and lands, become the prey of a fierce invading power, as was the case of the Christians of Armenia, the Mahometans of Media, or the province of Shirwan, and many other places.

By these forced migrations to Mazanderan, he has abundantly peopled the province; and allotting to each individual the means of following his ordinary pursuits, suffering none to eat the bread of idleness, he has employed them in breaking up the untilled lands, and thus introduced in the province culture unknown before, and arts and manufactures to which it was erst a stranger. Here we see such of the Armenians as were husbandmen, and as skilful in the culture of the vine as prone to enjoy the beverage it yields, employed in the same tillage of which they were the first inventors; while their shepherds are furnished with flocks. The Georgians again, both Christians and Jews, accustomed to tend the labours of the worm, are occupied in the gathering and manufacture of silk; to facilitate the means for which, an incredible number of mulberry trees has been planted in the neighbourhood of Ferhabad, the soil being better adapted to their growth than that of any other in the world. As for the Medes of Shirwan, inclined to peace and idleness, and satisfied with their chilão, who look for nothing better, than they may shake off their lazy habits, he does not allow them to sell the leaves of their mulberry trees, of which great abundance grows on the lands he has assigned them, but constrains them to raise worms, and learn the art of making silk.

In short, my dear Murio, Shah Abbas is not only the King, he is the father, the tutor, the benefactor of his people. Not only does he gift them with lands and flocks, he bestows on them money in abundance to provide for their necessities; lending to such as may be able to repay him, and graciously giving as a boon to those whose harder fortune allows not the prospect of return. Moreover he takes care of their marriages, particularly of his own household, and sees to all learning the practice of some trade: so that never was the father of a family more provident over five or six, than this great King over so many millions of subjects. This liberality, indeed, this extreme attention to the welfare of his people, has been of infinite prejudice to the cause of Christianity; for many suffering themselves to be dazzled by the lustre of temporal advantage, renounce eternal truth, and disown the faith of Christ, of which they were sworn disciples at their baptism, for the paltry gratification they receive on their abjuration, or to cancel their debts to the King, which are paid on their becoming Mahometans.

So many miserable apostates, upon one occasion, availed themselves of the bounty of the King, granted upon the abandonment of their religion, that in Europe Shah Abbas has been taxed with the signal cruelty of having obliged them to abjure their religion by force, upon their not having money to pay their debts to him. Impartially judging, however, it must be acknowledged, that the Christians were the most guilty on the occasion; seeing that they engaged upon borrowing money of the King, that in case of non-restitution at the appointed time, they would change their religion; and that instead of providing for payment, these people dissipated the money improvidently. The Carmelites took occasion, therefore, at this time to tell these Christians freely, that they ought not to sell their religion for money; but on the contrary, to maintain themselves stedfast in their faith, even at the price of martyrdom, if such were requisite; adding, that their individual means were not adequate to the acquittal of their debts for them. In this manner did they advise them secretly, for fear of offending the King, who however upon learning it, approved rather than blamed their conduct. To those indeed who were the most necessitous and best disposed, they afforded assistance covertly; and there is little doubt but if these Christians had satisfied the King of their insufficiency to pay him, he would either have allowed them time, or have wholly remitted his claim.

One day, however, noticing that payments came in with more than common eagerness, to the amount of many thousand crowns, and these all in Portuguese coin, the King refused to receive them; alleging, that according to the bargain they were pledged to abjure, and that since they changed their religion for money, and from Armenians that they were become Franks or Romanists, all religions must be equal to them, and that it was his pleasure they should therefore become Mahometans; for it was neither just nor reasonable that his subjects should be in the pay of a foreign power, particularly of the Portuguese, his neighbours, who had become suspicious to him, and with whom he was constantly in dispute; and that now it was evident they could have no other motive in lavishing money thus among his subjects, than to make a party, under the pretext of saving their souls.

To return to Ferhabad. The circuit of its walls is great; equal to and perhaps greater than that of Rome or Constantinople: the city containing streets of more than a league in length. Of the people already sent hither and daily arriving, the major part are Christians, differing in customs and ceremonies, and these mostly Armenians and Georgians, who are allowed to build as many houses and churches as they please, and worship in public; a permission not granted in Turkey, or other Mahometan countries, in which, if a church fall into decay, license to repair or rebuild it can be obtained only by dint of money. The Christians here however are far from devout, of which I satisfied myself on visiting one of the churches of the Armenians, on Palm Sunday, one of their principal festivals. Notwithstanding the number of these people at Ferhabad, and the paucity of their churches, the congregation on this occasion did not exceed five-and-twenty or thirty persons. Indeed we may attribute the misfortunes and calamities to which they have been subject, principally to their lukewarmness in matters of religion, their schisms and heresies, which have called down the vengeance of a justly irritated Deity. Not however to digress farther, I must observe, that the streets not yet finished are laid out, and are very broad and straight, broader even than the street called Gaulta, at Rome. They are lined by rows of symmetrical houses, before which are canals to carry off the rain, with bridges in front of each house. As yet the houses are built only one story high, and are covered with flags, which resist the weather as well as can be wished.

The coarse walls of Ferhabad are made of a matter very common in the neighbourhood, called *culghil*, that is to say, earth and straw. It is a slimy sand, watered like lime, and combined with chopped straw, and without any mixture of stone, forms a very hard and durable fence. The King's palace almost alone is built of brick. This is of tolerable size, but not yet finished. Not having yet seen the interior, I cannot describe it; but from its outward appearance, I conjecture it does not materially differ from other of the King's palaces. There is moreover a *caravanferai*, which is very spacious, and is already resorted to by the caravans. It is of brick likewise, but not yet entirely finished. The Vizier of Mazanderan informed me, that it was built at the instigation of the King, and took up no more than a fortnight to bring to its present state. There is likewise a public bath, with some large houses belonging to individuals of consequence, who reside in the city, but the number of them is inconsiderable.

The rest of this city, which is in its infancy, is built only of wood, earth, flags, and straw; whence it sometimes happens, as has been the case during my residence here, that great devastation is occasioned by fire, whole streets being destroyed. The King, however, who is constantly vigilant to increase the beauty of and perfect this city, with a view of preventing similar accidents, has availed himself of this to forbid the reconstruction of the houses on the same plan, unless more substantially built. From his providence, when we reflect on the wonders which in a short space he has effected at Hifpahan, there is no room to doubt of his rendering Ferhabad, in the course of time, one of the most handsome and magnificent cities in the East; particularly as its neighbourhood abounds in all the requisites for consumption and convenience.

Ferhabad is not surrounded by a wall, nor even as yet are the lines formed; apparently they will not be now begun, but time be allowed for its increase of size.

A river, much smaller than the Tiber, which has its rise in the mountains I crossed, and flows through the rice valley I described, increased by the torrents which fall into it, becomes navigable at Saru, and running thence takes its course through the middle of the city. The boats used on this river are not of common construction, but made of hollow trees, with flat bottoms to suit its shallowness, and will carry ten or twelve persons, or a proportionate weight of merchandize. The paddles they make use of are shaped more like shovels than oars; with these, however, they make rapid progress through the water, not only with but even against the current.

This river is called *Tegine-rude*, which signifies the rapid stream. In Ferhabad there is yet no more than one bridge, which is very well built, and situated in the most frequented part of the city; as however it is so large, and passengers often wish to cross in other places, on such occasions they are ferried over in these small boats, of which there are a number plying. This river, which runs from south to north, falls into the Caspian Sea two miles below the town. Ferhabad is therefore a sea-port, vessels coming up to the bridge of the city where they anchor; these vessels, however, are not of large dimensions, but such as ordinarily are used in trafficking thence to Ghilan, Asterabad, Bagh-kuh, Demir-capi, and whither the trade is greatest, Astracan for Muscovy.

The largest of these vessels exceed not our tartans in size; they are built high, yet draw very little water, and are flat-bottomed on account of the numerous shoals. I wondered at first why scarcely any other fish than salmon and very poor sturgeons were caught at Ferhabad, and attributed it to the inability of the Persians, and their ignorance of the art of fishing; I was however undeceived by the Khan of Asterabad, who, living on this sea and having experience of what he stated, was competent to inform me. It seems that twenty or thirty miles from the shore, the sea is so shallow that the fishermen cannot throw their nets. On this account their vessels are built in the manner before described,

described, and carry no cannon, there being but few cruizers on this sea, unless indeed a small number of Muscovites or Russians, in the neighbourhood of their rivers, particularly the Wolga. Navigators also are cautious of touching at the mountains of the Lezghi, or in the country of the Circassians, between Albania and Muscovy, as they would infallibly expose both their property and freedom.

The temperature of Ferhabad much resembles that of Rome, lying nearly under the same meridian; that is to say, the winters are alike humid, rainy, and foggy, and the same degree of heat and cold is experienced. The quality of the soil is likewise similar, both being fat, marshy, and watered by a river and the sea.

I entered Ferhabad on the west of the river, but the house assigned me was on the opposite side, consequently I was obliged to cross it in order to get thither. Although one of the best in the place, the ceiling was so low that, notwithstanding I am none of the tallest, I could reach it with my hand. The house reminded me of the first cabins of Romulus; and as I seek to gather some amusement from every thing, the imagery which this circumstance brought to recollection served frequently to divert me. An appendage to it however much delighted me; it was a large garden planted with white mulberry trees, on the banks of the river. Here, shaded by them at times, or at others walking in alleys, I spent a great and the most agreeable portion of my time in conversation with the muses; now in company with Actius Sincerus, and now with a Marcus Aurelius, in French, which I met with by chance; and at other times with Ferrari, for want of other books.

So strong was my inclination of seeing the Caspian Sea, that the very next day after my arrival, that is, the 15th of February, I repaired to its shores. I embarked a little below my dwelling, not in one of the little boats I have described, but in a bark of tolerable size, resembling a felucca, but very ill equipped with paddles, and a disproportionate rudder; such, in short, that I am well persuaded, unless the wind were wholly favourable, from the clumsiness of the sails, it could make but little way. Charts and compasses are things unheard of here; but as this sea is much navigated, its numerous shoals are well known. I wished much for a quadrant in order to ascertain the latitude, and ardently desired a well-mounted sloop or frigate, that I might have taken the soundings, and made an exact chart of this sea; such, I have no doubt, is not to be met with in Europe.

We proceeded however to sea in the vessel I have mentioned, entering it by the mouth of the river; we had not advanced far, however, although the weather was calm, before the agitation occasioned qualms in Madame Maani, who never before had seen the sea, which obliged us to return and dine on a spot which presented us with nothing but a plain of immeasurable extent. Although not a fast-day, we were served with fish just caught from the river, which, however palatable at the instant from our having been so long without tasting of any, were very much inferior to those in Europe; nay, even the salmon caught here, although fresh, are not so good as with us when salted; nor indeed all the while I was in the country, did I ever meet with any that were of only tolerable flavour, being much inferior even to those of the Euphrates and the Tigris. They are all large and very fat, owing, as I imagine, to the muddy bottom of the Caspian Sea.

On Friday the 16th of February I sent two of my servants to Escref, only six leagues from Ferhabad, where the King then was, and where he already has begun to build a new city. I sent by these men two letters, one for the Agamir, or first secretary of the King, the other for Huslein Bey, the mehimandar, that is to say, the person who has the charge of the King's guests. It is his duty not only to assign houses to the

King's visitors, but also to regale and accompany them, and inform the King of their affairs, so that he is the first person made acquainted with them. In fact, of whatsoever nature they may be, whether proceeding from ambassadors of Princes or any others, they first pass through his hands: he is, consequently, an officer of great importance. Hussein Bey is a person very high in esteem, not only on account of his high charge and the favour he enjoys, but also from his being the son-in-law of a Khan, who is one of the most considerable persons about the court, as well as from being descended from the ancient nobles of Persia Proper, where he has very large estates in the neighbourhood of Shirez, with a number of towns and villages immediately dependent on him; being so many lordships hereditary in his family, called *mulk*, that is to say, possessions independent of the sovereign, or, at least, such as the King cannot justly alienate.

To these persons then did I dispatch two letters, which Father Gio Thaddèe de Sta. Elizèe, vicar-general of the Carmelites at Hispahan, had given me; in which he merely informed them who I was, and of my arrival, in order that they might render account thereof to the King, before he saw me. In addition to the letters, I recommended my people to tell them from me, that I waited His Majesty's orders at Ferhabad, whether to join him at Escrif, or attend him where I was. The mehimandar was at Ferhabad, of which I was ignorant; and without receiving any of my letters, on learning I had arrived, he came on the Saturday to pay me a visit, and treated me, as his post exacted, with great civility.

On Sunday, in the evening, my people returned, and informed me they had seen the Agamir, who received them with civility, and acquainted them of his having before heard of my arrival and imparted it to the King, who answered according to custom, *Safa ghioldi, kosk ghioldi*, signifying I was welcome; further adding, that it would not be requisite that I should travel to Escrif by such bad roads, as he was about to mount his horse to come to Ferhabad, where he would see me. Upon this communication, the Agamir immediately dispatched my servants to give me intelligence thereof, and directed them to use all expedition, as His Majesty travelled quick, and would, no doubt, pass them on the road.

In fact, the King mounted his horse, as I was afterwards informed, to come to Ferhabad; but finding himself followed by a number of soldiers, and being fantastic and extremely whimsical, he put himself in a rage, saying he could go no where without being followed; and, out of contradiction, returned, talking no more of his journey. He did not arrive, in short, until the 27th February, which by our reckoning was Shrovetide, and I remained where I was.

The next day, which was Ash Wednesday, having been informed of the King's arrival on the preceding day, I sent immediately to the Agamir to learn how I was to act, and whether it was proper I should then wait on His Majesty, at his levee, or wait till I was sent for, and received for answer; that it was customary for persons of distinction to wait for particular orders; that he would instantly mention the matter to the King, and communicate His Majesty's pleasure, which he did the next day as he mounted his horse. Whether, however, the King made any answer or not; on returning home to dinner he sent a gentleman to me, called Tochta Bey, to pay me a visit, and act as my individual mehimandar, or *maitre d'hotel*; a peculiar mark of honour shewn me, this gentleman being the same person as on a similar occasion attended the English resident on his first appearance at court.

I received Tochta Bey according to the usage of the country, preparing a handsome collation for him, and perfuming his hair and beard with incense. He begged me to  
give

give him a particular account of my travels, and the object of my journey. I informed him, that the strong inclination alone which I felt of seeing and offering my services to the King had induced my visit, which inclination originated in the fame of his grand and brilliant actions, connected with the honour he shewed our Holy Father the Pope, and his known good will towards the Catholics. He enquired also if I designed to remain any length of time in Persia. To this I answered, that my stay would depend on His Majesty. Again, he questioned if I had a haram; and learning I had, asked who and of what country my wife was, and whence I had taken her.

Learning afterwards in course of conversation that it was Lent, he was minute in informing himself in what manner I kept it, as it is differently kept by the Christians in Persia, the Orientalists being much less rigid than those of the Romish church.

The various questions and answers were committed to writing by a mulla, who acted as secretary, and the schedule, as he informed me, would be presented to the King, as is done on all similar occasions. I communicated likewise for inscription my name, surname, and country. After his taking leave of me in the politest manner, he further questioned my servants who accompanied him to the river's side where he took water, how many we were in the house; how many women-servants, horses, and camels; of which he specified the number in the paper he had to present to the King, and recommended particularly to the captain of the quarter where I dwelt, who had given me his own house as the best and most commodious in the neighbourhood, to pay me every attention. These officers are called *acfacal*, that is to say grey-beard, however young they may chance to be. Their office is to see that nothing is wanting in the houses of the King's guests in their different quarters.

Upon Tochta Bey leaving me, he repaired immediately to the King with the information he had obtained; but it being night by the time he arrived, and His Majesty with the ladies, he had no opportunity of speaking to him, and therefore sent in his schedule.

The same evening the King, who seldom remains long in a place, mounted his horse, together with his ladies, and went on a hunting-party, about four leagues from Ferhabad, to a district where he afterwards stopped for I know not how long, without the possibility of my receiving any intimation from him. However, Hussein Bey, and Tochta Bey, my particular mehimandar, continually visited, and shewed me much deference, behaving with the utmost civility.

At length the King returning, Tochta Bey immediately sent to inform me that he had given him ample information respecting me, and that he himself would have waited on me to inform me of the result of the conference were it not for the bad weather, but that he would do himself that pleasure soon as the rain had somewhat abated. The rain continued, and his visit was delayed to the 16th of March, when he informed me that the King had recommended me very strongly to his care, and enjoined that he should frequently wait on me, to remove as much as in his power the tedium of my residence in this city; concluding with remarking, that the period of the King's receiving me was delayed, owing to the injunctions of his astrologer Mulla Gelal, who waited for a lucky time for him to give audience to foreigners; observing to me, that the King did nothing without having reference first to his calculations.

This, however, I look upon was a mere pretext, serving as an excuse for His Majesty's not choosing to see me, either to tire my patience or to afford him time to make inquiry respecting my views. I, however, had no room to complain, as a similar conduct is observed towards all foreigners; and understanding that where impatience had been expressed, it had excited His Majesty's resentment, I deemed it most prudent to submit

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with a good grace to his pleasure, intimating simply that I should receive his orders, whenever he pleased to issue them, with pleasure.

As, however, an opportunity offered in the course of this day, I unfolded, by means of this same Tochta Bey, one of the two objects of my visit, which concerned a war for the entire destruction of the Turks; the other being to make supplication for peace between Persia and the country of Madame Maani. I conversed for a long time with Tochta Bey on the first subject, and pointed out to him the means which might be adopted for the effectuation of the purpose, and the auxiliaries which Persia might find, as well perhaps in the Christians of Europe, as certain others of Asia called Cossacks, who dwell on the Black Sea, at the mouth of the Dnieper or Boristhenes; giving him at the same time a succinct account of these people, and describing the importance of an individual then at court, who, on account of an apparent slight, was somewhat discontented. Tochta Bey paid much attention to my discourse, and seemed greatly to approve my project, which he promised he would not fail to communicate to the King. The result satisfied me that he had acquitted himself; for one day afterwards, the Cossack, presenting a petition to the King in the middle of the street, representing his impatience at not receiving any answer, and the slight he experienced from the Effendiary Bey, the King received it, and without reading the petition, stopping his horse, he called for the Effendiary Bey, and the chief of those who accompanied him, and, as he is wont, told them in a loud tone of voice, "You are ignorant then, you gentlemen, of the merit of these people, and, unaware of their bravery and noble disposition, know not how to behave yourselves towards them. Learn then, that they are masters of the Black Sea; that it is they who have taken so many towns from the Turks, and in various instances (which he recounted to them) have shewn themselves with great prowess; learn, gentlemen, that they are capable of being materially useful to us, and are not to be slighted." He, at the same time, expressing a desire of alliance with them in nearly the terms I proposed to Tochta Bey, concluded with recommending the individual to their kindness, enjoining the Effendiary Bey in particular, that he should not be suffered to want for wine, as he knew his countrymen were partial to it; ordering him at the same time five tomans in silver, equal to twenty-five pounds sterling, for his present occasions, until his petition could be attended to, and a more suitable present be provided. But let us now leave the Cossacks.

On Wednesday, 21st March, which was the *Neu rouz*, or beginning of the solar year, a great festival among the Persians, as I have before observed, and on which the King receives presents from all his subjects of rank, owing either to Saturn being on the ascendant, or because the King was indisposed, as we were told, His Majesty did not leave the haram; so that he was not visible, nor could be spoken with, that nor for several succeeding days.

Among the presents brought to the palace on this occasion was one on the part of the Khan of Chorasan, who, among many other things, sent nearly three hundred heads of Usbeck Tartars, besides a nobleman of distinction of that nation, and eight or ten of his servants alive, who surrendered themselves prisoners, the result of a skirmish, in which the remainder were put to the rout. These people, being sectaries of Omar, and inimical to the Persians, are constantly making inroads in their territories, carrying away whatever they can seize where successful.

Two others joined together in a similar present, the one Husein Khan, governor of a province on the frontiers of Bagdad, who sent the heads of six hundred Turks, and Calvin Sultan, lieutenant of the said Khan, who has much fewer people dependent on him; his complement was sixty: the heads of those of distinction were enveloped in a

filk turban; the others bare, and each thrust through with a lance. This custom of making presents of the heads of enemies to the King of Persia is, according to Strabo, of very ancient date.

The King did not leave his palace to receive the presents, but contented himself with one day ordering the heads and the prisoners to be carried to the opposite side of the river, which near the palace is narrow, viewing the shocking spectacle from a balcony. He pardoned the Usbecks and gave them their liberty, without permitting them, however, to return to their nation; observing, at the same time, that if he should order their execution, there yet would be no want of Usbecks to defolate and injure his borders, nor by his pardoning these would the number of them be so much increased as to give him cause of alarm.

The Turkish prisoners, however, underwent quite a different fate, and were all of them decapitated, one excepted, who was pardoned. As, however, the sentence pronounced bore such an ambiguous meaning, I can but notice it: the King, in a civil and obliging manner, saying, *Cardasblari-jasbi-facla*, which signifies, "Take care of these brethren." On hearing these words, the poor wretches interpreting them as a pardon, particularly as they were released from their handcuffs, made a thousand reverences to the King, and bestowed on him a thousand benedictions; they, however, were scarcely out of sight, ere the guards who accompanied them drew their scymitars and slew them, when they least expected such a fate, cutting off their heads afterwards.

The grand seal is not that which is in highest esteem in Persia, although it be affixed to all patents and emanations from royal authority, (it is kept by the mohurdar, or keeper of the seal,) but a small seal, which is worn in a ring by the King himself; and which he uses in sealing all his letters to the Princes and governors of provinces.

At the festival of the Neu rouz, the Persians in office in various departments are changed, particularly the Daroga, or governor of the city. Among those who were nominated to employments this year was my particular mehimandar Tochia-Bey, who was made Daroga of Hispahan, whither the King dispatched him with expedition, secretly entrusting him with matters of great importance. This was in a degree injurious to my concerns, as the haste which he was obliged to make caused him to omit that attention he was disposed to pay to my affairs.

On the 13th of April, which was Good Friday, being informed that the King had suddenly departed for Eseref, and apprehensive that my reception might be delayed for a length of time, I deemed it proper to put him in mind of it in the best manner I was able. I therefore sent my compliments, according to custom with us, to all my friends, on occasion of the day, and particularly to the agamir, with certain presents; among them some confectionary, and eggs of different colours to play with; an amusement to which the Persians are so prone, that they cannot handle an egg without playing with it after their manner.

The agamir received my servants and little present with great politeness, and enquired who it was that had been appointed to visit me since the advancement of Tochia-Bey; and learning that I had seen nobody, he was extremely angry, and dismissing my servants, informed them that the vizier of the city would not fail waiting on me the succeeding day. As promised, Tachi Mirza, the vizier, who is the King's lieutenant over all the province of Mazanderan, came to me so early in the morning that I had not yet risen; in order, therefore, not to detain him I received him in bed, and the better to conceal my sluggishness, told him I had been indisposed throughout the whole night.

In view of pleasing me, he told me that he waited upon me expressly by order of the King, as he mounted his horse the preceding day, and not in consequence of any directions

directions from the agamir ; at the same time making many excuses for his negligence in not having visited me before, taking blame to himself as if guilty of unpardonable rudeness. On his departure he left a written order, after previously enquiring the number of my people, for our being directly furnished with provisions for twenty days, that at the time being deemed the extent of His Majesty's stay at Ferhabad. He left with me also one of his servants, not only to take care I was properly provided with necessaries, but that he might always be at my call ; and taking leave of me, went to join the King at Esref.

On the last day of April I was visited by a brother of the vizier Muhammed Saleh Bey ; he informed me, that the King would remain somewhat longer than he at first intended, and gave me a new order for provisions. I learnt from him, that His Majesty would return in a few days to Ferhabad, and after stopping ten days or a fortnight, would remove with his army to Casvin, and thence to the frontiers.

It may not be unentertaining to you to be informed of the quantity of provisions allotted for our support, first describing to you the value of their different weights. The patman of the King weighs about 18lbs. of Venice, (19lbs. English) ; that of Tebriz, which is the weight by which we were served, 9lbs. of Venice, (9½lbs. Eng.) This is divided into quarters, called cheharek ; and these again subdivided into shah, and those into mithicali ; diminutive weights, the value of which I did not ascertain. The quantity assigned us then for a month was

250 Patmans of flour,  
 150 Do. of rice,  
 36 Do. of butter,  
 80 Fowls, 19 capons, 17 lambs, 600 eggs,  
 15 Patmans of chick-peas, 12 patmans of salt, 3 of spices of all descriptions, comprising anise, fennel, cummin, and the like ; particularly one cheharek of pepper, and one of cinnamon, and one shah of cardamum seeds ;

10 Patmans of pomegranate seed, dried in the sun ; the juice of which when boiled renders their ragouts excellent ;

27 Patmans of onions,  
 20 Do. of wine ; of which they were thus sparing, merely from its being represented to them that I did not drink of it in general.

50 Thick and long wax candles, weighing each three pounds ; one of which lasts more than one evening, and serves a second time in the inferior apartments, but not in the divan kanè ;

and 12 Patmans of tallow candles, burnt in silver candlesticks, with standishes to catch the tallow, which are placed on the carpet. The use of tallow is not considered degrading to persons of rank, it being burnt in the palace of the King himself.

This, however, is not the whole of our allowance of provisions ; we had besides,

- 5 Patmans of raisins without stones, called chikmik, and in their pilão,
- 5 Do. of dry apricots,
- 5 Do. of vinegar,
- 10 Do. of cheese in small white pieces without rind, more resembling thick cream than cheese ;
- 20 Patmans of sour milk,
- 3 Do. of sugar, and a large flask full of white sugar, kept in such vessels alone ;

- 5 Large decanters of rose-water,
- 5 Patmans of honey,
- 1000 Oranges,

100 Patmans of barley for the cattle ; besides fifteen chiles of land, assigned us for growing barley, to cut green in the months of April and May ; each chile of land yielding generally ten horse loads ; with these, 45 loads of wood for firing, completed our allowance ; all of which was transported to my house with great exactitude, almost at the same instant of time, except some articles which we did not like, and presented to the servant of the vizier who attended us.

On the 1st May, the brother of the vizier waited on me again, to direct me, in consequence of an order he had received from the King, to repair to him at Escref as soon as possible, he being desirous of shewing me the buildings he had constructed there, before he left that part of the country ; informing me at the same time, that if I would be ready by the next morning he would send a man to accompany me, and that it would not be necessary to take my baggage with me, as the King would remain there but a very short time. I accordingly prepared myself, and left Ferhabad in the morning of the 2d May, with the vizier's servant and those of my own, leaving the women and the remainder of my suite behind.

Escref lays eastward of Ferhabad ; the road thither is very even, and the mud in it being tolerably dry, our journey was pleasant. The country on each side was remarkably well cultivated, particularly in the neighbourhood of Ferhabad, and inhabited by an infinite number of Georgians and Armenians.

I saw growing about a number of plants which I had long wished to see, but in vain, such as chicory in abundance, thistle, and wild borage, with a different flower to ours. On the way I pointed them out to the inhabitants, who were ignorant of their value, particularly the endive. After travelling for a league we forded a river, somewhat broader than that at Ferhabad, which empties itself into the Caspian Sea. It is called Chinon.

At noon we rested for two hours in a town belonging to the Turkmans, called Chirman. It is situated on another small river, much resembling that at the Marana at Rome. According to custom we were regaled by the chief inhabitants, but as I had lunched off an excellent ham I ate but little. On remounting our horses we continued our course until five or six in the evening, passing through several towns and villages inhabited partly by natives of Mazanderan and partly by Turkmans.

At length we arrived at Escref, which is about two leagues distant from the sea. It is situated at the extremity of a handsome plain, at the foot of some small mountains which cover it towards the south. It is at present an open place, which is only just begun to be built on. Nothing is yet constructed but the King's palace, which, indeed, is not itself complete ; its gardens ; a large street, the bazar, and some houses interspersed among the trees of the forest, and a large esplanade. It is, however, full of inhabitants ; and, in order to encourage the frequency of more, the King, who delights in hunting, and meets with much sport here, whenever he winters at Ferhabad, passes a great part of his time at this place.

Springs and rivulets are here very abundant, the water of which is excellent. Trees also are very numerous, thick and of high growth, and the houses among them are so shaded by their foliage that they are scarcely visible ; and so numerous that one is at a loss to determine whether it be rather a town in a forest or a forest in a town. On our nearing the palace, the man furnished me by the Vizier, rode on to acquaint the governor of my arrival, who immediately mounted his horse to meet me, with some of his people

on foot, gave me the right, the station of honour among the Persians, as well as contrary to the custom of the Turks, who give the left as a compliment, and assigned for my abode one of the best houses in the place.

This dwelling has a large court entirely shaded by the branches of trees, so as almost wholly to exclude the sun. In the midst of it, in the most umbrageous part, a small apartment, or rather a gallery, (as it is open on all sides,) has been erected, about the height of a man from the ground, to which you ascend by steps. In this place it is usual to receive company in the summer, and even to sleep, on account of its coolness. This place is common, and such galleries are called *bala kanè*, or high houses, from their being raised above the surface of the ground.

It must not seem extraordinary to you that such open apartments should be used to sleep in, the night air possessing no noxious qualities in these parts, nor even in any part eastward of the Mediterranean as far as here; nay, even west of its shores in the Archipelago, at Scio for example. The custom of sleeping exposed to the air throughout these quarters is so common, that illness would ensue upon the inhabitants resting in close apartments.

The vizier introduced me, therefore, into the *bala kanè*, where seated, we remained some time in conversation. Afterwards he repaired to the King, to acquaint him of my arrival; and returning shortly after, informed me that the King had bade me welcome, and would give me audience on the morrow. The vizier staid to sup with me; and every thing served me, as well on this occasion as at all my meals afterwards, was in a very nice manner from his own house. He remained with me for some time after supper, and ordering some of his people to abide with me to receive my orders, took his leave; telling me, he would wait on me in the morning to present me himself to His Majesty.

As usual with them, my bed was prepared in the *bala kanè*, it consisted of a mattress, with silk pillows, and a quilted counterpane of the same, but without sheets; instead of which was a *cit Indiano*, or *Balampour*, of a thousand colours. That I had no sheets must not surprize you, they are rendered unnecessary by the night-dress customarily worn, which is a shirt and drawers, or rather trowsers reaching to the feet.

On the next day the vizier repaired to my house, and found me already dressed and waiting for him; but as it was yet early, he remained with me till the hour at which he expected I might be admitted to an audience. At length we mounted our horses and repaired in company to the palace, the principal gate of which fronts a very handsome and long street; arrived at which we alighted. We did not enter by a large meadow before the palace, but rounded it, ascending by a large square joining the palace on one side, to which one passes by a garden that no one is allowed to enter on horseback.

I found here a number of Georgians who waited upon the King to abjure their religion and become Mahometans; this induced a conversation between the vizier and myself; in which I learnt that liberty of conscience was allowed throughout the kingdom; and that the King was wholly indifferent to what religion his subjects professed, holding all as good, either the Mahometan, the Christian or Jewish faith; but these people, added he, are continually pestering His Majesty to become Mahometans.

At one end of the square, near the palace, there is a beautiful tree of great height, at which the first *corps de garde* is stationed. Here the Vizier left me in the shade to give advice of my approach, and receive the necessary orders; and after some time he returned to inform me, the King had ordered him to conduct me to the *divan kanè* of the garden, where the principal officers about the court awaited him. The floor of the *divan kanè*, raised only two steps from the ground, was covered with beautiful car-

pets, on which the officers of the court already assembled were seated. The Khan of Aferabad; the Corchibashi, or chief of the soldiery, called Corchi; Muharrab Khan; Delli Muhammed, surnamed Delli from his facetiousness, that word signifying sportive; a Sultan from the frontiers next to India; with several others of consideration. Besides these, on the opposite side, Sarù Kogia Bey, and the Effendiar Bey, a particular favourite of the King; and on the side fronting the west, that of least esteem among them, were several musicians with various instruments, such as violins, cymbals, lutes, and others, but varying in shape from ours, the strings of which were not only of catgut, but also of silk covered with wire.

On my entrance I was led to sit between the Khan of Aferabad, and the Corchibashi, as the most honourable station, the Vizier of Mazanderan remaining at the door; those officers in greatest familiarity with the King never sitting at his audience, but remaining standing to obey his orders. The rest of the assemblage kept their seats as on my arrival.

After remaining seated thus for some time we were served with dinner. What was prepared for us was brought by the garden-gate, the dishes being carried by as many persons following each other after the *maitre d'hotel*, of from eighteen to twenty years of age, without beards, who act as the King's pages, and dressed in the costume of Mazanderan; that is to say, in pantaloons, with a tight round frock fitting the body and reaching to the middle of the thighs; no turban, but instead a fur cap with the hair outwards, and the skin turned up at bottom to shew the cloth with which it is lined.

These kind of caps, called in Persia bork, are very common here, and are the same as for convenience sake are worn in the house in lieu of turbans. The pages do not wear liveries, such not being used at all in these parts, but each was clad in a different colour to the other, according to fancy, and in various kinds of cloth, some embroidered with gold and others with silver, the bork being generally of a different colour from the pantaloons, and these again varying from that of the frock.

The dishes they carried were large as our basons, with high covers, either round or steeple-shaped, to cover the pyramids of pilão and other messes. The dishes were some of silver but mostly of gold, and, in order to make the greater shew, they were intermixed.

The *maitre d'hotel*, on reaching the divan kanè, knelt and spread before me and my two neighbours a cloth of moderate size of an octagonal shape, of gold brocade fringed, with gold tassels of different shapes and colour. On this cloth every thing placed was served in dishes of gold, and the meats they contained, notwithstanding it was seasoned after the country fashion, was truly a feast for a King. Besides these dishes, near each of us was a large porringer of the capacity of a small pipkin, full of acids, extracted from different matters, of which spoonfuls are occasionally taken during the repast, either to assist digestion or sharpen the appetite; to serve which, in each porringer, which like the dishes were of gold, a deep new spoon was put, made of aromatic wood, with a very long handle; these, however, serve but for one meal, never being used a second time.

Although we were not long at dinner, wine was served twice round to all the company according to rank; as I objected to a second cup I was much importuned, as those about me being prohibited the use of wine by their religion, and aware that no such injunction withheld me, considered my abstinence as a reproach.

While diverting ourselves in conversation the musicians kept playing continually, but in such gentle tones and so low as to be scarcely heard, so as to afford no interruption.

While

While talking, the cup which was of gold and the falver the same, kept continually moving, the quantity drank at each time, however, was small, and the Persians accustomed to these entertainments have good heads.

It was now late, when the King attended by some favourite officers of state, such as the agamir, the chief of the eunuchs, and some others, entered by the garden gate opposite to us. As well as the others, he was dressed in a very fine cotton vest of a lively green colour, laced over the breast; for, notwithstanding it be customary to lace them on the side, as I have elsewhere noticed, they are sometimes laced in front with orange laces. His drawers, or trowsers, were of violet coloured cloth, his shoes of orange shagreen or zigri, and his turban red and silver, striped. His broad sash was of various colours, as well as that above it, and the sheath of his scymitar of black shagreen, the hilt of bone, probably the tooth of some fish.

His walk was stately; his left hand on the guard of his sword, the point of which towards the sky, and the concave bend upwards according to the custom of the country. From caprice he is used to wear the wrong side of his turban before, which except himself, none is allowed to do.

As soon as we perceived the King at a distance, we incontinently rose on our feet, but without leaving our places. He advanced towards us with a measured pace, unsupported, at the head of those who followed him; according to general practice, whether on foot or on horseback. He is of middling stature, not lean but delicate, well built and proportioned, and of dignified port, notwithstanding he be now near nine and forty years old. Whether he speak, he walk, or simply look at you, he has constantly the appearance of great animation and vivacity; nevertheless, in spite of his perpetual restlessness, and his natural capriciousness, he constantly maintains somewhat of serious and grave, which plainly indicate Majesty. His face is rather handsome than otherwise, but his complexion is very dark; either naturally or owing to his frequent exposure to the sun. His hands are constantly dyed of a very dark colour with alcana. His nose is aquiline; his whiskers, which are long and hang down, as well as his eyebrows, are black: he wears no beard. His eyes are lively, sparkling and smiling, and as well as the rest of his countenance expressive of that greatness of mind and genius, in which he surpasses the whole of the Princes of the kingdom.

On the King approaching, the Sultan I before mentioned, as being with us who had come from the country over which he was appointed governor, on the frontiers of India and Jagatay, with four or five of the chiefs from those parts who accompanied him, advanced and kissed his foot, as is usual when Sultans or Khans repair to court from a distant country, and when they take their leave. This homage on the part of the Sultan was imitated by those with him, after which it was repeated by the Sultan and the rest, and again a third time, every one each time making a mysterious circle round the King. This ceremony being finished, the Sultan and those who accompanied him returned to the divan kanè and resumed his place. The King entered also, and, as did the others, left his shoes on the steps of the divan kanè; not so much as a mark of respect as for cleanliness sake.

Their shoes have heels to them, and are in consequence much more comfortable and pleasant of wear than our slippers without, and not being tied are as easily disengaged without stooping.

On the King's entering the divan kanè, my neighbours gave me a hint, upon which I left my place accompanied by the Corchi Bashi who was at my left, and retained that station, putting his hand under my arm as if to support me. The King seeing me advance,

vance, stood still; on getting near I made him a profound bow according to our custom, and kneeling on my right knee stooped, in view of kissing the hem of his garment, but he presenting me his hand and hindering me, I kissed it, and touched it with my forehead. On rising, while returning to my station accompanied as before, the King enquired if I spoke their language, and understanding from those with whom I had conversed that I did, he turned to me with a smile, and said *choşk ghieldi, safâ ghieldi* (truly welcome, very welcome); after which he assumed his place at the anterior part of the divan kanè, on the left hand as you enter, in the same spot in which Sarû Kogia was before. The King being seated here by himself, and Sarû Kogia opposite to him, we resumed our former position. Almost all the officers of rank who accompanied him standing about his person without the divan kanè, with some of those who before the arrival of His Majesty were seated with us.

The King at first kneeled down and sat upon his heels, which is considered the most respectful and humble posture, but which soon tires; after which he changed it for that manner of sitting peculiar to our tailors. After His Majesty had set us the example, we changed our previous uncomfortable posture also, and sat with our legs across. After this he pulled off his turban and remained bare headed, notwithstanding it was night and the apartment open. This, I understood, is his usual practice, whether alone or in conversation. In this, we did not imitate him, it being considered an incivility to sit without a turban, not only when among persons of higher rank, but even among strangers or your equals. He afterwards ordered wine to be brought; this the Effendi Bey, who stood without the divan-kanè, preparing in a hurry to present to the King, fell into a small reservoir of water at the foot of the steps leading to the place, which excited a hearty laugh at his expence, redoubled when upon his recovering himself, and again advancing, he broke the glass decanter which contained the wine against the joists of the door.

The King having drank, two or three pages standing in the room served us each according to rank, one after the other as before; the cups from which we drank being of gold, and that of the King of glass. On the cup being presented to me, the King noticing I did not take it with the same eagerness as the rest, observed, "perhaps he does not drink wine." I answered, "that I was little accustomed to do so, but felt it a duty since I understood it to be His Majesty's pleasure that I should, and that in mere momentous matters I was desirous of shewing him my readiness to submit to His Majesty's will." I thereupon emptied my cup, which was very small, for the second time that day; the wine, however, notwithstanding it was pure, was neither very strong nor very good.

In the mean time, a number of people came with the presents made by the Sultan on occasion of his visit to court. This custom appears of very great antiquity, the King of the Medes according to Philostrates never being visited even in the time of Apollonius without receiving presents.

This custom is general throughout the East among all ranks. Equals for what they give receive an equivalent; where the value tendered for that received be greater, it is considered an acknowledgement of superiority, where less, an assumption of the same on the reverse. Vassals make presents to their lords, who give back little in return. When Princes of similar power and equal authority make them, the quality and nature of what is tendered is preconcerted on each side. The Sovereign who receives them from an inferior Prince gives little or nothing in return. Thus the Turks, wont to receive from the King of Persia, render but a trifle; and the present war, as I conceive, originates

originates from the Shah disliking to give without an equivalent; and notwithstanding the expence of the war infinitely surpasses the value of the annual boon, peace is prevented by the pertinacity of the King in refusing the annual donation.

After the presents had passed in review, to which His Majesty paid little attention, unless indeed to some falcons, arrows, and instruments of war, he employed the remainder of the day in the expediting of various affairs, giving different commissions and writing several letters; he also listened to the reading of several by the agamir in so loud a tone of voice that we distinctly heard every syllable; among these was one from my former mehimandar Tochta Bey, now Governor of Hispahan, informing of the arrival of an ambassador expected from Spain.

His Majesty enquired of the courier, as is his general custom, respecting the ambassador, and where he was lodged; of me also, if he were the man of rank designated: on which point I satisfied him, informing him, that although he was personally unknown to me, I knew his family to be one of the most noble in Spain; and in answer to his question, whether a Castilian or Portuguese, acquainted him that notwithstanding he had possessions in both countries, he was a true Spaniard.

In this manner the King dispatched his various affairs, conversing first with one, then with another, the wine passing round all the while; I availed myself, however, of his being so closely engaged to pass my turn. At length lights were brought in; these were large iron pots into which rags and grease were put, at the end of sticks, and which when kindled give much more light than our torches. These are peculiar to persons of high rank; four of them were placed without the divan kanè in the open air, and wherever three or four are visible it is an infallible sign that either the King is on the spot or his haram. Within the divan kanè, a row of wax candles were disposed in gold and silver sticks, and a lamp of grease, such as I have before described.

Immediately after a collation was served, consisting only of provocatives to drinking, as without wine in this country there is no conversation. These, at the same time, very much prevent the wine from affecting, as by my own experience I am well enabled to ascertain. The entertainment continued thus till past one o'clock in the morning, the King all the time conducting himself with great familiarity, yet constantly preserving his dignity. After some time, the King called Delli Muhammed Khan, the jester, to come and divert him, condescending so far as to tell him, that if too idle to move, he would himself come to him. The guests upon this perceiving the Shah disposed to unbend, (as such perhaps is the custom,) withdrew one after the other, without any ceremony whatsoever, and making as little noise as possible.

For my part, a novice in these matters, I waited some time, expecting they might return, as I noticed that all were free to go out and come back; I remained some time; at length, fearful of being the only one left at table, I withdrew, and as I waited some time on the steps for my slippers, the agamir on one side, and the Governor of Mazanderan on the other, came to acquaint me that the King enquired for and wished to see me.

I returned immediately on this intimation, and having entered the divan kanè, knelt down in order to sit opposite to the King near Delli Muhammed Khan, but soon as the King perceived me, he told me he wished to confer with me, and made a sign for me to be seated on his right, with which I complied. Notwithstanding we were no more in the saloon than the King, Delli Khan, and myself, the musicians still continued to play in the same manner as before described, so as not to hinder conversation.

When seated, the King made many enquiries of me respecting myself, my profession, my family, and object in travelling; of the countries through which I passed; of Europe;

its politics ; its religions ; the power and views of Spain, respecting its ambassador ; and many other subjects, reasoning upon my replies on the latter, and shewing himself in his conversation perfectly well informed of the religions, customs, and interests of Europe, a very widely-informed man, and a consummate politician. He detailed to me in return the cause of his wars with Gourgistan, as Georgia is called here ; told me of Trimuraz, who had excited the Turks to war with him, having fought for assistance from the Tatars, but “ what can they do with their arrows, which go *ter, ter*,” said he, “ let them come, let them come, I shall speak and do,” putting his hand to his sword and assuming a menacing aspect ; when recollecting himself, and apprehensive of too much presumption, he turned his eyes towards heaven and rebuked himself, exclaiming, *tôba, tôba*, expressions of regret and resignation to God ; then turning the conversation to tactics, he shewed himself well acquainted with war, its instruments, the fittest for cavalry and infantry, and the various manœuvres in battle.

The lessons which he gave to the attendants about him on these subjects were listened to with minute attention and much approbation ; for my part I observed, that it was only for masters to give such lessons, and that he was certainly qualified to teach from so much experience, and such great success as he had ever had. The King smiled at the compliment, modestly observing that what he had ever done was but of little value.

You must not, however, imagine that our discourse (which, as it embraced so many subjects, was consequently of long duration) passed without frequent reference to the cup ; a practice common with the King, less with him for its being the custom of the country than to allow his penetrating mind to work into the recesses of the hearts of those with whom he converses, and with courtesy and the assistance of Bacchus to draw from them their most secret thoughts.

After continuing thus conversing, and drinking sometime to a great excess, yet without ill consequences to myself, Delli Khan, upon the cup passing with greater briskness, knowing it to be the signal for departure, withdrew so silently that I saw his place empty before I noticed his retreat. Yet, seeing the King did not rise, I thought it improper to do so before him. At length he made a sign, observing longer sitting was superfluous, and putting on his turban leaned against a pillar of the divan kanè, where he was surrounded by the musicians, who continued to play very gently. Hereupon the Vizier of Mazanderan, who was on his feet as well as the other officers, beckoned me to retire, which I did without saying a word, making a slight bow as I passed the King, which was dispensed with by the courtiers. The vizier assigned me some of his people to see me home, remaining with the King, who is wont to continue in this posture, a prey to an habitual melancholy, listening to the music : sometimes when he thinks of it, retiring to the haram.

On Saturday the 5th of May the King left Escref for Ferhabad, yet not by the direct road, in order that he might enjoy the diversion of hunting, as he is wont ; his ladies accompanying him on horseback, and they alone, in order that his horses, with the baggage and his train, might travel on at leisure ; as when the King removes, all his people go at the same time. For my part, I did not leave Escref that day, the King having directed that the apartments and gardens of the palace, when all should have departed, should be shewn me ; and for that purpose, I was waited on the same evening by the Vizier of Mazanderan.

We entered by the great and principal gate of the palace, which opens on a long and beautiful avenue of great breadth, ornamented at present only by simple hedges and borders. It is, however, as I understand, to form a bazar. On the way he pointed

out to me other spots on which it was intended to erect caravanferai, squares, baths, and other buildings, for the habitation of the people which the King was continually sending thither.

Beyond the gate, which none are allowed to pass on horseback, is a very handsome meadow of great extent, where those amuse themselves who go to pay their court or wish to see the King; for, unlike with us, the Shah never gives audience in the apartments of his palace, but in the open air; either, if on foot, in the courts, or on horseback, in the public squares. On the left as you enter the meadow is a beautiful hill, raised partly by nature and in part by art, at the foot of which a bath is built for the service of the town, the revenue from which belongs to the King. On the summit of the hill a private garden has been laid out for the ladies, inclosed by strong walls flanked with towers.

I was introduced into this garden, which is even of great capacity, abounding in odoriferous plants and various fruits, but particularly oranges and lemons. Vegetation of all kinds, from the warmth and moisture of the climate, and the abundance of water which falls from the neighbouring mountains, succeeding admirably. I did not, however, notice any espaliers, fountains, or similar ornaments to those with which our gardens are replete.

The water runs in the middle of the alleys, which are paved with stone, in little straight canals, and not on each side the walks as with us. In the middle of the garden, at the union of the four principal alleys which cross each other, an octagonal house is built, of several stories. The apartments in it are handsomely painted and gilt, but very small, and constructed only for sleeping rooms, or to rest in. This building is destined exclusively for the women, and none are suffered to enter it except the King.

Upon quitting the ladies' garden we went to visit that of the King, situated opposite to the hill beyond the meadow on the left at entering. One enters through a small garden, and by an avenue which leads to the great garden, in the middle of which is the divan kanè, in which the King gave me audience. On entering, a great gate presents itself, on which is a fountain which throws its water as high as the roof of this building, whence it is conducted into different apartments and balconies, and supplies several small *jets d'eau* which spring from their floors.

This house, as well as the other, is very small, and the number of apartments on the various stories are almost infinite. They are consequently very narrow rooms, although well painted and gilt, and ornamented with exquisite miniatures of great cost. On every side are numerous balconies, with Venetian shutters and large curtains.

Of the apartments, one was contrived to have a beautiful effect; on each of its four sides were two large looking-glasses in the form of windows, one on one side and one on the other of the four doors or windows, which, on every side reflecting, gave the appearance of so many rooms similar to that in which they were. The floors of several of the most private rooms were strewed with mattresses of rich brocade, for convenience on being seated, or for sleeping on, and such as had not their mattresses were covered with carpets of great value. The paintings throughout the palace, although the colours be beautiful, were very badly executed; the painters here being no Titians.

At length, after shewing me every thing that there was to be seen, the vizier that same evening set out on horseback to join the King; for my part, not caring to travel by night, I deferred my departure till the next morning, and arrived at Ferhabad by a different road to that I left it, in such good time as to be able to dispatch a letter for Italy by an American courier departing for Hispahan.

On the road returning I dined in a village where I stopped to rest, a number of which I passed through on my way, noticing every where in the fields bala-kanè elevated on posts, the ascent to which in lieu of stairs (to prevent intrusion of animals, as they are in the open country) is by a sloping post with knots on each side of it. These bala-kanè are not inclosed by any thing but a slender matting, which can be let down or raised at pleasure, so as to admit the air and exclude the sun or rain. In one of these I dined off several dishes brought by some of the village, and after sleeping a short time I mounted my horse, and crossing the Chinon in another part arrived at Ferhabad.

I observed, during my stay afterwards at Ferhabad, no more than two things; the one the solemn and general almsgiving, which is continual at the gate of the King, to the Sophi, who call themselves religious persons of the Persian sect; and the other, the circumstance of the King disposing of thirty women from his haram, to whom he gave each a husband, as he is accustomed frequently to do. The manner of his dismissing his wives is as follows.

He gives each of them a camel for to enable her to perform the journey she has to make; a kiechève, that is to say, a covered litter, such as is used in this country to ride in more conveniently on the camel's ribs on one side, and in the other to put a coffer filled with her things, that is to say, a silk bed or rather mattrafs, a pillow and coverlid, dresses and linen, her gold, her jewels, and every thing belonging to her; as all of them, according to their rank and birth, possess either less or more property. When she who leaves the haram happens to have been in any esteem, her equipage and cloaths, without which none are dismissed, are worth from one thousand to two thousand sequins, which in the East, where a woman brings nothing to her husband, is in course a handsome portion.

Thus having detailed the whole of what I have noticed, here I am now preparing for a new journey, the King being on the point of departure with the army for Casvin, whence he means to advance directly to the Turkish frontiers, and wheresoever the chance of war and the good of the kingdom may call.

Hitherto I have written from Ferhabad, and counted upon sending my letter thence, brought down to the first or second week in May, but was prevented for want of a trusty messenger, and the sudden departure of His Majesty, immediately followed by mine; and as I have an opportunity of sending it by an Augustin lately arrived from India, and proceeding direct to Rome, I shall add, if the time will permit, an account of all that has occurred up to the present date.

The King, receiving some particular news from Turkey, left Ferhabad in haste for Casvin, on the 11th of May. Soon as the King leaves any place the soldiers about his person decamp immediately and follow him wherever he goes, without knowing whither nor even the time of his departure an hour before it takes place. This, however, is no ways inconvenient to the army, as from such things being customary all are constantly prepared. The King, however, bent his course out of the direct way, rather towards the province of Ghilan, in order to take the diversion of hunting, the guards, who were ignorant of this, making direct for Casvin on the same road as to Hispahan from Ferhabad, as far as Firuz-cuh.

I was not made acquainted with the hunting party in Ghilan, or, as you may well imagine, I should not have been absent whatever the inconvenience to myself; but as the Vizier of Mazanderan informed me, that if I accompanied the King I should not have an opportunity the more for conversing with him, as he would be constantly with the ladies, but should likewise have to undergo vast fatigue. I followed his recommen-

dation, and set off with the army direct for Casvin, on the evening of the 13th of May, travelling constantly by night in order to avoid the heat, which already, when the sun was up, was scarcely tolerable, and reposing in cool shades during the day. In this manner we reached Firuz-cuh in four or five days, the roads being dry and in good order.

Our first halt was in the city of Sarù, at the house of the hosts who had treated us so civilly before, and who expected us at the door on hearing the army was passing. After passing through the forest, which had been our resting-place, and Tatara Peshk, we stopped at a wretched stage called Shirgah. Our third day's journey was only of four leagues, on account of the mountains, and leaving behind us Girèt, the town inhabited by the ladies who treated us with such kindness, we proceeded to Mioni Kielle, where we lodged before. Our fourth halt was in the neighbourhood of the ruined castles at the commencement of Mazanderan; the ruined castle but a short distance from the highway is called Abund. Our march of this day was no more than four leagues, on account of the slow pace of the camels, and the place of our encampment for the night was a delightful valley at the foot or rather on the slope of the mountain. Beyond the valley on a small mountain we discerned a number of black tents belonging to Arabs of the province of Mazanderan, who in the winter repair to the towns and villages, but live in tents in summer, and tend their flocks on the mountains.

As soon as our tents were pitched some very affable and obliging women repaired to them and presented Madame Maani with milk and other things to eat, and after regaling them in turn, and keeping them to dine with us, Madame Maani was curious of seeing the structure of their tents, and accompanied them back. I was also of the party, and at the bottom of the valley, near a rivulet, I discovered a quantity of wormwood, and several other odoriferous plants unknown to me. On our entering one of the tents, which although of coarse quality, was abundantly stored with all kinds of necessaries and furniture, even to carpets, and which belonged to the person who conducted us; those from all the other tents, particularly the women, flocked to see us. We had no sooner got within the tent than we were again pressed to eat, which to have refused would have been uncivil. Among the articles presented us by the women, and which pleased me greatly, was some milk cheese of a particular kind that had been twice churned, and had been broken in pieces with a spoon in a sweet liquor called dushiab, very commonly used by the orientals in their ragouts; besides this, esteemed a great delicacy, we were served with various dishes of meat, and muscovado sugar as it came from the cane, in the company of nearly twenty matrons and maids, who by their beauty as much as by their polite manners, conversation, and pastoral life, reminded me of the Arcadian shepherdesses as described by the poets. Certainly, in grace and courtesy, they could not have excelled these of Mazanderan.

Making them first presents of scarfs, veils, and other trifles, we took our leave, and after loading the camels proceeded on our journey, travelling through all the night, and arrived an hour before day-rise at Firuz-cuh, four leagues from the frontiers of Mazanderan, where we rested for the fifth time.

The King was not yet arrived at Firuz-cuh, nor was it known even when he would arrive; learning, however, that the hunt would take place in a valley between certain mountains, about two leagues distant from Firuz-cuh, out of the high-road, I went mid-way thither on Sunday the 20th of May, where, in a plain of great convenience, on account of the plenty of water and forage, I encamped on the banks of a river; near a small hamlet of three or four houses, called Nemevan, and as, in all likelihood, I should have

to remain there some days, for the first time I pitched the whole of my tents, forming a court, a parlour, a bed-chamber, and anti-chamber, a gallery, and other necessary places.

On the 22d I resolved on taking a view of the spot where the hunt was to take place, and the same time pay a visit to Effendiary Bey, who had arrived to make preparations as well as Muhammed Saleh Bey. The way from my tent to the spot was by a very narrow passage in a mountain, through which a large rivulet flowed amid the protuberant and rugged rocks with great impetuosity, making a great noise in its fall. This is the same rivulet which flowed by our abode, and in passing through the mountain we were obliged to march in its bed for the length of a musket shot. The passage, however difficult it appeared, was easy, so much so as to be practicable for people on foot; when, however, the waters are swollen not even horses can pass it. Beyond this cleft we came to a most beautiful valley, about two miles in circumference, intirely enclosed by mountains.

The King, intending this spot for the scene of the hunt, had dispatched several thousand men from the borders of Mazanderan to drive the various wild beasts in the valleys and mountains round about to this spot. In a certain part of the valley, grown over with trees, he had caused a hedge to be made of branches as strong as a wall, all across the valley, and as high as a man on horseback, to prevent the animals escaping from the scene of battle, and in order to hinder their getting out by these acclivities of the mountains, large nets made of strong cord were extended round the whole, as high again as the hedge described, so that the most nimble animals could not overleap them. The number of nets sent for this purpose from Ferhabad loaded three hundred camels.

It is usual for the King to take his station in middle of the valley, and kill as much game as he pleases, either with his fowling-piece or sword; it is also customary to take some alive, to the ears of which little plates of gold are fastened, with the hunter's name inscribed; and some have been caught with these appendages, having the inscription of King Tahamasp, Ismael Sofi, and many other very ancient monarchs.

And, in order that the ladies may share in the diversion, a long gallery is built for them without the netting, closed with Venetian blinds, whence they fire at such of the animals as come within shot, and shew great skill with the gun. When, however, there are no men in the valley, so many Cynthias, they descend into the midst and kill them with arrows or the sword.

Effendiary Bey, who had the direction of all these matters, took pleasure in shewing and describing them to me. The gallery he had planned so well that it took but two days in completing, notwithstanding which the workmanship of it was extremely nice. The King being now at hand with his haram, the Effendiary Bey, the brother of the vizier, and all the others who had come hither to hunt, and had, as well as these noblemen, spread themselves over the valley, retired to the extremity of the vale, close to the passage through the rivulet, leaving the rest of the meadow clear, it being thought indecorous to remain where the King's wives may appear.

And now, as opportunity occurs, I shall describe the mode of travelling adopted for the haram. The King's wives, that they may not be seen, always travel by night, and when they travel without the King it is always in a sort of panniers on camels, in one of which they ride themselves on the camel's side, while on the other is a chest which serves as a counterpoise. These panniers, however, are constantly covered, and close like those of all other women; and when the panniers are fastened on, the muleteers after emptying

ing them leave every thing else to the eunuchs, who cause the ladies to get in them at a distance from the muleteers.

This method is new, the muleteers formerly helping the ladies into the panniers. The cause of the discontinuance was owing to the following circumstance. The King travelling one night on horseback by himself with the army, incognito, as is usual with him, perceived the loading of one of the camels had slipped down on one side, whereupon calling the muleteer to set it to rights, and he not appearing, the King to ease the camel himself put his shoulder to the pannier, but finding it rather heavier than it should be, and seeking the cause, he discovered the muleteer comfortably reposed in the lady's arms, without any regard to the majesty of him he offended, or care for how the camel went. The King, upon this, immediately ordered the heads of the lady and her gallant to be severed, and since then eunuchs have been substituted for muleteers, in helping the ladies into their panniers. When, however, the King travels with them they constantly ride on horseback, with their veils raised. The King, who is then attended by eunuchs alone, rides in the midst, joking with them, and occasionally hunts. Whether, however, they travel by themselves or with the King, they are constantly thus preceded.

Four eunuchs ride at least a league before them to clear the road and oblige all to retire, the punishment of death being awarded for merely looking on the King's wives; and if they should in the day-time have occasion to pass through some town or village, the inhabitants are ordered to quit it or shut themselves up till they have passed. Afterwards follow a body of these, who clear the way, and drive, wound, or even kill such as remain; then the haram, with the eunuchs, if by itself, in panniers on camels, or as before noticed, if accompanied by the King, on horseback; a troop of soldiers follow, called Jafachi, or the King's guards, wearing the tag and an arrow, the point fixed in the turban, and the feathers pointing upward.

To return, however, to the hunt. His Majesty understanding I wished to be present, stated he would acquaint me when it began; but, contrary to expectation, the quantity of game was so trifling, not exceeding fifty pieces, that he did not think it worthy my attention; he, however, ordered an antelope to be brought me. Thus, I was neither a party at the hunt in Ghilan nor here; in the one place owing to ignorance, where the sport was excellent, and in the other, with knowledge of it, for want of game.

The same evening we loaded our camels a little before night, and marched with the camp which followed the King. From Ferhabad the road runs constantly south; from Firuz-cuh to Casvin it has a western direction. Firuz-cuh is a frontier town; on one side of it lays Irak, on the other Mazanderan, and by the road we took to Casvin, bordering Media, if I mistake not. This night we forded two rivers, the names of which I did not learn, one on this side of the mountains, the other between them in a deep valley. We traversed a succession of very high mountains, very difficult to descend on account of their steepness, and the roads shocking. The whole of these mountains, which form the frontiers of Media, the country where grows the amomum, were covered with a certain plant then in bloom. Its stem was loaded thick with flowers of a yellow colour, forming a pyramid, small leaves, and in addition long filaments. When the plant seeds, which in some specimens it did at this time, each flower is supplanted by an oval pod full of grain, which, as well as the flower, is of a yellow colour. The green leaf of the stem resembles that of the violet.

After seven leagues march, passing over mountains in the way, we rested for the first time at the entrance of certain extensive plains, bordered by mountains, by the side of a clear

clear rivulet, in a meadow producing excellent grafs. The fecond night I left Madame Maani and the luggage behind, and haftened forward, defirous of joining the King, that I might not be chargeable with negligence.

I travelled, therefore, with great expedition, paffing through feveral villages and towns, one of which, of fome fize, called Ghilas or Ghilar, where I refted for three hours, after having croffed a river which runs below the town over a bridge of ftone. At dawn, I fet forward again, and journied on foot three or four hours, when I forded another river called Giageron, both deep and rapid; the bridge over which was in ruins. After riding thus ten or twelve leagues, a little paff noon I arrived fomewhat fatigued at the city of Taheran, at a league from which, near a mosque, in high veneration among the Mahometans, the King was encamped with the greateft part of his troops, the remainder being behind with the baggage.

Taheran is a large city, more fpacious than Cafhan, but not well peopled, nor containing many houfes, the gardens being extremely large, and producing abundance of fruit, of various defcriptions, of fuch excellent quality, that it is fought for by all the circumjacent country. The Khan ordinarily refides here, on which account the other cities yield it the palm as capital of the province, which alfo is called by the name of the city Taheran, and extends along the road from Firuz-cuh, as far as the mountains we traversed the firft night. All the ftreets in the town are watered by a number of confiderable ftreamlets, which serpentine in the gardens, contribute not a little to their fertility. The ftreets moreover are shaded by beautiful lofty plane-trees, called in Perfia chinar; fome of them are fo extremely thick, that it would take from two to three men to clasp them round. Excepting thefe, Taheran poffeffes nothing, not even a fingle building, worthy of notice. The King fetting off on Thursday, we followed his example.

We travelled all the night, preceded by the King and his whole train of camels, and by day-break, after fix leagues, arrived at a confiderable town called Kierè, which likewife gives name to a river, over which is a handsome ftone bridge. Here I took up my abode for the day in a handsome new apartment, open on the fides, built on the river by order of the King, a little higher than the furface of the water, between two large arches. The water ftreaming below over a rugged bed with fome violence, compofed me fo perfectly to fleep with its noife, that the King, who was defirous of reaching Cafvin, and refting himfelf an inftant a little behind us, had mounted anew, and rode over my head, attended by feveral cavaliers, without awakening me.

The fucceeding night, inftead of taking the regular road, on which there is a number of towns and villages, to fhorten the way, the army took acrofs an almoft barren plain; after travelling fix leagues over which, we refted on Saturday morning at a miferable village called Hauz-abad, whence on Saturday night we departed, and arrived on Sunday morning, the 10th of June, at Cafvin.

The inhabitants of Cafvin are not friendly to the foldiery, and purpofely to prevent their felecting their houfes for their abode, build them with miferable entries, inconvenient, and dark. We chofe one, however, and were about to take up our abode in it; but as we fhould have to diflodge feveral women, as well as the men, who had no refuge, we chofe rather to leave it, and pitch our tents without the town, near a clear running ftream called Sheich Ahmed, from the father of my former mehmandar at Ferhabad, who, while governor of this part, had turned its courfe this way to fupply the city.

Cafvin, called properly by the Italians Cafbin, and in the epitome of Ferrari, Arfacia, is a large city, the capital of great part of Media, and formerly was the feat of empire

of the Persians, till Shah Abbas took an aversion to it. It is not enclosed with walls, like other of the great cities of the empire, but is extremely populous, and a place of great trade, being a thoroughfare to so many different provinces. The houses are not well constructed, are very ugly within, and mostly in a state of decay, the distance and absence of the court having taken so many of its wealthy inhabitants away. The streets are not paved, but small, nasty, and so full of light dust, that there is no walking in them without being blinded. Its bazars are very ill built, although in them every description of merchandize and provisions is on sale. In short, this city has nothing in it to satisfy the expectations I had formed of a place, which, for so long a time, had been a royal residence.

There is in the whole place but two things worthy of observation; one, the gate of the King, or the royal palace; the other, the grand meidan or square.

The King's gate is neither painted nor gilt, like that of Hispahan; it is, however, very large, and of more majestic appearance. It is built in a spacious but uneven esplanade. The vestibule is very handsome and lofty, beyond which is a large court, planted with very high and lofty palms, under the shade of which is a pleasant walk, where those resort who wish to speak to or pay their court to the King.

The grand meidan or square is at a short distance from the palace, in a quarter of the town between that and the bazar. It is not indeed so handsome nor so large as that of Hispahan, but falls little short of it. Like that it is three times as long as broad, for the purpose of its being adapted the better to a game played here on horseback, for which two limits are constructed at one end of the square, and as many on the opposite. The porticoes round the square are ill built and old fashioned; but in the middle, on both one and the other side, two small palaces are raised, adorned with balconies; one of them, intended for the ladies, with Venetian blinds, and both of them with handsome gardens attached to them.

The King appears almost every evening on the meidan, where in consequence the nobility resort to make their bows and pay their court, being more secure of meeting with His Majesty here than at his levèr. On his first appearance, those he passes incline the head without bending the body, which reverence it is unnecessary to repeat, the Shah being careless of homage. All the time of the King remaining, pages attend to serve the King's guests and certain of the chief officers with wine, musicians playing the while on several kinds of martial instruments, after the Turkish, the Persian, and Usbeck fashions; the Turkish and Usbeck bands being merely used as trophies of the victories in which he captured them.

The game of pell-mell played on horseback, is somewhat like football with us. Two parties are formed of equal number, never exceeding five or six, who, with a light stick, unarmed with iron or lead, strike the ball forward, which is repelled, the party winning which first strikes it to the opposite limits. This is an exercise which requires great dexterity, as well in the horse as the rider, and is a favourite diversion, of which even the ladies condescend to be spectators, but in simple dresses with their veils down.

As before noticed, the courtiers on leaving His Majesty on the meidan make use of no ceremony, but go and come as they please; nor when he departs is it requisite to accompany him to the palace.

I am now going to fight the Turks, — believe me constantly your friend, and remember me in your prayers to the God of Battles, that we may be covered with success.

## LETTER V.

*Hispahan, 22d April, and 8th May, 1619.*

IT was the 11th June last year, when we arrived at Casvin. On the next morning the King gave a public audience in the interior portal of his palace, at which I was present. The King perceiving me, as a mark of courtesy sent his mehimandar to learn if any business or private matter brought me to the levèr; I answered him that my duty alone brought me thither to pay my respects. Among many matters promulged by the King, in a loud tone of voice, was his injunction to the public crier, that notice should immediately be given in every quarter of the city, that all soldiers should repair without delay to Sultania, about three days journey from Casvin, on the road to Tebriz or Tauris, thence to proceed wherever the good of the state might require.

This order was instantly executed by means of notices stuck up in every part of the city, as well as by a number of criers through all the streets, and on the same day, or nearly, by His Majesty's previous management, in almost every city of the kingdom, by which the people were satisfied there would be a war that year, of which before they were dubious. The Corchi-bashi, the King's son-in-law, was likewise directed to repair to Sultania, to attend to the distribution of and providing for the troops as they should arrive.

In the evening after the proclamation, in order to please the people, the Shah treated them with another game, in use among them, for the mob on foot. A wolf was turned into the midst of the square, which the common people, holding their cloaks before them, by making a noise and worrying, irritate till he rushes upon some one or other; here, however, they allow the wolf no time to injure, but dragging him off induce to pursue some other, who avoids him, or if caught, receives no hurt, from the number ready to assist. In the game itself there is no amusement; the principal pleasure arises on being present at such an exhibition from the joyous exclamations, and the exultations of so many hundred voices in concert. The games of pell-mell and the wolf, are the only public entertainments they have, and these are so frequent, that they were given every night on which there was no audience, or which was not a day for receiving presents.

On the 12th June, I slept for the first time in a house appointed me near the royal palace, as owing to the confusion consequent upon the army arriving, I, as well as others, had hitherto slept under my tents. The King, upon leaving the meidan, ordered the kizilbashi to appear the next day with their tags, which they do not always wear, on account of their being heavier than the common turbans. Those only of his officers immediately in attendance on him wearing them constantly.

From this ordonnance we conjectured, that something of consequence was to happen on the succeeding day in the square, whither we repaired earlier than usual. The audience to be given to the Turkish ambassador was the occasion of the extraordinary assembly which followed. This ambassador was sent to treat of peace, not on the part of the Grand Signor, but of his Serdar, or Lieutenant-General Hali Basha, who wintered in the city of Amid, the principal of the province of Diarbeckir, as they call it, but we Mesopotamia.

This ambassador had repaired to Casvin several days before the arrival of the King, but had not yet had an audience, so that he was admitted thereto on that day for the first time. The King did not choose to receive him in the palace, nor elsewhere with the ordinary pomp, but on horseback in the square, either on account of the ill treatment

his ambassador had met with from Sultan Ahmed, who reigned at the time of his being sent, and who would not see him to the day of his death, keeping him as a sort of prisoner, and this notwithstanding the opposite conduct of Mustafa, who succeeded him, and admitted him to his presence, behaving with great civility to him, and who being desirous of peace, had sent him to his serdar at Amid; or because the Shah wished to make a parade before the ambassador, and was really intent on war.

Whatever might be the cause, the King arriving in the meidan, attended by a multitude on horseback, we all assumed our proper stations, and the King, with two or three of his council, retired to the bottom of the square down one of its sides, riding gently along, and conversing as he rode. In the meantime, the mehimandar introduced the Turkish ambassador on horseback, with some of his people, at the opposite extremity. He did not, however, conduct him immediately to the King, but to the middle of the square, near a butt, at which the people are wont to shoot as a mark with arrows, and left him there in conversation, to wait for the King; this being the spot he most frequently repairs to, and on the sides the most honourable about the court and his guests are stationed, and form a circle about the King as near him as possible. The King, however, passed purposely another way, feigning at first not to notice the ambassador; at length he rode towards him. The ambassador then, after salutation, but without leaving his horse, as such is not customary, no one dismounting except, which is very rare, when the Shah tenders his hand or foot to be kissed, presented a letter from the serdar. The King, however, who is a profound politician, aware of its contents, and that it proffered conditions of peace he should be unwilling to accept, told the ambassador, that "He did not wish to hear any thing more, nor to see any further letters, but that all might be finally concluded in a few words, if the Turks were satisfied with keeping what belonged to them, and ceased to dispute the possession of what belonged to the Persians. If such were the disposition of the Porte, as was reasonable and just it should be, he was willing to conclude a peace; but if otherwise, further debate would be entirely useless."

He added, "That the Turks had had sufficient proofs of the value of the enmity of the Persians to make peace desirable, and incline them to listen to just and reasonable terms; that none desired peace more than himself, but that if forced to war by their arrogance and iniquitable pretensions, the blood of the myriads of innocent people which would in consequence be shed must be upon their heads, and that in such case he would place himself at the head of his troops. That the Turks might place their trust in the abundance of their wealth and the number of their soldiers, but that on his side, he had for him, his God, Mahomet, and Ali the tripod." He again repeated, "That peace might be concluded, the Turks keeping what they had, and the Persians the same."

The ambassador replied in so low a tone of voice, that I could not distinguish what he said, other than that the Turks could not make peace on such terms. The King then replied, "If reasonable terms are rejected, there is then no alternative but war. My ksilbashi are not like your Turks, who wear large turbans and keep their hands in their sleeves for fear of the cold. No, they are prompt and active, they have nothing but their horse and a curved scymitar; are fitted for fatigue and impatient for war. If you will have war, I will place my wild Chircana (a falcon, punning on the name of his Lieutenant-General Carchio) at the head of my ksilbashi, who shall pounce upon you, and reduce you to nothing. Nor think," added he, "that you will this year be more fortunate than the two last, under Serdar Muhammed Bey, when your troops galloped off crying like women." On finishing which observation, he galloped off,

without affording any time to the ambassador for reply. Thus ended a conference on which was to depend the death or life of so many thousands of innocent persons. The behaviour of the Shah, however, who purposely spoke loud that all about in the square might hear him, was highly approved by the people and court, who testified their satisfaction in the manner usual on such occasions, exclaiming Allah! Allah!

The next day we received intelligence of the arrival of the Spanish ambassador at a town about a league distant from Casvin, where he waited the King's orders for his entry into the city, in which a dwelling had been made ready for him. A number of the first people of the court, attired in the most superb dresses, with magnificent trappings for their horses, went out to meet him, and attended him to the gate of his house, where they took their leave; the Mehimandar alone, in virtue of his office, conducting him to his apartment, and myself as a Frank.

On the same day that the Spanish ambassador made his entry, the Turkish ambassador had a secret audience in the garden, at which none were present; and on Sunday, 17th June, he gave a public audience to the Spanish ambassador, in a garden which has but one large walk in the midst, and is at a small distance from the royal palace. This garden is called Gennet Bayhi, or the garden of paradise. He purposely received him here to accept his present at a time when a number of others were to be made him; and for the greater parade, invited more than a hundred persons of various nations, languages, and drefs.

The present of the ambassador, exclusive of three hundred camel loads of pepper, left at Hispahan, was valued at one hundred thousand crowns. It consisted of vases of gold, silver, and crystal, and precious stones; besides these, a box containing sixty golden chains, enriched with emeralds; saddles and horse trappings, elegantly embroidered after the Spanish fashion; fowling-pieces, and other arms, embossed with gold; the sword worn by the King of Spain on the day of his marriage, covered with jewels, a number of files and other hard tools, several coats of mail, various portraits, (among others that of Anne of Austria, presented by the ambassador himself and not the King,) certain lances from America, and a number of other articles, all together employing five hundred men in carrying them.

Upon the King entering a little palace built in the middle of the garden, the ambassador was introduced with his present, which preceded him, those who carried it making a tour in front of this palace, and marching round the guests, who were seated about a canal adjoining, on rich carpets laid for the purpose *al fresco*, on account of the number of the guests being too great for the apartments of the palace; the procession afterwards filed off.

The order of precedence was as follows: The King, the Spanish ambassador, the Turkish ambassador, and the interpreter of the Spaniard standing, being apart from the company, in a casino open on all sides, and surrounded, except in front, where an alley led up to it, by water conducted from the canal.

The English were seated in a corner on the spot where the supper was prepared about the canal, even the ambassador had no other station, only the most honourable position among his countrymen; immediately above these were the Spaniards, but separated by a streamlet which ran between; after and higher up than them the Turks succeeded, beyond whom certain Curd and Arabian gentlemen then at court as the King's guests; above these the brother of the Prince of two countries called Chick-e-Macran, on the frontiers of Persia, on the ocean, and making part of ancient Caramania.

This

This Prince had constantly been inimical to the Persians, but having made himself master of a place of importance, he came to the court of Persia, to offer to hold it in feof of the Shah, provided he would assist him in maintaining possession of it against the Prince, his brother.

This nobleman, brother to the Prince, was a beardless young man, very elegantly dressed in his country fashion, in gold brocade, with a round turban, differing from that of the Persians, striped of various colours, with a large fringe of gold tassels and green silk floating on his shoulders, designating his descent from Mahomet.

The Mehimandar, who regulated every thing, stationed me immediately above this nobleman, considering it unfit I should be with the other Europeans, whom I surpassed in quality, so that the vizier of Mazanderan alone, and some of the principal persons of the province invited by the King, were placed above me.

The Usbeck Tatars whom the King pardoned, that they might relate on their return to their countrymen somewhat of the magnificence of the King, and the respect shewn him by foreign nations, were placed on one side, and much above them the emissaries from that nation at his court, whom he had not yet dispatched.

The entertainment was nearly a counterpart of that at Escref, of which I gave you a description, but lasted not so long on account of the Spanish ambassador finding the mode of sitting unpleasant in his European dress, and obtaining permission to retire early, in which he was imitated by the Turkish ambassador as well as ourselves.

In the evening of the 22d June, the King, in the middle of the meidan, shewed great civility to the Usbeck emissaries, and after representing to them that their country being at war with him could only draw destruction on the heads of the people; that although by their predatory excursions they might do injury to his subjects, they were constantly cut to pieces in regular engagements; that it was their interest as much as his wish that they should become his friends, and rather join his kizilbashi than oppose him, notwithstanding they were followers of Omar; that they might have seen what homage was shewn him by so many different Princes, and what respect from those powerful Kings who lived in friendship with him, concluding with enjoining them to give a faithful relation of what they had witnessed at his court to their Khan, as well as of the kindness they had experienced, that it might occasion a good understanding between them.

All this, in a solemn manner, the Usbecks promised to perform; and as they were much affected by the various marks of kindness they had received, and the obliging manner in which he addressed them, they twice dismounted to kiss His Majesty's feet, and prostrate themselves before him.

On the 25th July, the King set off early in the morning for Sultania, each of us following at our leisure. I travelled that night three leagues over a flat country, in very cold and windy weather, till I reached a village called Ghiveran, where I rested the whole of the next day. Well mounted I travelled nine leagues the next day, arriving at a city called Abher, from the quantity of water with which it abounds, and which, divided into numerous streamlets, runs through almost all its streets. The city is small, and beautifully verdant from the number of gardens it comprises full of fruit-trees and poplars.

On Friday night and Saturday morning we travelled eight leagues, arriving at noon at Sultania, where we found the King in his tents in the country, encamped in the middle of his troops, and though I travelled faster than my train, by its taking a nearer road I passed it just on my entrance into Sultania, and after ordering my tent to be pitched, I refreshed myself under the shade of a mosque, with bread, raisins, and some

of the most delicious water I had ever tasted, which the Mahometans are weak enough to imagine comes under ground from Mecca.

Sultania was formerly a very spacious city, at present it is a heap of ruins. It undoubtedly received its name from the quality of the individual by whom it was constructed. Sultan signifies in Arabic, power, or a potentate, and presumptively such must have been the title of the founder of the place, as asserted by the Persians in opposition to the Armenians and other Christians, who maintain it to have been built by Christians. According to the Persians, a Sultan of Tatar race of the Usbeck nation, called Muhammed Choda-bendè, built the city, and the handsome mosque it contains, changing its neighbourhood from a wilderness, by cutting canals and watering it, to the paradise it is at present, and peopling it by forcible measures, such as have lately been practised by Shah Abbas for populating Mazanderan. As, however, constraint, though it secure comfort or even enjoyment, is irksome, no sooner was Choda-bendè dead, than the inhabitants immediately forsook the place. The emigration was so considerable, that in one night no less than seven thousand camels left the place with panniers, in each of which was a woman, thus carrying off fourteen thousand.

We Europeans are upon an excellent footing with Imamculi Khan, whom I visited in company with the father Vicar, who had arrived at Sultania, to present the Shah with a translation of the Psalms of David into Persian. On this occasion, the Khan shewed us great kindness, treating us with excellent sweetmeats and other articles remaining from an entertainment he had given the King the day before, and moreover sent two large basons full to my house, a very common custom in Persia. The same day I both paid and received a visit from the Mehimandar, who informed me that the army would shortly move to Tebriz, under the conduct of his brother Daud Khan; that the King only repaired to Ardebil, on account of intelligence he had received that the enemy meant to attack him in two different quarters; the Turks, with the Serdar at their head, by the way of Tebriz; and Teimuraz Khan, at the head of the Tatars and other auxiliary troops, by the way of Georgia. Ardebil, as being midway between these two parts, was chosen by the King for his head-quarters, the communication thence being easy with each place, and an opportunity at the same time being afforded him of preserving the sepulchre of his forefathers, which is in this place.

The whole of what was told me by the Mehimandar was verified by the event, the army moving that very night for Tebriz. We, the King's guests, however, remained with the King, and the small army about his person. I was pleased on the one hand with having an opportunity of visiting Ardebil, which is a city of note, yet vexed at not seeing Tebriz, a much more famous city, and for the possession of which we were to come to blows. It would also have been far more grateful to me to have been opposed to the Turks, who are Mahometans and my aversion, than the Tatars, who are some of them Christians, and headed by Teimuraz, a Prince for whom, without even having seen him, I have a secret affection.

Upon further intelligence received by the Shah, the army halted, and a grand entertainment was resolved upon, which took place, and at which several of the guests were so far overcome with wine as to be carried away, and I myself was so much surprisèd, that when about to depart, I could not put on my slippers at the steps of the Divan Kanè. I recovered, however, amazingly, and rode home somewhat more full of talk and merrier than usual.

On Wednesday, however, the 1st of August, in consequence of advices received by the King, orders were issued under heavy penalty, for all belonging to the army to march

march to Tebriz, which accordingly was done; none remaining about the King but his guests, certain of his nobility, officers of State whose presence was necessary, and part of the division of Imamculi Khan, that His Majesty might yet have sufficient about him to impress an awe on the enemy.

It may not be amiss here to give an account of the manner of formation of the army, and the order of the soldiery in Persia.

There are four divisions or orders of soldiery in Persia, the fuzileers, the King's slaves, the kizilbashi, and the corchi.

The first, yet last in point of rank, the fuzileers, is a modern institution, at the recommendation of Sir Anthony Shirley, an Englishman. This order is composed of the native inhabitants of the country, and is similar to a militia. In Persia, however, the individuals of this order receive pay quarterly from the King, and are bound to appear at his summons. The gentry, those I mean who are called kizilbashi, do not enrol themselves in this order, but only those called *raiet*, that is to say, vassals or *tat*; composed of the refuse of the nation. In the beginning, these fuzileers fought on foot, however now they are mounted, and fight on horseback, with guns somewhat smaller than our muskets, with matchlocks, which have a fork fastened by a cord to the stock, by which, when they dismount, they have a rest for taking aim by. This description of soldiery is in high esteem with the King, and is a very useful body.

Of this body of men, the total collected by the Shah from the various provinces of his empire, amounts to 20,000, who, as *tat*, do not wear the tag, but merely a plain turban.

The second order of soldiery, considered more noble than the preceding, is that of the King's slaves, or vassals, all of whom were originally Christians, either bought or furnished by various nations; such as the Circassians, Georgians, Armenians, and the like. At present, however, they are mostly Georgians and mullahs, either from their having been brought up in that faith, or their having apostatized. These, like the former, fight on horseback, and make use of different arms, such as pikes, arrows, guns of the description before noticed, iron loaded sticks, scymitars, and daggers. There are none but carry a kind of light hatchet, the iron of which is rounded at one end, and on the other a little curved and pointed. The bow and arrow, considered by the King as useless, are by degrees laid aside, and replaced by fire-arms, as well among these as the rest of the soldiery. The King's slaves are allowed on certain occasions to wear the tag. They have one particular general and several captains.

The number of these slaves in the immediate service of the King, enrolled as soldiers, exclusive of those dependant on the various khans and governors, is 15,000.

This establishment, as well as the preceding, is of modern date, and owes its origin to the reigning Sovereign.

The third description, more noble than the latter, is the kizilbashi, which is composed of thirty-two tribes, sixteen of which are called of the right hand, and the same number of the left, from their taking these several sides of the King: of the privileges and quality of these, I have before given you an account. They are free, independant, and serve as long as they are paid, being at liberty to change their masters when they please, from one khan to another, or to the King, and from the King to a khan, as seems best to them. Not all the kizilbashi are soldiers, but as almost all the lands are in the hands of the Shah, or his governors or khans, for subsistence they are obliged either to make choice of the profession of arms, or exercise some kind of trade, handicraft, or husbandry; in consequence, the number of those not soldiers is very inconsiderable.

Moreover,

Moreover, their different tribes are not equal in point of number, some consisting of from ten to twelve thousand men, and some of not more than five hundred. Of some of them all are soldiers, of others but few.

This body has always had great preponderance; the various kings appointing their kings and governors from among their tribes; as owing to their exertions the present dynasty was seated on the throne. Shah Abbas, however, secretly detests them, and endeavours by all means to undermine and lessen their influence, frequently punishing their chiefs, and keeping them rather in fear of him than seeking their affections.

Of these, there are in Persia at least seventy thousand, of which fifty thousand are in the King's pay, or that of his khans.

The fourth order of soldiery, and the most noble, is that of the corchi, or the King's guards, chosen from among the kizilbashi, and entirely and immediately in the pay of the Shah himself. These seldom go without the tag, being almost constantly about the royal person.

The number of these is about 12,000; their arms the same as the other kizilbashi, and like all the other soldiers composing the army of Persia, these are cavalry.

The whole of the main force of Persia consists, therefore, collectively, of 97,000 cavalry. This number is, however, subject to great variation, it being sometimes more and sometimes less.

Whenever the army marches, the greatest silence and regularity takes place, neither trumpets sound or drums beat; and as all the officers and principal persons take their servants and family with them, the number of the army is swollen prodigiously; yet, notwithstanding the immense numbers, the greatest abundance constantly reigns in the camp during its march, so much so as to make it a saying in the country, "That the army of the King is one of the finest and best provided cities in Persia." Unlike in many countries of Europe, its march is a blessing instead of a curse for the countries through which it lays; and so far from shutting up their houses and flying from it as a pestilence, the people from great distances from its line of march, hasten to bring it every kind of necessary, and even delicacies of all sorts. Discipline is so regularly preserved, that every thing is paid for, and excesses are unknown. The severity of Abbas, for any encroachments on the property of his subjects, I have had occasion to notice. When encamped near Ghivi, some people had erected their tents, rather inconsiderately, in the meadows, where they suffered their camels to graze at the expence of the proprietors, for the sake of saving a few pence. The inhabitants, in consequence, complained to the King, who ordered certain of his officers to go with them to the spot, where they cut the tents in pieces, not sparing even that of the King's musicians, removing the cattle, and taking the owners to prison. The vizier or lieutenant of a khan, having been more guilty than the rest, and having had the audacity to take some of the fruit from one of their gardens without paying for it, notwithstanding his rank, was tied hand and foot, carried to prison, and when taken thence, with an arrow thrust through his nose, he was led round, and exposed to the view of the whole army.

To return, however, to the route. The army filed off towards Tebriz, while we remained with the King in Sultania, where, on the 3d of August, we received intelligence that Teimuraz Khan had not separated from the serdar; a number of other vague accounts were brought. At length, on the 5th of August, the tents were struck, and our march began for Ardebil.

The province of Irak terminates at Sultania or its neighbourhood, where begins that of Adherbeigian, which comprizes a great part of Media.

Our

Our army began its march at day-break, and after two leagues arrived at a city called Zengan, but spelt Zengian, signifying moans and tears. It assumed this name after having been taken and sacked by some Tatar Prince, who immolated all its inhabitants in a most brutal manner. It is now but a small city, without walls, situated on the slope of a hill, and apparently was once a place of greater consideration.

The army did not stop here, nor myself, save to refresh, the baggage being sent on. From this place, the King took a witch, having much faith in divination and incantations, or at least pretending to have, in order to enchant the soldiers of the enemy.

On leaving this town, we distinguished two roads, one towards the west, leading to Tebriz, the other rather eastward, running to Ardebil, which latter we followed. After marching about three leagues, we pitched our tents and halted for the night on the banks of a small stream called Sarmufak-chiai, or garlick river.

On the 6th of August, after four leagues of way, we halted early near a river which ran by the road; but as in one spot its water was insufficient to quench the thirst of so great a number, our tents were pitched so far asunder, that the foremost was a half day's journey from the last.

The heat being great this day, our plan of march was changed, and begun at three hours after sunset. On Wednesday morning we still continued our march, crossing several small hills and beautiful valleys clothed in green, although entirely bare of trees, as is the case with almost the whole of Media, which, in the part we traversed, is mountainous, lofty, and cool. The mountains, nevertheless, are very pleasant, their tops being almost level. A little before noon, after travelling six leagues from the place where we encamped the night before, we stopped to rest ourselves at a village called Jenghigè, or New. We found ourselves, however, much embarrassed for want of sufficient water.

Here our stay was short, for night coming on, we continued our way, and after marching two leagues came to a very deep valley, which we had to descend from the mountains by such a narrow and winding path, and so steep at the same time, that with difficulty we could even lead our horses down one after the other. After which, on the opposite side of the valley, as unpleasant an ascent offered itself, but of nearly double elevation. You may readily picture hence, that with this going down and going up, together with the crowd, at a narrow bridge in the middle of the valley, over an unfordable river, the confusion of the passage must have been great, and the accidents numerous.

For my part, after passing the bridge at the bottom of the valley, having, in company with a few others, by galloping on before, got considerably the start of the main army, we rested for the night in a little spot out of the high road, surrounded by cedars of Lebanon, but very small, with which all these mountains are covered.

On Thursday, in the morning, I was joined by Madame Maani on horseback, and with much difficulty ascended the opposite bank. From the summit of the mountain we descended to that we attained, notwithstanding the vale was extremely narrow, was at least two leagues. Its acclivity passed, we travelled on to a village a league beyond of no consideration. Here we remained all the day. The army, however, did not rest here, but proceeded a league farther, to a flat country, where was plenty of water, and was wisely followed by my baggage: respecting the latter, I was under alarm, it, however, joined me by night; and hastening on, I reached the spot where the army had encamped about two hours after sunrise. It had just departed, but my camels with the litter being greatly exhausted, I was resolved on waiting at a village in the neighbourhood called Cabagh, requesting the vicar, if he overtook my mulcteer, to send him back.

Cabagh, where I rested for some time, is six or seven leagues from Jengigè; hence on Friday morning, the vicar having met with my people about a league and a half from where I was and sent them back, I repaired to that spot, where in a pleasant valley they had pitched my tents, on the margin of a small river, which serpented through the meadows belonging to a neighbouring village called Ghivi.

Here a part of the army was encamped under tents at some distance from each other, but the King with the remainder, forming his ordu, were in a strong place in the mountain called Kalkal; where he not only intended to pass some time in hunting, but also proposed to leave his tents, baggage, and every thing cumbersome during his stay at Ardebil. In this he was also copied by those who attended him. My wife, however, Madame Maani, understanding that the King's ladies repaired to Ardebil, resolved on accompanying me thither. After marching all night, therefore, for about five leagues, on Sunday morning, two or three hours after sunrise, we rested near a mill on a small eminence, ornamented by a number of trees, grouped in the most beautiful manner imaginable, and a running stream which fell below a small village in the road, called Tagibuyuc, or great crown. This village belongs to the great mosque at Ardebil, as well as several other neighbouring villages. We remained here the whole of Sunday, and great part of the next night. Soon, however, as the moon rose we continued our march, and finished the four remaining leagues which parted us from the city of Ardebil; as, however, the house assigned us by the mehimandar, who arrived before us, was not yet thoroughly in order, we pitched our tents in the fields at some distance from the city, and entered our dwelling the succeeding day.

The house appointed for us was very handsome and spacious, situated in the middle of a large garden, watered by a considerable stream running through the midst much larger and deeper than the Marano at Rome. This house belongs to a female relative of the King and the Corchi Bashi, called Becfi Kanum; but from her husband having fled the kingdom on account of having incurred the displeasure of His Majesty, although the house be not utterly confiscated, the proprietors are no longer allowed to dwell in it, it being appropriated to the reception of the King's guests who arrive at Ardebil. As such it was allotted to us, as it had previously been some time before to the Tatars of the country of Lesghi and Nocai, two hundred in number, accompanied as far as this place by the mehimandar on their way home.

The people left in care of the house, and who serve as domestics to those who inhabit it, related strange things of its former tenants, and their brutal and gross manner of living. Among other things, they informed us, that they ate their meat almost raw, without bread; used no napkins, and every where left heaps of filth, which was never swept away. The Persians who had been witnesses to their filthiness, and who are themselves a very delicate people, when they saw the cleanliness in use with us, and the nice manner of our eating with forks and spoons, could but make remarks highly favourable to our customs.

On the same day the mehimandar paid us a visit, which we returned on the succeeding. We learned from him, that the news we had before heard of the devastations committed by the Tatars in the open towns and villages of Armenia, into which they had made an irruption, was true; and that the Serdar of the Turks had apologized for it to Carchica Bey, disowning any knowledge of these disorders; and intreating that it might not be the cause of more continued war, as he wished to come to an accommodation, and was sedulously employed on planning terms for a substantial peace.

All this, however, observed the mehimandar, is farcical and deceptive; but the King is not to be so easily duped: he has had certain intelligence of the Serdar being ordered to proceed directly to Ardebil, to destroy the sepulchre of Shah Sofi in that place, (whom the Turks look upon as a schismatic,) as well as the city itself; then, wintering in Georgia, where provisions abound, to make himself master of Teflis, reckoned easily practicable through the succour he is to receive from Teimuraz Khan; and the following summer to follow up his success into the heart of Persia, and strive to rid the Turks of so vexatious a competitor as the Shah.

This news, which was published in Ardebil, had greatly intimidated the inhabitants. The King himself gave credit to it, and in consequence had proceeded hither with part of the army, in order to protect the country, while the main body was stationed to defend the road leading from Tebriz to Casvin, and thence to the center of Persia. As, however, Ardebil is not a fortified city of any strength, the King did not mean to stand a siege, nor hazard in this quarter any decisive battle against forces much superior to his own; but rather to remove the bones of his ancestors to a more distant and secure asylum, in case of extremity. The King, however, sent hence a quantity of silk and other valuables which belonged to him towards Casvin; of which the inhabitants being apprized, themselves began to remove their various effects to places of greater safety. The men and women of Ardebil, accompanied by the most powerful satraps of their sect, also retired from the city, on the 13th of August by day-break, to a place at a distance from the city, where on the day on which the less Beiram is kept they are wont to sacrifice the camel; a ceremony of which I before have given you a description in a letter from Hispahan. You will here please to remark, that every city has a place appointed for this ceremony, called in Arabic, *Muffal*, which signifies a place of prayer. Hither it was that the whole of the city repaired to pray for the King, and on account of the war. I likewise went to the place after dinner, and as I rode along had an opportunity of seeing the whole of the city; of which, previous to any thing else, I shall render you an account.

The country in which Ardebil is situated being in the north of Persia, and, moreover, like the whole of Media full of mountains, the cold here is intense. The city is in a large plain, surrounded by mountains. That most immediately contiguous to it is extremely lofty, and one of the most remarkable in Media. It is said to be extremely fertile, and well peopled, and is called Lepalan, or Sepalan, oftentimes pronounced Sevalan; the Persians frequently confounding not only the *B* with the *V*, after the manner of the Spaniards, but the *P* also. Hence, when they write correctly Casvin, it is sounded Casbin; and the same Tebriz or Tabriz, we pronounce Tavis; and Ardebil by many geographers is given Ardébil.

This mountain presumptively is the Zagro mentioned by Ptolemy and Pliny, or rather a branch of it laying north-east of the city. In the month of August even it was covered with snow.

Ardebil is a city of middling size, not being either so large or so small as many in Persia. Its streets are irregular, of no length in general; crooked, dirty, and uneven. Its buildings indifferent. It is, however, well peopled, and abounds in merchandize of every description; its trade being very considerable on account of its favourable situation on the frontiers, and its contiguity to Armenia, Curdistan, Georgia, Albania, and Ghilan, and its vicinity to a river which falls into the Caspian Sea, by which great quantities of goods are transported to various countries.

No wine is made in the territory dependant on Ardebil, as well from the coldness of the climate being unfavourable to the vine, as the unwillingness of the descendants

of the Sheikh, to whom it belongs, to commit so great a sin as to encourage the growth of it on such sacred ground. On this account, wine is so scarce in the city, none being drunk but by a few in secret, that we were many days without tasting a single drop.

A number of rivulets, proceeding from a small river which falls from the mountains, flow through almost all the streets of Ardebil; and in this particular the city much resembles Venice. These rivulets abound in fish, much superior in quality to any I ever tasted in Persia, or even since I left Egypt. Their trout in particular are excellent.

In summer time these rivulets are easily forded, but on account of their being much swollen in winter, a number of brick bridges are built in different parts of the city; and on the margin of these streams on each side rows of trees are planted, which half cover the streets with their verdure and shade.

The grand square, as they are generally formed, is longer than it is broad; the buildings which inclose it are very paltry. Ardebil was formerly the residence of a Khan, and the capital of the province. Since the Shah, however, put Zulfcār Khan to death, the last of the Schichabend who governed there, he has not suffered any one vested with so high a dignity to make it his residence; it is, therefore, governed at present by officers of inferior rank, more immediately dependant on the King. The house formerly inhabited by Zulfcār Khan is now the Royal Palace, and the most extensive dwelling in the place. Compared with the other buildings of the city it may pass for handsome, as well as the square in front of it, its public gardens, those retired, and its other appendages.

Except this palace, there is nothing remarkable in Ardebil but the mosque of Shah Sofi, in which he is interred, as well as the successive Kings of his race, and their near relations, the ancestors of the reigning Prince. The first and chief portal of this mosque is situated in a very narrow street, unwatered by either of the rivulets described, at some distance from the great square. A number of iron chains from right to left, and from these reaching to the ground, cross this gate and inclose a certain space. Any criminal who flies hither and keeps within these chains, or even touches them, is free from pursuit of the law or even the King's ordonnance; whence this sanctuary is resorted to by numbers, who live here in perfect security.

Within this first gate is a large court, round which is an infinity of shops full of all kinds of wares and edibles, and as there are a number of refugees who dare not go out of the mosque, and as this place is resorted to by a number of pilgrims from all parts of Persia, the shop-keepers have plenty of custom. After traversing this large court, you advance to a second portal, crossed with chains in like manner as the former, over which several apartments and balconies are built, part of which are destined for the refugees, and others for officers belonging to the mosque. Within the second gate is another court longer than wide, of no very pleasing form, and which when I noticed it was being paved by order of the King. On the side of this court a canal is constructing for bathing in and other purposes.

At the end of this second court, on the left towards another small gate, is a place opposite to the kitchen, where provisions are daily distributed in charity to the poor. The food thus given is pilão, very nicely cooked; and the number of poor who partake of it, and others who receive it out of motives of religion, is so numerous as to keep thirty-five large boilers continually employed. At first, it was customary to make these distributions only in the morning, but Shah Abbas founded a fund for giving the same in the evening as well. This institution will of itself be sufficient to immortalize the name of the King; for, as ever will be the case where there are similar foundations, a number of worthless people (among the Sofi and others) resort hither, choosing rather to sub-

sist in Lazinefs, and begging for means to clothe them, than support themselves by labour; and these, occasionally dispersed over the whole kingdom, will not fail to extol the benefactor who enables them to live the best part of the year in a state of ease and idleness.

Beyond this place where the pilão is distributed there is at first a small corridor with two gates, one at the beginning, the other at the end. They are not very large, it is true, but entirely covered in a coarse manner with plates of silver. Between these two gates of the corridor is the mosque, in which prayers are said, and into which you enter by one of the sides of its length. This mosque is of a reasonably large size, entirely open at the top, except at the two extremities, that is to say, the entrance and its opposite side, at which are two tribunes with vaulted roofs. This manner of building mosques is in Persia very common. Thucydides relates, that even among the Greeks it was usual to construct temples without roofs.

After crossing this open mosque, you proceed direct to the gate of another, which is small and roofed, under the dome of which, covered without with varnished tiles, and sheeted, as reported by those who have seen it, within with silver, Shah Sofi is interred in a large raised tomb, covered with rich silk, in a place railed in by itself; and a little beyond are buried the remainder of the predecessors and relatives of Shah Abbas, the descendants of Sofi. The tombs of these are made in the shape of large coffins, and are covered with silk and gold.

I was unwilling to enter this mosque on account of certain adorations and genuflections requisite, which I deemed improper for a Christian; Madame Maani, however, entered it one day with her veil down as customary. She informed me, that the covered mosque is divided into three cells one beyond the other; the two first contain nothing but a vast number of silver lamps suspended, with a number of ostrich eggs, according to the custom of the Mahometans; handsome carpets on the floors, on which were large chandeliers with wax candles of an extraordinary length, which, however, are never lighted, but are only for shew; and in these cells, the doors of which are covered with plates of silver, several mullahs are constantly praying, relieved occasionally by others, from a sort of pulpit.

After passing through these two cells you enter the third, which is the place of sepulchre, beneath the dome. This likewise is full of lamps; moreover, suspended above the tomb of Shah Sofi, hang eight large silver pomegranates as ornaments, and in front of the inclosure of the tomb is a small window through which a man cannot enter without stooping. Through this window none passes but the King when he goes to say his prayers and meditate on his past life. The small windows, which are the most valuable part of the mosque, are in frames of solid gold enriched with precious stones.

Beyond this I saw nothing remarkable in Ardebil, except that the peasants of this part make use of neither horses nor mules for carrying, but only bulls and cows, most of which are black with spots of various colours, and the breed smaller than ours; what is singular, they have no pack-saddles, but instead pads of coarse sackcloth quilted with cotton, which cover almost the whole of their body. This kind of housing is very convenient, so much so, that it is frequently used by them when they ride, especially when they have long journies to make.

The King, desirous of waiting till winter when the Turks would have consumed their provisions, enjoined Carchica Bey, the lieutenant-general who had sent to entreat him, from his position beyond Taurus, to be allowed to fall upon the Turks assembled at three days' journey distant from his army, by no means to fight them; adding, that  
if

if he did he should consider him as his enemy, and with the bread and salt he ate might be poison to him.

In view of inconveniencing the army of the Turks, therefore, he ordered the people in its neighbourhood to quit their homes, and carry off all their effects, not leaving behind them any provisions whatsoever. By similar measures he was successful in the famous victory he obtained some years before over Bakia Chicalla, and rendered abortive at various periods the grand projects of his enemies; copying the plans of the ancient Medes, the Persians and Parthians, in their various wars with the Western nations. Thus we may say, that names and seasons change, but customs remain the same.

The elevation of Mustafa to empire, to the prejudice of the children of Ahmed, which might occasion disturbances in Turkey, as well as the apprehension of a war between the Porte and the Christians, induced Sultan Mustafa to wish for peace with Persia; he, therefore, after loading with kindness Casum Bey, surnamed Bouroun Casum, or Casum with a nose, sent him to the Serdar Halil Bacha, generalissimo of the Turks, then in Asia, to treat of peace; who, in consequence dispatched him for the purpose to Ardebil, with an ambassador of greater rank than that which had been before at Casvin, who arrived in that city on the 30th of August; Bouroun Casum reaching it on the 22d.

On the 25th, however, the King, learning that the Turkish army, reputedly three hundred thousand strong, was but four short days' journies from Tebriz, on its way to Ardebil, repaired to the mosque of Shah Sofi, where, bathed in tears, he remained a long time melancholy and in earnest prayer.

On the 28th he received intelligence from Carchica Bey, that he had completely inundated the territory of Tebriz by emptying the bed of a river, so that cavalry could not advance; and that the Turkish army was hemmed in in such manner that not a man could return to inform his countrymen of their fate. He informed him, likewise, that a dysentery prevailed among them, and that they were in the utmost distress for provisions.

The King ordered Carchica Bey to suffer the Turks to advance into the country, and for that purpose to draw off part of his army, so as that he might keep with the one where he was, and allow the other to fly before the enemy, in order by a circuitous route to get in their rear; the latter being placed under the command of an excellent general called Imir Gunch, Khan of Erouan, who, after leaving in his capital a strong garrison, had joined Carchica Bey with the residue of his forces. By this means he proposed, when the Turks should be reduced to extremities by famine and the cold of winter, to attack their army in three directions at once, with the bodies under command of the King, Carchica, and Imir Gunch.

On the 30th of August I repaired as usual to the palace, when I learnt from the mehinandar, that the King had ordered the evacuation of Tebriz, and that the people should repair with their property to places of safety.

On the 31st the King gave audience to the Turkish ambassador. He was received without any ceremony, or entertainment, as is usual on such occasions, conferring with him in secret, and not even desiring him to be seated. All that was overheard at the conference was, the King informing the Turk, that he would grant peace to his master when he should have taken Bagdad and Aleppo; a rhodomontade after the French style.

The conduct of the King towards the ambassador was a retaliation for the outrage committed by Ahmed on the person of his representative Bouroun Casum. The conditions of peace proposed by the Turk, as such matters immediately transpire at the

court of Persia, were that the tribute of silk should be sent which was wont; or, in lieu of the three hundred camel loads of that article, certain scarlet cloth for trappings for cavalry of inferior value. That the Shah should surrender the conquests he had made; that is to say, Tebriz and its territory; Shiuraki, with all Shirwan; certain places in Media; Demir Capi, and Nakivan, with all the towns in Armenia. That he moreover should restitute the whole of the country taken from the Georgians, and send one of his children as a hostage to the Turks.

This was the substance of what the Serdar required on account of the Sultan; for himself, as a condition for withdrawing his troops, he demanded a present of value sufficient to indemnify him for the trouble the war had occasioned him.

The King on this occasion had much need of nice management, notwithstanding the extravagant pretensions of the Serdar; the people, who languished for peace, were aware, that if his cupidity were satisfied, much more favourable conditions would be accepted; the satraps, in particular, taxed the Shah with injustice and impiety towards God, in warring with Mahometans. Sarù Kogia, one of the most powerful Viziers, likewise, and the Corchi Bascha, the King's son-in-law, pressed the King so much to listen at least in part to the proposals, that he felt it prudent to temporize.

As to the silk, he stated he would willingly send the customary present, and engage to continue the same (the Persians, I understand, are heedless of promises, which they break as convenience suits). As for restitution of conquered provinces, it could not be admitted. His own son he would not send, but in lieu he had no objection to substitute as his own son that of Zulfcâr Khan, a person I before have mentioned, who had been murdered by Carchica Bey, and whose brother, at the solicitation of Kogia Khan, had been put to death by the Shah. This young Prince was a near relation of the King, and by proposing sending him as a hostage, while he should gratify the malice of these two eminent persons, he would get rid of one whom he had reason to suspect might be inimical to him. And, lastly, as to the present; in order to silence the Corchi Bey and Kogia Khan, whose importunities were the strongest, under pretence that he had no money to satisfy the Serdar, he commanded them to provide him with a present, and that of some hundred thousand crowns; that, as they were desirous of peace, they might furnish the enemy with a golden bridge to retire over.

This proposal was a thunder-clap for these two advocates of peace; it was in vain for the wife of the Corchi Bascha, who was the King's daughter, to tender certain silk cloths and rich brocades as a present to the Serdar, her father assured her he was entirely mercenary and wanted money, and her husband or his partner being unable as well as unwilling to raise the sum required in the space of time allowed, their opposition in consequence entirely ceased. Having, therefore, surmounted all obstacles in his council, he was left at liberty to follow his own inclinations, secure of the sedulous co-operation of the Corchi Bascha, who had the chief of his possessions to protect about Ardebil. To soothe the ambassador, however, and make amends for his first neglect, he gave him a royal feast, and presented him with a number of horses, and a purse of a hundred tomans, about 500*l.* sterling.

On the 3d of September, he granted him a private audience anew. In this the ambassador dropped from his first claims, requiring simply the silk, and his son as hostage; or, if His Majesty should be unwilling to yield his son, any other person of condition who might pass for such. The King immediately conceiving the use they might make of such an instrument of insurrection, played off one of his usual manœuvres, and drawing his sword: "This is my son," said he, "if you can, wrest him from me." The ambassador observing that many poor wretches must perish in the war; and

and that it was lamentable that so much blood of Mussulmen should be spilt. "For that," replied the King, "it is you must be responsible to God, who attack me while in quiet and offending no one; nay, it has been your annual practice thus to come and insult me, even in my very palace, and that without the slightest provocation. You may advance," continued he; "the mosque of Shah Sofi is indeed the tomb of my ancestors, but their remains have been removed, which you will not have the pleasure of insulting; you may advance, but think not I will face you now. I shall not hesitate a moment to fire every quarter of this city. You shall find no where any thing but a wasted country; and when you have entangled yourself sufficiently, when I shall see the opportunity, I shall make you feel the weight of my scymitar, and utterly exterminate the invaders." Hereupon, pretending to be in a rage, he called for the calanter of the city, and expressly enjoined him, in presence of the ambassador, to cause the town to be immediately evacuated by the inhabitants, who with their effects should be directed to withdraw to a place of safety; and that if any were refractory to his orders, they should be cut in pieces. The calanter immediately issued his orders; the King, however, secretly directed that they were to have effect only in the neighbourhood of the ambassador's house, before which they should file so as to be seen by him, making a circuit of a league, and returning in parties secretly by another gate. This was, however, but a frivolous artifice, which, no doubt, would be seen into by the ambassador.

On the 30th, he again gave him a royal entertainment previous to his departure, which took place either on that or the succeeding day. And on the 3d September, by couriers from Carchica Bey, the King learnt that, the Turks having advanced, he had demolished and quitted the fortrefs of Tebriz, of which they had taken possession, after its having been abandoned by its inhabitants, who had carried off every thing, and that all the neighbouring country had been previously desolated.

The King, upon this intelligence, ordered Ardebil to be evacuated in effect; which took place, and was a most afflicting scene.

On the next morning, Bahadu Khan appeared at court; his government lays between Ardebil and the Caspian Sea. He came before the King in the same condition in which he arrived, booted, his bow in his hand and quiver at his waist. To this person, a descendant from the Pagan Kings of Persia of the dynasty of Cosrhocè, and governor of various fortresses and ports on the Caspian Sea, but of no cities, the care of protecting the emigrants was delegated by the Shah; recommending to him to see that they met with succour and friendly reception on their way. At the same time he issued orders that such of the inhabitants as could bear arms should remain; and that the various banditti on the frontiers, the commanders of whom are known to the King, under promise of pardon, should hover on the flanks of the Turkish army, which is never entrenched, and serve as light troops to cut off their supplies, and pillage their camp in the night.

On the 10th of September a Tatar spy arrived, bringing intelligence, that a division of the Turkish army, consisting it was said of forty thousand, with six days provisions, had been detached from Tebriz, under command of the Georgian Prince Teimuraz, expectedly to fall on a sudden on Ardebil. The King immediately gave directions, that such inhabitants in the city and neighbouring villages as had not yet left should quit them, and take the road to Mazanderan, or some more distant part of Media or Irak: that every thing at Casvin should be in readiness for the inhabitants quitting that place, if it should appear requisite, and in the mean time, that all the merchandize and property there belonging to His Majesty should be transported thence, as safely as possible to Ferhabad and Hispahan: that every one in Ardebil should hold himself in readiness to  
leave

leave the city on the following day for the strong fort where the King had placed his baggage to wait for the enemy ; and that preparation should be made for setting fire to every part of the city upon our evacuation, as well as the various towns and villages in its neighbourhood.

On the 11th September, just as we were about to mount our horses, and fire the city, intelligence of the most grateful description was received from Carchica Bey, giving account of a victory most unexpectedly obtained over the Turks. This Corchi Bascha, on the Turks entering Tebriz, had withdrawn to Ugiun, one day's journey from that city, on the direct road to Calvin, leaving the way open as preconcerted to Ardebil, under expectation that they would in course direct their march thither. The Turks, however, conceiving that this step was a mark of weakness ; and understanding from the ambassador who had been at Ardebil that no pillage would be obtained there ; and that the King himself, with the small army he had with him, was in the greatest consternation, and had resolved on flying before them, determined on attacking Carchica Bey ; after routing whom, they might easily pursue their plan of ruining Ardebil, without having any apprehension from him in their rear. As, however, they knew from the orders he had received, it would be difficult to induce the Corchi Bascha to hazard a pitched battle, they attempted to take him by surprize. With this intent, they selected their best troops, as well Turks as Tatars, to the amount of from forty to fifty thousand, as we had before heard, which were detached lightly equipped, and calculated for dispatch, to fall upon Carchica Bey in the night-time or by dawn of day. In stating Ardebil as their destination, the spy was deceived, as well as in their being commanded by Teimuraz Khan, who at that time was indisposed and not with the army. Unfortunately for the Turks, while on their march, a Persian in their army of the name of Ali Bey, influenced by that *amor patriæ* so natural to man, when mounted with the rest, clapped spurs to his horse, and favoured by darkness and the speed of his animal, quickly reached the camp of Carchica Bey.

This nobleman found the army completely off its guard, and, passing the drowsy centinels, reached the very tent of Carchica Bey entirely unperceived. Here, after making a great noise, he succeeded in gaining admittance to the general, to whom he succinctly related his danger. The general immediately issued orders for the troops to saddle their horses, and load the baggage waggons, not to create disorder or a panic amid the soldiers ; so that before day-break, this prodigious body of cavalry was in readiness to march in military array, and divided in four immense squadrons at some distance from the baggage, and a row of tents which formed the market or bazar ; leaving from a thousand to fifteen hundred horse, who were directed, in case of the enemy appearing, to engage their van, and draw them, as they retreated, among the baggage and the tents, which were left standing.

So orderly was every thing managed, that none of the soldiers had any idea of their having to engage, but merely imagined that they were about to decamp for some other spot, as was frequent with them. But Carchica Bey seeing a favourable opportunity had so contrived, that he was apparently reduced either to comply with the King's injunctions and abandon in disgrace his camp and baggage, or attempt to deliver them from the enemy by an engagement.

The enemy came up shortly after day break, and the Tatars made a furious charge on the troops of Shiraz Imaunculi Khan, by whom they were valiantly received, and a desperate conflict ensued. Carchica Bey, who was in the rear, upon this stated, that he could not in conformity to the King's orders hazard an engagement, but should entrench himself. Upon this Imaunculi Khan sent word that he was unavoidably drawn

into battle, and that the Corchi Basha must think seriously of fighting and immediately join him, as notwithstanding the bravery of his troops they must otherwise be overpowered, enjoining him if he would not fight to draw up his forces, as their appearance might intimidate the enemy and encourage his men. In the mean time, the fifteen hundred men of the van who had done their duty, agreeable to the orders received, pretended to fly, and drew the enemy among the tents, where they immediately began pillaging and massacring such as they found in the bazar, giving over the pursuit. At this instant, Carchica Bey seeing things in the state he wished them, and holding himself justified with respect to his orders in the opinion as well of Imaunculi Khan as the rest of the nobles in the army who blamed him for his inertness, joined his forces to those of the Khan of Shiraz, and fell with the utmost fury on the Tatars with his four squadrons. The Tatars bravely sustained the shock, but finding themselves at length overpowered by the Persians and not supported by the Turks, who came up but slowly, owing to some impediment on the road, or their cowardice, which induced them rather to be spectators of the battle than actors in the field, were at length obliged to give way in disorder; the Khan of Caffa, who had behaved himself bravely, and was wounded in several places, retiring at the entreaty of his people.

The Persians, upon the Tatars being put to the rout, followed up their advantage closely for several miles, driving before them not only the Tatars but also the dilatory Turks whom they met on the road, putting to the sword most of those whom the want of fleetness of their horses put within their reach, and making very few prisoners. Of these, the only ones of condition were the Basha of Van, a grey-haired old man, a Captain of Tatars, and a Georgian of note in his own country, a Captain of Janissaries\*. Among the dead, the number of which is uncertain, were seven or eight Bashes, whose names are mentioned. On the side of the Persians, no one is spoken of as killed of any consequence; such a victory, however, cannot have been purchased without great loss. In his account of the battle Carchica Bey excused himself for his disobedience of His Majesty's orders by the singularity and urgency of the case, and stated, that if His Majesty disapproved of his conduct, he was ready to lay his head at his feet. The Shah expressed himself satisfied with what he had done, and commended him for his skill.

This intelligence occasioned the revocation of the former orders. The whole day long nothing was heard but music and rejoicing, and an infinite number of people repaired to the mosque in order to return thanks for the victory. Ali Bey, who was nobly rewarded by the Corchi Basha and his officers, had apartments assigned him in the house of Bahadur Khan.

His Majesty pardoned the Tatars and his chief prisoners, but ordered all the Turks to be put to death, as well as some of their spies who were taken; their execution was barbarous, it consisted in cutting off their feet or legs, and leaving them in the different streets to bleed to death and be trampled on by passengers.

On the 16th September, Emir Gunch Erouan Khan came to confer with the Shah, and after a promise from the King that he would not conclude peace without hearing more from the army, he returned to join the Corchi Basha.

The Turkish ambassador appeared again at court with new proposals. These went, that the Turks were willing to make peace without restitution of any conquests, upon

\* This word is constantly written thus; it should be *Yeni cheri*, as pronounced in Turkey, the meaning a new foldier. The Germans not having in their language the sound of *ch*, substitute an *s*, and pronounce it *Yeniferi* or *fari*, spelling it with a *J*, founded by them as *Y* with us. Retaining the German spelling, the word is consequently but improperly pronounced by us *Janissary*.

condition only of the annual present being sent, or in lieu of it a certain quantity of scarlet cloth, some horse trappings and other trifles, provided the army were allowed to return by the road of Maraga and Curdistan, the country through which they came being exhausted, and that the King would furnish them with a quantity of corn, straw, and shoes for their horses, with other articles of which they stood in need.

The wary King, while he consented to the tribute, refused to allow them a passage through Curdistan, and insisted on their return by the same way they came; upon their agreeing to which he would furnish them with the requisite provisions. With this answer the ambassador returned, accompanied by Bouroun Cafum Bey for the conclusion of peace on these terms on the part of the Serdar.

On the 20th September, the King being in better humour than on the preceding days, went without the city to divert himself with falcons and other birds, and on this occasion, fantastic as he was, he remained seated on the bare ground in the midst of the fields exposed to the rays of the sun without any covering above his head, but not forgetting the bottle, and in this posture made his meal, without any cloth, of a roast fowl which was brought to him, the court seated around him. In the afternoon, we were informed by the mehimandar that the Turks were advanced on the road from Tebriz as far as a large town of the name of Serah, on the road to Ardebil, whither he appeared to advance, while Carchica Bey in pursuance of the Royal orders retired before them. We were in consequence, to provide against any treachery, directed to send off our heavy baggage to the King's camp, reserving only a laden horse called a *seiz kanè*, that we might be ready to accompany the King at notice with greater dispatch.

On Saturday 22d of September, the first day of Bairam, or the greater Easter festival of the Mahometans, the King repaired to the mosque, whither the ornaments of greatest value which had been removed had already been brought back, and where after prayers the King himself served out the *pilão* to the poor.

On Sunday some Armenian Christians, coming from Turkey, who had passed through the Turkish army, brought account that the Serdar had received new orders from court, by which he was commanded to repair immediately to the assistance of the Porte, about to be attacked in different quarters by the Christians; and that Erzerum, through which they had passed, was thronged by emigrants flying from Trebisond in consequence of the ravages committed by the Cossacks on the shores of the Black Sea.

This news was verified on the return of Cafum Bey with the treaty of peace signed by the Serdar, who had sent with him not only the same ambassador who had been twice before with the King, but also Gebegi Basha, a person of great authority, colonel general of the gens d'armes and artillery, who, with another of no less respectability among the Turks, was deputed to ratify the treaty.

Upon the retreat of the Turks, which took place immediately, the King disbanded those of his troops which came from Mazanderan and the Turkmans, and on arrival of the last ambassador published his intention of leaving Ardebil for Cazvin; so that many among us, and I of the number, set forward on the road, not being disposed to subject myself to the inconvenience naturally attendant on the march of the ordu or King's camp. On the 22d October, therefore, I left Ardebil in the evening, merely to begin the journey, and after travelling half a league halted at a village called Tash Kiefen, from the number of stone-cutters by which it is inhabited.

On the next day, after marching three leagues and a half, I stopped at Tagi buyuc, a village at which I had rested on coming. Tuesday I travelled five leagues, lodging in the village of Ghivi, at the house of a very obliging and extremely agreeable lady.

Beyond Ghivi the road to Casvin divides, I took therefore a different one to which I came, and after three leagues on Wednesday passed the night in a town called Hoin. Thursday we journeyed through a valley extremely well peopled throughout its whole extent, and arrived by night at a small city called Shial, five leagues from Hoin. Shial is built on the slope of a mountain, in the narrowest part of the valley, above a small river which runs through it; it is, however, so inconsiderable a place as hardly to deserve the title of a city.

We advanced but three leagues in this valley on Friday, owing to our litter being overturned; fortunately, however, without any injury either to Madame Maani or the camel which bore it; taking up our abode at a caravanferai. On Saturday we continued our course over a disagreeable road, no longer full of mud as that of the preceding day, but abounding in acclivities, and after journeying almost three leagues came to a village beyond the mountains, near which, owing to our camels being extremely jaded, we rested for the night by the side of a running stream, where we saw a number of pastoral Turkmans with their flocks, frightened hither by the din of war from their province of Ghilan.

On Sunday we merely completed the remainder of the three leagues of the previous day, stopping at the first village we came to, in the territory of Taron, called Derram. The succeeding day, while yet here, the King with the whole of the ordu passed us, the greater part of the army continuing its route, but his Majesty remaining below the village under tents. On Tuesday the royal household set off rather late, we following it at a distance, travelling for three leagues through a country abounding with cotton; from Derram to Casvin the fields being covered with scarcely any thing else. In the evening we pitched our tents on the margin of a small river, whose course we had followed, keeping on its left side the whole of this and part of the preceding day. We reached a village called Ibrahim Oba, or Abraham's hut, on Wednesday 31st of October, after having journeyed five leagues.

As travelling along, accompanied by Tochta Bey, Imamculi Mirza, the King's youngest son, who was greatly attached to me, inquired of my people with the baggage to whom the litter belonged, and learning it was mine, conversed for some time with them seated on the ground, his led horse with his Scizchanè having fallen ill. While thus discoursing with two of my men who stopped to answer his questions, he saw a little bitch pass by on one of our camels, which, however despicable it would have been with us, in Persia served as a pet, and admired the animal extremely; finding, however, that his praising her would not induce the servants to have the civility of offering it, he even begged her of them; and on her being presented, not knowing how otherwise to secure it till he should overtake his baggage, upon his led horse coming up he unfastened his garters, and joining them together he tied one extremity round the neck of the bitch, and holding the other in his hand, led her along.

On Thursday, the first of November, we arrived at a spot where the bridge which formerly crossed the river being in ruins, we were obliged to ford it. It is the same we passed in going to Ardebil, in the valley of Perdelife, and is called Kizil Uzen, or red colour, from its flowing over red sand which communicates its colour sometimes to the water. This river, to which several small streams are tributary, much increased in volume, empties itself into the Caspian Sea.

In the evening, on account of my not being disposed myself to ford this river with my baggage horses, and making a long tour to pass it over a bridge, it was late before I reached my people at a village called Kielle, or head, about half a league beyond the river, and four good leagues from our last place of resting.

Friday

Friday, the 2d of November, after four leagues of road, we arrived at a small village of only four or five houses, called Kara Tikian Corchi Basha, or the black thorn of the Basha of the Corchi, leaving before we came to it the river Shiahруд, which falls a little lower down into the Kizil Uzen, on the left; having all the while close on our right the mountains of Ghilan, which branch from Mount Taurus.

On Saturday we travelled six leagues through an extreme narrow valley very unpleasantly, on account of the numerous and crooked defiles we had to pass, and our being frequently obliged to ford a small stream which winds on a bed of rock and stones. Late at night we pitched our tents in the neighbourhood of some peasants' huts, where we procured provisions and forage for our horses.

On Sunday, having cleared the defiles of the valley, we entered on a high and level country, and encamped below a village called Ramushan, only three short leagues from Casvin, where on Monday we arrived, but found the streets so filthy in consequence of the heavy rains of the preceding night, that our horses were up to their girths in mud. Notwithstanding the consequent condition of the country, the King, unwilling to turn the inhabitants out of their houses, encamped his army on the wet ground.

On Saturday, the 17th of November, the King, after having previously given audience to the various ambassadors from Spain, Mogholistan, and Muscovy, received their presents and given them grand entertainments in the Meidan or square at Casvin, on which occasion, it being by night, the square was illuminated with such a profusion of light as to make the night vie in splendour with the day, he left Casvin to pass the winter in Ferhabad, as is usual with him. The nobles at court hereupon dispersed each his way, excepting a few expressly appointed by the King to attend him. For my part, having caught a cold which brought on a lingering fever, not feeling any disposition to revisit Ferhabad, and requiring the comforts of Hispahan, I took leave of His Majesty to winter in the capital.

Before his departure, however, the King taking umbrage at the Muscovite present, which among other things comprised a large number of casks of brandy, imagining that they tacitly thereby accused him of drunkenness, sent back the chief to the ambassadors, telling them at the same time that for his part he had not occasion for so much, and that as he knew they were used to drink deep he was unwilling to deprive them of what he was aware was so gratifying to themselves.

On Tuesday, the 20th of November, I departed from Casvin for Hispahan by the direct road, which was different to that by which I travelled to Ferhabad, and as I was too weak to undertake the journey on horseback, I went in the litter.

We pitched our tents the first night about three leagues and a half from Casvin, near a village in ruins on the road. Wednesday, a little before dawn in the morning, as we were loading our horses, I saw for the first time a comet, the largest of the two which have been visible for two months back. Its form was that of a scymitar.

This day we travelled seven leagues, and arrived early in the evening at a village called Ara Sengh, where we passed the night, and were joined by Father Melchior des Anges, prior of the Augustin convent, who had passed us in the morning on his way to Ferhabad, on business with the King respecting encroachments on the part of the governors of the provinces bordering on Ormus, and who receiving a courier shortly after he passed us, by which the King had sent orders to these governors to desist, and intimated his intention of examining the affair himself on his return to Hispahan, which would shortly take place; the good Father trod back his steps. His company and that of his companions so much raised my spirits, and I found myself so much better, that I began to mount my horse again.

On Thursday we rode six leagues, and rested at night at a caravanferai in midst of a wild uninhabited country.

We travelled eight leagues on Friday, and arrived at night at a small city called Sava. On Saturday, after fording the river called by the name of the city, we lodged at a caravanferai in a desert country called Geuher-abad, five leagues from the place at which we last rested.

On Sunday night, five leagues beyond, we halted at a caravanferai in the city of Com, which the author of the Geographical Epitome (Ferrari) maintains was anciently called Choana, and is a city of Media. I am also of his opinion, and believe Media to extend farther, and even to comprise Cashan, more towards the south, and extend to certain mountains which apparently are its boundaries, although the inhabitants of the country place them in Irak.

Com is a city of middling size, inferior in population and the number of its houses to Cashan, but much superior in point of elegance and situation. We entered the city by a handsome stone bridge, which generally is small, but very wide when swollen by the rains descending from the mountain. Near the bridge is a handsome mosque; its streets and bazars are good; its square large and very spacious, although not of a regular or proportionate figure; in short, the whole city appeared to me commodious and handsome.

We remained in this city the whole of Monday to rest our beasts, and finding myself much better I indulged myself with melons and cucumbers, which here are excellent. On Tuesday we travelled four leagues only, and passed the night at a wretched caravanferai, dependant on a village called Sifin. On Wednesday night we reached Cashan, seven leagues from Sifin. On the road I was much inconvenienced by the cold and violence of the wind, notwithstanding the fur dresses I wore. Here we took up our abode at the King's caravanferai, situated in the suburbs of the city.

Sunday, Father Melchior being summoned to Ferhabad by the ambassador, we parted, he towards that place and I for Hispahan, travelling by night six leagues, and stopping two hours before dawn at a caravanferai called Kogia Casum Natanzi.

Monday night we journeyed eight leagues; resting in the morning at a caravanferai in the neighbourhood of the royal garden called Tegiabad. Thence, the next night, to the caravanferai Lala Bey, eight leagues; and on Wednesday night, after the like distance, came to a town called Berian, only one league from Hispahan. Here I took repose for a while, sending forward to advise of my arrival, that the King's officers might appoint me a residence, that which I before had being occupied by the Spanish ambassador.

The house we were to dwell in being ready, I repaired to it on Saturday the 8th of December, when, taking to my bed, I was confined to the 16th, recovering my strength afterwards by degrees, so that with the new year of 1619 I found myself in good spirits and health.

In this interval the Armenian Christians of Chiolsa repaired to Ferhabad to make certain presents to the King; he, as they had been given to understand, being displeased at the length of time since they had made their last. One of these, on his return on the 13th of February, informed me that at present Ferhabad contains 40,000 houses belonging to Armenians, 12,000 to Georgians, 7,000 to Jews and to Mahometans from the provinces of Shirwan, Ghilan and other countries, 25,000, and these exclusive of those inhabited by the attendants of His Majesty and persons belonging to the court. I mention this that you may form an idea of the brilliant beginning of this city, founded  
by

by force, and some computation of its probable extent should it flourish, which is problematic after the death of Shah Abbas.

With the relation of two curious matters I shall conclude my long letter. The one, that although I have but seven women servants and some few men, we speak with correctness in our house ten different languages. I say so many are spoken perfectly separate from several others with which we are partially acquainted. The languages spoken are the Latin, Italian, French, Spanish, modern Greek, the Turkish, Arabic, Persian, Georgian, and Armenian. I confess, however, that I alone am master of the Latin, French, Italian, and Spanish; but several speak the six others, and not one of my people is there but understands at least three or four. I myself comprehend, in measure, the whole, except the Georgian and Armenian, of either of which I have little knowledge. The other curious matter, which relates to surgery or natural history, and what I certainly ought not to omit mentioning, is the punishment inflicted on such as commit rapes or sodomy, which is similar to that used in ancient times in Egypt, according to Diodorus Siculus, and consists in the amputation of the offending parts. Strange as this operation, the culprit never dies in consequence, but is cured speedily by the application of ashes alone.

The Vizier of Mazanderan, who was my mehmandar at Ferhabad, underwent this chastisement most wrongfully, as he protested to me. The King being informed that he had carried off a young boy from a certain part of which he was governor, in order to set an example to his other ministers and governors, sentenced him to undergo the law, which took place and left him deprived of manhood. A young wife he had was so much chagrined on the occasion, that she left his haram in search of another more useful companion, but one of more mature years compensated for her loss by her unremitting fidelity and kindness to him.

Soon, however, as the knife had done its office, it was discovered that he had been falsely accused; in consequence of which the King was greatly hurt, and ordered the tenderest care to be had of him, that he should have ashes applied, and be kept in a dark apartment for several days. At length he recovered his strength, but not what he had lost. This same vizier, while I was at Escref, sentenced to a similar punishment a young man who was one of his domestics, and charged with having violated a single woman. What is remarkable, when this operation is effected on grown-up persons, it does not cause them to lose their beard.

*Hispan; 22d April, 1619.*

ABOUT to close my letter, it has occurred to me that I ought to inform you of a matter I have omitted. The Persians observe no order in fighting; the different khans, sultans, or captains, appointed by the King or the generalissimo, mixing their fuzileers with their bowmen and such as fight with lances indiscriminately. And fairly may we say of the Persian archers, that they retreat rather than run away; for, similar to their ancestors, the Parthians, they turn their back to the enemy as they draw the bow to shoot with greater power, the fuzileers copying them, after having fired their piece.

In their march they keep no ranks, but each goes as he pleases, uniting in a body only when in suspected places, or in the neighbourhood of the enemy's army. The baggage and the women are placed in the rear when nigh the foe on advancing, and on retreat precede the army.

I have in my garden here among other articles some yellow jessamine, the leaves of which are larger and thicker than those of our common jessamine, in other respects the plant is the same. I am uncertain if this be or not a curious thing in Italy; if you should think

think it so, I will forward you some of the seed in a letter. Yellow roses are also frequent in all the gardens of Hispahan, similar in their leaves and shape of the flower to common roses, but differing in fragrance, the smell of them being far from pleasant.

## LETTER VI.

THIS letter being chiefly filled with a description of the triumphal entry of Shah Abbas the Great into Hispahan, of the splendid entertainments given by him to the various ambassadors at his court, and matters relating rather to history than an account of travels, is suppressed.

## LETTER VII.

IN this the author gives the proposals of Spain for a traffic in silk with Persia, and a portrait of Madame Maani, two matters which, as uninteresting to the reader, are passed over.

## LETTER VIII.

*Hispahan, 4th April, 1620.*

IN the middle of November last I changed my abode, a matter which is common with the King's guests, as suits their convenience or occurrences; the house in which I dwelt before not belonging to the King, but being rented by him, the owner wished to repossess it, and as two houses in the neighbourhood of where I formerly lived had been vacated by the Spanish ambassador, I agreed with the mehimandar to remove to one of them, in which I am now.

On the 21st of November I was witness to a circumstance here as extraordinary as it was inhuman. Certain differences arising among the Jews of Hispahan, they accused each other before the King. In particular, three Rabbins were falsely charged with being addicted to magic and other flagrant crimes, one of them being said to possess a letter which, on any one reading, either by virtue of poison or witchcraft, caused his death. Whether the inculpations were merited or not, judging by the event they should have had foundation, as the culprits were ordered for execution; the sentence of the King being, that they should be exposed to dogs, kept by him purposely for devouring criminals of this description and nation, held in contempt by the Mahometans, and treated as infidels. His Majesty, however, proposed to them the usual alternative of becoming Mussulmen, after the furious animals were brought into the square. Except one, the rest were so much intimidated that they readily accepted the koran; Aba, for that was the name of the one constant in his religion, braved death in preference to apostacy, and was torn in pieces by the furious beasts, invoking to the last, in his agonies, the name of God and the founder of his law.

In order to display the difference which exists between the violent and barbarous government of this country and that more mild and civilized under which we live in Europe, I shall relate an incident which occurred at court towards the close of last December.

Lala Bey \*, the King's treasurer, his first minister and intendant over all matters relative to merchandise, attending him one day at his levèr, on account of having

\* The story of Ali Bey of the Archbishop of Cambray, in the fables composed by him for the use of the Dauphin of France, is taken from the latter part of this relation.

neglected to forward certain affairs with which he was entrusted, and having failed in attention to His Majesty's orders, the King was so highly enraged as to strike him with a stick which he had in his hand, and not content with this, directed the porters to beat him, which they did so unmercifully as to leave him for dead. Abbas, not willing, however, to lose a man who was so necessary to him, caused him to be taken up and carried home, whither he sent his own physicians, with attendants, ordered to keep watch over him constantly, that he might not, in despair, commit any violence on himself. Shortly after, on his being cured of his bruises, he was taken into perfect favour with the King, and served him afterwards constantly with fidelity, forgiving and forgetting the disgrace to which he had been exposed. This man is of mean origin, a Curd by birth, and was so poor when taken into the service of the Shah, that the thread-bare dress he wore formed all his fortune. This, however, he preserves with the utmost care, that it may constantly remind him of his pristine state. At present he is extremely rich and powerful, and when told by the courtiers around him, that the King may some day call him to account, his answer is, "he knows nothing of accounts, and has none to render to the King; that all that he possesses has been derived from the employments with which His Majesty has honoured him, and all consequently belongs to his master. The Shah," adds he, "may take the whole when he will, and leave me again to resume the humble habit I still keep by me, and which I formerly wore." Thus does he turn the sneers of the courtiers into ridicule, while the King has implicit confidence in him, which he is reputed honestly to deserve.

The Mahometans in Persia celebrated, on the 15th of February, a festival, called Isfend, from the name of a plant which makes its appearance the first of any, and is considered the harbinger of spring. This festival is not appointed by the lunar but the solar year, on the day when the sun enters the twenty-fifth degree of Aquarius.

And now, as for what regards me individually, I have again changed my place of abode, being dissatisfied with the house in which I passed the spring, on account of its being gloomy and dull; and rather than be subject to change continually, to which the guests of His Majesty are liable, I have hired one, with which I am greatly pleased, for as long a time as I choose to keep it. This house is handsome, cheerful, well planned in point of convenience, and has attached to it a beautiful garden, through which flows a running stream which supplies a reservoir in the audience chamber. The garden has a raised esplanade of a bow shot in length, built very neatly of brick, where I walk to study, as I prefer the open air to the house. The house, moreover, has an interior apartment in the shape of a cross, formed by four handsome rooms, surmounted by a high and noble dome, by which the light is admitted, so that the rays of the sun penetrate but obliquely, and do not reach below. The Paromilades, which I take to be the people of the present Zabelistaun at the extremity of this empire, according to Diodorus, were accustomed to build their houses in this manner; that is to say, with arched domes, with only one hole in the middle of the dome as a passage for the smoke and entrance for the light. The Persians of the present day build most of their houses in this manner. On the roofs are terraces, affording prospects of the country without exposure to any one. In short, I am delighted with my new acquisition. The garden is full of trees, some planted for the sake of their foliage, others for their fruit, of flowers and plants to please the senses and serve as well for food.

With this I shall finish my letter, saluting you cordially and all our mutual friends, wishing you health and prosperity.

## LETTERS IX. X. XI. AND XII.

THESE letters simply comprife a history of the politics and events of the times, collected in various records, or matters merely personal to the author.

## LETTER XIII.

THIS is replete wholly with a panegyric on Shah Abbas the Great.

## LETTER XIV.

*From Hispahan, 24th Sept. 1621.*

I MAY say with St. Jerome, that my wishes are completed since I have received your letter of the 27th of Nov. 1620, which to me has been a most refreshing beverage after two years of thirst. As for the drugs and medicaments of which your friend complains that I am silent, it astonishes me, as I have repeatedly written to him that no one here knows any thing of Amomum, not even in Media where it is reputed to grow. As for Hama-ma, the druggists are ignorant of the plant, and sell nothing that bears similitude to it in name but a certain seed of which I sent you a specimen from Bagdad, in 1616, together with those of other drugs, without ever receiving any mention of them from you in return. I have likewise sent to our friend Horace a small bag of the flowers of the bid-musk or the musk-tree, as common in Persia as it is rare in Europe, the appellation of which is given on account of its fragrant, musk-like flavour. I send him the ripe flowers on account of the grain being so very light and delicate as to be difficult of preservation when separated from its envelope. I kiss your hands.

## LETTER XV.

*Shiraz, 21st October 1621.*

AFTER reposing a while from the fatigue incident on the journey to this place, where we obtained a reception from the English in their factory, I cannot refrain from presenting my respects, and imparting to you the curiosities which we noticed on our way hither from Hispahan. I shall, therefore, premise what I have to say with informing you, that, having some time before taken my leave of His Majesty, I could not presume to appear in any public place while he was present, and had no further business there than to prepare for my travels.

On Friday, therefore, the 1st of October, our baggage and cattle being gone before, and awaiting us on the high-road to Shiraz, shaded by trees without the gates of the city, we proceeded to join them, after taking leave of our friends; and that night travelled four leagues, stopping at a town or castle called Huseinabad, where we met with indifferent fare. When the places at which we should stop might not be comfortable, we proposed sleeping under our tents in the open country. We had likewise provided necessary dresses for our horses, after the fashion of those used in the King's camp; which, as I do not recollect ever to have mentioned, I shall take this occasion of describing.

The horses are constantly kept exposed to the open air, as well by night as by day, provided, however, against the weather, and particularly in winter, not only by a cloth as with us, but also by an over-cloth, which is thick and made of hair, called a shawl, which keeps them warm, and preserves them from the air, rain, and even snow, should it chance to fall. They set apart a space of tolerable large size proportionate to the number of horses, which they broom and clean very neatly. In this they are tied one by the side of the other, in the same manner as we are wont in our stables, to a rope of sufficient length, fastened tight to two stakes of iron at each end, driven some depth into the

the ground, leaving the halter by which they are tied of sufficient length to allow them the liberty of moving in freedom. To keep them quiet, and prevent their committing any violence, they are fastened by the two hind feet to a cord, which divides into two branches, with a nook at each end for the insertion of the feet, of sufficient length to allow of their laying down and standing at ease. This method they always follow in their stables at home also; and is of such ancient practice as to have existed in the time of Cyrus, according to Xenophon. Instead of making a bed of straw for them, they sift sand or dust. They are not suffered to feed from the ground, the custom of keeping their neck continually bent making them heavy-headed, but they put their feed in a large bag, which is fastened to the neck of each horse, as is done by our carmen and coachmen at Rome. The food they give them in this bag consists of corn, bran, and chopped straw; the corn is barley, as no oats grow in Persia: in May they feed them on grass and green barley. They are remarkable in this country for a usage uncommon with us, but which it might be well to follow. The first question asked on buying a horse of any one is, the quantity of food it has been accustomed to; and the reason they give is, that if they were to exceed the proper quantity, which is in proportion to its size and condition, it would create humours, swollen legs, and render the animal unserviceable. When worked, they augment the portion given at other times. The Persians differ from us likewise in this particular: they use the same kind of bit for all their horses alike; it is a kind of bastard snaffle, and the only difference between one another is in its size, which is suited to the mouth of the horse. They make use of no curb, but with the simple snaffle break in and manage their animals with the greatest dexterity, even in full gallop on the most slippery ground, and descending the steepest precipices without fear of their stumbling; taking no pains as we do to make them hold their head erect with their neck arched like the rainbow.

The natural swiftness of the horses of this country, and their small doe-like head, stand in lieu of all the lessons of the riding-school. To make them go, neither switch nor spur is necessary; instead of these every horseman is provided with a whip, much smaller than those used by postillions with us, and made of twisted cord of parchment with a silk lash at the end; with which upon their touching them behind, they dart forward with as much celerity as if you drew blood with a spur: some persons, indeed, fix a small sharp piece of iron in the heel of the boot, but all are perfectly free from the incumbrances with which our feet are loaded to fasten on the spur. The saddles are of the Turkish or Arabian fashion, of wood covered with leather or velvet without any stuffing, and are consequently very hard and unpleasant. These saddles are, however, used only by a certain few, consisting of old people and persons attached to ancient modes. The cavalry use the saddles common to the Usbeck Tatars, as being more commodious. These are covered with a good pad, and made in a fanciful manner, very high in front and behind, so that the rider may turn with great swiftness without any danger of being unfaddled. They have, moreover, the advantage of being much lighter, neater, and not near so awkward as ours. Persia abounds so plentifully in horses, that the best I had, and which I used as a war horse, cost no more than thirty sequins (15*l.* sterling), saddle and bridle included: another, I gave seven sequins for it in the market at Hispahan, and it served me in the regiment for more than a year, after which I made present of it to my brother-in-law, who took it with him to Bagdad. Although these horses cost little, they are so excellent that I am entirely weaned from my partiality for those of Naples or Rome. There are few among them very high or very strong, and still fewer race-horses, as they are not solicitous of increasing the breed of these, principally confining themselves to the useful breed, full of spirit,

capable of bearing fatigue, and fit for the saddle. They have among them some trained to canter, the nostrils of which are very wide to facilitate respiration; these will keep continually the same pace for seven or eight leagues at a stretch, without fatiguing the rider in the slightest degree. A trained horse of this description costs from eighteen to twenty sequins.

On Saturday evening, 2d October, after resting below the village of Husseinabad, the moon being up, we continued our journey, bending our course directly south, and on Sunday by day-break, after travelling five or six leagues in the night, we stopt at a caravanferai near a village called Mehiar. Two hours after sunset we set off, accompanied by Ghulamali, a Mahometan courier in the service of the Portugueze, who overtook us on the road, going express from our monks to Ormus, and was directed to serve me as a guide; and after five or six leagues, the sun being risen to some height, we halted at the caravanferai of a large town called Comshè, till three hours after night-fall, when we departed. On Tuesday, journeying eight leagues by moon-light, we rested in a garden in the midst of a town with a castle called Amenabad. Soon as the moon rose on the following night we mounted our horses anew, travelling this day no more than four leagues on account of there being no place where we could halt, except at a great distance from the village at which we stopped, called Izdkast, (or God's will.) This village or town is situated in the opening of a small mountain, in a low and confined situation, inclosed by rocks on the west and north, and exposed to the east and south winds. We resumed our progress at the close of day, and after eight leagues dismounted at the village of Dehighirdu, or the village of walnut-trees; so named from the abundance of them about the place. Here, under the shade of four large trees in the midst of the court of the caravanferai, we spent the day. After supping, we went no more than two leagues to the town of Kuskizer, at which we arrived on Friday morning, a little before dawn. Here we saw a number of houses inhabited by Georgians and Circassians, sent hither by the reigning sovereign, in addition to those belonging to the natives of the province. At a league beyond this town we crossed a handsome bridge over a small river, which bears the name of the last town. The Persians and Turks call certain open buildings erected in a garden or on an eminent situation, Kousk, or Kiofck, from one of which this town takes its name, Kuskizer, signifying the golden Kiofck. Our place of rest on Saturday morning was at the village of Asbas, at the foot of a mountain, near a rivulet which falls from its sides. On this mountain is a large garden surrounded by walls and planted thick with poplars. Near the same village is a castle built on an eminence surrounded by two inclosures of walls, the one at the summit, the other at the foot of the hill. These walls, simple curtains joined to outworks by lines of communication of no great strength, and mostly in ruins. The ditches are full of water, and their banks covered with large willows, which form a handsome crown for the castle, and serve to give shade to the plain, in which are a number of Circassian and Georgian dwellings, as well here as in all the neighbouring towns.

We left the village of Asbas three hours after night had assumed its reign, and travelling four leagues reached a caravanferai, not yet wholly completed, in a town called Ugian, the revenue of which is set apart for the maintenance of the sepulchre of an ancient Prince of the Blood Royal, called Seid Ahmed, who died as he was passing through this place. This Prince was a son of Shah Sofi; he founded a perpetual establishment for travellers, who are received and maintained here gratuitously. Here we were served with an excellent soup, and a fowl cooked in a much better manner than at Ardebil. Ugian is called by the inhabitants Ardebil the Less. The building is a short distance from the village, and has a garden walled-in for the benefit

benefit of the guardians of the tomb; the caravanferai is in the middle between the village and the sepulchre, which is not superb, consisting only of a small dome raised on pillars, and some other pieces of architecture. Hence we did not depart till midnight, waiting for the moon rising to have light on our way through the mountains, which was difficult and dangerous. By favour of the moon we traversed the remainder of the plain and passed the mountain, in doing which we were frequently obliged to dismount. By dawn of day we reached its opposite foot, in a spot venerable among the Mahometans as the place of sepulture of their Imauns, called Imaunzadè Ismail; after which we entered a narrow valley three or four leagues in length, inclosed by mountains, and having completed altogether six or seven leagues, arrived in the afternoon at a large town called Mayin, inhabited by Circassians and natives of the country. Here, however, finding only a small ruined caravanferai full of people, we were obliged to pass on and encamp in a plain near a large garden. On our road over the mountain and through the plains I remarked a number of pistachio-trees, which I had mistaken for turpentine-trees. They are called by the Arabs batom; by the Turks chiaclacuchi. I distinguished likewise other plants, which from their roots send up a number of green, long and separate shoots, stronger and more stiff than the rushes of which we make mats, and which produce a kind of bitter almond. The almonds, however, I did not see, as it was not their fruiting season. The following night we rose with the moon a little before day, and continued our journey by a constant and almost imperceptible ascent for three leagues, attaining at length the summit of a plain by half an hour after noon, and reaching the banks of a river which flows from north to south, over which is a bridge of brick, which, notwithstanding it be old, and the parapets at its sides in a state of decay, is yet call Puli New, or New Bridge. This river is called Kur, retaining to our days thus the name of Cyrus, which is Kur with a Latin termination. On the banks of this river was it, according to Strabo, that Cyrus, when an infant, was exposed, and received his name from the place where he was left, rather than that where he was born, which was at Agradat. After passing the Kur, (which there is no doubt is the same as the Araxis mentioned by Diodorus and Quintus Curtius, since it flows near Persepolis, that there is none other deserving of the name of river, and that Araxis, in the ancient language of the country signified the river; so, perhaps, styled by way of eminence,) we rested at a house by itself, inhabited by a family which receives passengers. Before we crossed the bridge we perceived on the eastern bank, opposite to us, two large rocks, on the summit of which formerly were two castles built of the stone hewn from their bases, the nearest of which to the bridge was called Calaaï Sakt (the strong castle), the other Calaaï Shekistè (the ruined castle). The banks of the river are covered with certain trees resembling our juniper, a sort of cedar of Lebanon, but smaller, called by the Persians ghiz, the wood of which is very handsome; as, however, these trees grow to no size in this country, it is not adapted for any large cabinet-work, and serves only for gunstocks. Quintus Curtius, indeed, relates that the palace of Persepolis was built of cedar, and on that account was so soon consumed when set on fire by Alexander; which if the case, Persia must then have produced cedars of large size: such, however, grow there no more. The remainder of the day we passed under the shade of these trees, and the following night in the house. The next day at dawn, the 13th of October, leaving the high road to Shiraz, we repassed the Puli new, and followed the course of the river towards those famous ruins called Chehil minar or the forty columns, the illustrious remains of the ancient Persepolis, which I so ardently and so long had wished to see, and to reach which required but little divergency from our road towards the east. After proceeding for four leagues in this direction, and passing  
a small

a small river called Pelevar, which flows from north to south, and which empties itself into the Kur, first watering one of the most beautiful and fertile countries in Persia, and worthy of the large and flourishing city it formerly contained, we arrived on the spot at two o'clock in the afternoon, where we pitched our tents on the margin of a rivulet, resolved to take a minute survey of the curiosities it offered.

Persepolis, a city celebrated in sacred and profane history, was likewise called Elymais, as we are told in Scripture, in the sixth chapter of the first book of the Maccabees, and the ninth chapter, book second, where it is described under both names. Some, indeed, contend that Shiraz, the capital of Persia Proper, or Farfistan, is the same with Persepolis, but certainly such are in error, Shiraz not being a city of ancient foundation, and, moreover, being ten parasangs or leagues distant from these ruins, in a south western direction, which indisputably was the site of that ancient city. Their position is in a beautiful and wide-extending plain of a round figure, encircled almost on every side by small hills in form of an amphitheatre, the diameter of which may be about four leagues. At the extremity of this plain, which we crossed from the east, the ruins are discernible; at the foot of the mountain on which according to Diodorus the Royal Palace of Cyrus was built, with this exception, that Diodorus states it to have been built at four plethres (four hundred feet according to some) from the mountain, whereas the ruins are immediately contiguous to its base. The term *Minar* applied to these ruins by the Persians is from the resemblance of the columns to certain towers of that name, whence in Mahometan cities the hour is called to summon the people to prayers; the term *chehil* meaning forty, which was, no doubt, the number of the columns standing at the time the appellation was originally given. These ruins front the plain towards the west, and have at the back of them the mountain towards the east. From the remains it is impossible to comprehend what was the form or extent of the building, as well on account of its ruined state as the destitution on the part of the inhabitants of the neighbourhood of any history which might throw light in past times. It might have been either a temple or a palace; but I am rather induced to conjecture it to have been a temple. I shall, however, give as good a description of it as I can, and assign the reasons for my opinion.

At the foot of the mountain, called by the inhabitants of the country *Cuh i rahmet*, or the Mountain of Mercy, and by the ancients, according to Diodorus, the Royal Mountain, turning your back on the plain and the west, and fronting the mountain and the east, you see before you two large marble staircases, one of which fronts the south, the opposite one the north, both exactly similar. These staircases are thirty feet wide, and steep after the manner of the Persians; the wall for the support of them terminating in a point, and rising a foot above each stair. Each stair is a foot and a half broad, and three or four fingers' breadth in height; seventeen of them alone are single blocks. Each staircase has two flights, the one higher and broader than the other; the second flight of that which fronts the south facing the north, and that of its opposite the reverse; and these two upper flights are uncovered and separated from each other by a wall of large stones, which supports both the one and the other. In one of the first flights there might be about fifty-three steps; I say about, for being broken it was impossible to count them exactly. At the summit of this flight is a large landing-place, square and proportioned in size to the staircase; this, with the walls and the whole of the edifice, is of large blocks, hard and well polished, and calculated, as Diodorus observes, to last for ever. It appeared to me, however, to be rather built of stained marble than white; although that of the stairs approached very nearly to black. In the second flight I reckoned about forty-eight stairs, and at the top I came to a kind of large even

square, in the midst of which I perceived the ruins of a building. I was unable to comprehend whether or not this was a grand and superb corridore, with a porch or vestibule leading to some other apartment of this edifice, as there was no vestige of any such remaining. The first objects which presented themselves were two monsters with the body of a horse, and the head of a man. The body was, as it were, barbed over with mail, like the flat heads of large nails, representing the armour of iron plates related by Quintus Curtius to have been worn by the horses in the army of Darius. The head, from which depended a large beard and long hair, was covered with a handsome round cap with a flat top to it, surmounted by a large round ball. These animals had wings resembling those given to griffins, and their faces were turned towards the top of the stairs. On their shoulders they upheld a large stone wall, as thick as the breadth of their back allowed, so that these monsters were merely the supporters of two walls, on the top of which whether there were any other figures or pieces of architecture I could not distinguish. The size of these monsters was proportionate to their base, which was twenty-eight of my feet, and the distance from each other less than the length of that base. Behind these were four straight columns opposite to each other, of similar proportions and at equal distance, two by two, the same as the monsters; two of which remain standing, and two prostrate on the ground. Beyond these columns are two other monsters similarly disposed to the former, but with a varying aspect, their looks being directed to the mountain and their backs towards the columns, enclosed as it were by the four monsters; whence one may readily conjecture, that this was the site of the building supported by these four monsters, two at each extremity, and the four columns in the middle. Nevertheless there is no mark of there having ever been any story above, or even any covering. The square or expanse in midst of which these monsters are placed is very extensive, and terminates with the mountain, so that as it could spread no farther towards the east, the remainder of the building stretches towards the south in manner following: From the middle of this large place going to the south, I discovered on the left a large square reservoir of marble even with the floor, which possibly served to hold water to wash with, each side of it was about twenty-four feet long, two palms in thickness, and seven feet in depth. Farther on, I came to another double staircase, likewise of marble, by which you ascended from east to west, and from west to east, each of them of thirty-one steps, not quite so large but little smaller than the first. This double staircase is in the middle of the front of an interior apartment of greater extent than the staircase, so that there is a considerable vacancy beyond at the foot of the stairs along the wall, which serves for their support. In this space, which by a division is separated into two rows, one above the other, on both sides are several figures in procession, all of them having their faces directed towards the stairs, as if about to ascend and enter the house. Before the double staircase, in a large space, which seems a frontispiece worked between the two staircases, were other figures in relief, of much greater size, confusedly grouped together without division. Time, which spares nothing, had levelled with the ground, and prevented all research into what they could have been. I was also at loss to comprehend what was represented by the procession of the other figures, but conceived them meant to pourtray the pomp of a sacrifice, (particularly should this superb edifice, as I conjecture, have been a temple,) the suite of a triumph, or a King desirous of shewing himself with magnificence, as Xenophon describes Cyrus to have done at his departure, or possibly the order and pageantry used in making presents, as mentioned by Elian to have been anciently the practice, and as is the custom now. Whichever it may be, the figures are ranged in this manner at the two extremities of this front. That towards the east, as well as that to the westward, is the figure of

of a large lion tearing to pieces another great animal, which on one side is a unicorn, and on the other a wild goat, if my memory serve me truly. Near the lion is a long inscription, which fills the whole space of the wall from the greatest height of these figures to the bottom; as, however, the characters are utterly unknown, no one has been able to tell the language in which they were written. All that I can say, is, that they are of prodigious size, not joined together to form a word, but separate like the Hebrew characters, and farther apart, which makes me conceive that each character is a distinct word. I have copied from among them, five of those which most frequently occur in the best manner I was able. As, however, the lines were completely filled, I was unable to ascertain whether they were written from right to left after the eastern manner, or the contrary as we are wont. The five characters which I copied are thus formed.

The second is composed of four figures of similar shape, wedge formed or pyramidal, three of them perpendicular with the point downwards, and the fourth beneath them horizontal: I am induced to believe they were read from left to right, after our manner from the base being at the left, the point towards the right, and the point always being downwards; the same appears in the fourth character, composed of a single pyramidal figure sloping from left to right, and likewise in the small wedge-like figure in the middle of the third character. If it be objected that the pyramidal figure may begin from the point and not the base, in answer it may be assumed, that if so, the point should begin at the top, and not the base as is the case in every instance; since in all characters their beginning, the head, is universally from the upper and not the lower part. These, however, are merely conjectures of mine, which possibly may be wrong. I have further remarked, that all these characters are composed of the same wedge-like figures, and angular ones of a much smaller size, and that the number and position of these alone constitute the diversity of the letters. After this inscription the perversion of the small figures in relief succeeds, some of which represent men of low condition, being meanly clad with long pantaloons like those worn on the stage, and their small cassock fitting close to the waist, where it is fastened by a band, and hanging in folds and increasing in width below to the middle of the thigh, forming altogether a dress which closely resembles that of the inhabitants of the province of Mazanderan of the present day, as well as that of the people who inhabit the sea coast. The costume of these portraits however differs from the dress of the present day in this respect: the figures have long hair and beards, and in lieu of a turban the head is encircled by a narrow band almost resembling the ancient crowns worn by the Emperor of Rome. These men also carry a large staff somewhat resembling a half pike, which is not borne on the shoulders, but upright, the point upwards. In the other hand they hold various other things; some, instruments of music, round and composed of two circles, almost resembling the bracelets of our women; others baskets of fruit, meat and round balls; some, again, are leading two lambs or sheep with crooked horns, and others a camel, an ass, a mule, a bull, a calf, or a horse. The leading such animals makes me conjecture the procession represents that preparatory to a sacrifice; as most of them are of those formerly slain as victims by various nations at the altar, and the horse in particular by the Persians to the sun, as related by Xenophon and many other authors; and, if the procession of a sacrifice, we may fairly conclude that the edifice was a temple. As I examined the rest of the procession, I noticed some who carried certain hammers in their hand, and others somewhat suspended to their sash, which terminated in a point behind and before in form of a triangle, except that the lines were spherical and not straight. This I apprehend is to represent the skin of some animal for holding water, although the

shape of it vary from those used in Europe now. Others, again, carried large shields which covered the whole of their body, while some accompanied on foot carriages with two wheels drawn by a single horse. Both Xenophon and Quintus Curtius make mention of these carriages consecrated to Jupiter and the sun, and relate that Cyrus as well as Darius had such led before them when they travelled in the country. Among these figures are some few which appear to be of superior condition to the rest, who, otherwise dressed in the same manner, have a kind of a hood narrowing to a point as low as the middle of the back, and thence descending to the ground; while others wear a small pointed cap plaited round; but the most remarkable and distinguished among them have robes which reach to the feet, the lower part of which is in folds, and a jacket which covers the upper part has sleeves down to the middle of the hand; they have moreover a collar round the neck, thus sanctioning the testimony of Agathias, who states such to have been worn in his time by principal personages among the Medes and Persians. At the girdle they wear a dagger, similar to the custom of the Arabs even now, the blade of which is broad and curved like a scythe, the handle close to the breast. This weapon is undoubtedly the *Acinax* of the Persians noticed by Horace, and some of our ancient authors. Besides this, they have a staff in their hand, less as a support to their age apparently than a mark of authority, similar to that borne by the field marshals. One of their number marches before the whole band and leads on with the left hand the first of those who follow him with their pointed caps and hoods. Of these who seem the most distinguished and walk first towards the top of the staircase, leading on the whole procession, in addition to the dress I have described them to wear, some have a round cap larger at top than at bottom, and much resembling that of a Roman senator, except that it has no rim, being fluted and plaited equally all the way round to the middle, where the plaits are joined to a button somewhat prominent at the top. Besides the pike which they carry in the hand, they have a bow over their shoulder, through which the arm passes, with a quiver full of arrows hanging at their back. The dresses of some have large sleeves flounced after the manner of the shirts of the Arabs. Between the figures which form the procession several cypress trees appear at intervals, which only serve as an ornament, and are of no better execution than the personages or the animals. The value indeed of this work consists in the antiquity of the dresses being correctly represented, and the magnificence of the stone of which the building is constructed, rather than in the brilliancy of the execution, which is not by the hand of a master.

Ascending this second stair-case, and fronting the south, I came on a large floor, at the entrance of which is a vacant space which reaches from one extremity of the building to the other, from east to west, between apparently a portico or short street of columns, of such prodigious dimensions that one could scarcely be clasped by three persons. The chief of these are prostrate, no more than five and twenty standing on their bases, the number of them being much diminished since the name of *Chehil minar* or forty pillars was given to this superb edifice, that number presumptively standing at the time it was given. Time, that great destroyer, has since then levelled fifteen, the bases of which are yet to be discerned, and is daily undermining those which remain. The plan of them is as follows. In the first place, at the entrance of this large porch, are two rows of columns which fill the whole breadth of the front of the edifice from east to west. A little beyond, towards the south, is another empty space capable of having contained two other rows of columns, at proportionate distance from each other. The middle contains six rows of columns running from north to south, and two of the whole breadth placed from east to west, with two others opposite to them which extend

eastward to the mountain on the left, so that the six rows in the middle are enclosed on four sides; the distance from one column to the other is twenty-six feet. They are not all of similar dimensions or elevation, some being higher than the others, which makes me conceive that they did not serve as support to a roof, particularly as there is not the slightest vestige on the floor of any having fallen in. I conclude, therefore, as it appears to have had no roof, that this edifice cannot reasonably be imagined to have been a royal palace. Beyond these columns towards the south you come to a large place fifty paces in length, where are two apartments, the one on the right hand fronting the plain, the other on the left towards the mountain. In the entrance of that on the right is a small marble court: neither of them properly speaking are chambers, but square open apartments without any roof and enclosed not by walls but door and window frames of marble, so disposed that each face of the square has a large door in the middle, and one smaller on each side of it, or a small door in the middle with a large one on each side, besides other openings similar to our trellis work and Venetian blinds. The plan of these small square places, full of doors and windows, lead one to imagine that they were formerly rooms, particularly as those of the Persians are constructed after the same manner even at present; but the want of any dome or roof, or the trace of such having ever existed, makes me incline to think otherwise; neither can I conceive it to have been a burial-place, as there is no tomb visible nor any sign of interment. May it not, therefore, have been a temple in which prayers and sacrifices were offered to the Gods under the canopy of heaven alone, as was usual among many ancient nations, and is still common with Mahometans. In the interval between one of these grand portals, in the middle of the front and the small ones on the side, is the figure of a person of distinction in a dress which reaches to the ground, the robe being plaited from the waist downwards, and the sleeve large and flounced. He holds a staff in his right hand either as a support or a symbol of authority, and wears in his head one of those round caps, flat on the top, which I have before described, but without the ball above; his hair and beard are long, and his posture denotes his intention of entering, his eyes and face being turned towards the south. Behind him is a servant, bare-headed, and his hair fastened by a band; in one hand he holds a large umbrella over the head of his master, and in the other a stick curved at the end like the crozier of our bishops, which he carries upright under the umbrella behind the head: if the first figure be that of a King, this may represent a sceptre, or some mark of distinction, if it be a priest; one of which I doubt not it is. In the other great portals, on the sides fronting the rising and setting sun, are representations of men wrestling, or fighting with lions, dressed in their long plaited robes like the other figures I have described. At the back of this square inclosure, in another open space, which is paved, and seems to have been a small court, are two large pillars erect, with inscriptions on them, the characters of which I was unable to decipher on account of their height from the ground. Beyond this court, I came to another, much larger, but of similar architecture, in a large vacant space built upon on the opposite and not on the same side with the edifice, where was a figure of a man of quality with his umbrella exquisitely well represented, on one of the supports of the great gate in the middle, the posture of whose body varied from the direction of the fight, that is to say, while looking towards the north, as if going to the inside, his body fronted the south as if about to go out, whence it should seem that this was the most interior part of the building. Proceeding from this enclosure continually towards the south, I came to another place ornamented with six rows of columns grouped in a square, in the midst of which, under ground, that is to say, under a pavement of large stones, I discovered a conduit of water. Each of

these columns was about four feet in diameter, and four breadths distant from its next, with the appearance of a former portico or large wall of stone, with windows all around them; this was the extremity of the edifice towards the south: beyond, nothing is visible but pieces of masonry and immense foundations which just appear above the surface. I had forgot to mention, that at the first entrance of the second hall, which succeeds the second stair-case towards the east, distant from the foot of the mountain, and corresponding to the first columns, there is another square enclosure of the same form as the rest. It is entirely away from the building, and was originally contrived in all probability merely to fill up the void between it and the mountain.

We passed the whole of Thursday, 14th October, under our tents and about the ruins of Chehil minar, whence I rode about a league on horseback towards the north to see some ancient figures at the bottom of the mountains which surround the plain, called by the inhabitants Nakshi Rostan (the pictures of Rostan), conceiving them to be representations of Rostan and some of his memorable actions. This Rostan is an ancient, here highly celebrated by the Persians for his prowess and gallantry, who lived, as they say, under the reigns of Cyrus and Cambyfes, and the various regiments; and individuals who pride themselves upon being called after his name sufficiently testify that what is related of him is not wholly fabulous. Passing therefore through a town called Mehrchouscon, the nearest to the Chehil minar, at a league beyond it, I arrived at the spot. Here at the bottom of the mountain I saw a large square cut in a rock of hardest stone. In this pannel were various figures cut in relievo of gigantic stature: one represented a Knight on horseback drest in long folded robes, his head covered with a cap similar to that I had noticed at the Chehil minar on the image of a person of distinction, who held in his left hand a club such as that given in our portraits of Hercules, and in the right a ring, which another Knight, drest nearly like the first, is endeavouring to wrench from him. The only difference between the drest of the two Knights consists in the latter having nothing on his head, and his hair hanging down of some length; the horses of both are close together. In another place, a Knight on horseback, drest like the first, has his left hand placed on the guard of his sword, which is not curved like those of the Orientals of the present day, but straight and pointed like ours, while with the right somewhat raised and extended, he holds that of a man on foot, standing upright before him. Behind this person is another, his head bare, who kneels before the horse of the Knight. In another part, again, I saw certain matrons and young ladies of whom the inhabitants relate a number of fables, pointing out one as the mistress of the valiant Rostan. There are also many sepulchres cut in different places in the rock. Assuredly no method more certain could be used to perpetuate the memory of an individual than by means of these figures, which, cut in the live rock, and secured against the injuries of time and the violence of man, bid fare to endure as long as the mountain itself. Diodorus relates that Semiramis, after cutting a perpendicular front in a rock near the spot, where she caused her immense garden to be planted in Media in order to commemorate in perpetuity the execution of this work, caused her likeness with those of her guards to be cut in it. Near the relievos I have described, I saw in different parts certain works which bore evident marks of being some ancient places of sepulture. In the first place, two pedestals, square, with the angles somewhat ornamented, and a hole in the upper surface to preserve the ashes of the dead, if the Persians were wont to burn corpses; of which, however, I do not remember ever to have read. These two pedestals, which are but a little apart from each other, are not detached from the rock, but have been roughly chieffled out of it. On another

side of the mountain, which is more perpendicular, even, and straight, looking like a wall, I perceived above several openings resembling windows, some larger than others, and capable of holding a man. I cannot conceive what purpose these can have served, unless as receptacles for the dead, according to Diodorus, who says, that the ancient Kings of Persia were buried in grottoes cut in the top of mountains, in which they were not deposited by hands but by means of machines. Finally, in different places on the slope of mountains, I saw representations cut on a perpendicular and very even front, and framed about by the stone of the front, of a house with a door in the middle, and several columns on each side supporting the architrave, frieze, cornice and frontispiece, according to all the rates of architecture and figures cut in the frontispiece, which, however, from their being so very much above me, I could not minutely distinguish. The subject, however, appeared to be a man leaning on a bow, one of the extremities of which was in his hand, and the other on the ground, with his eyes directed towards an altar, as if he was either about to offer up a sacrifice or consult an oracle. Above these figures, those whose sight was better than mine, told me they perceived among the rest a figure which appeared to them to be meant for the devil. This might possibly be, and the personage be Jemshid, or as some call him, on account of his beauty, Choshid, which in the ancient language of Persia means the sun, who reigned in Persia, a long time before Cyrus the Great, and who is still held in remembrance for having been a famous magician, having had power over malignant spirits, on which account the Persians likewise call him Diubend or the devil's link. The Persian historians relate that this Prince caused a number of statues or effigies of himself to be made and distributed all over the kingdom, with express command for his subjects to adore them. I should readily conceive that this might be Nebuchadnezzar, whose dominion might possibly have extended to some parts of Persia, were it not that Jemshid is of greater antiquity than either the Nebuchadnezzars, Daniel, Judith, or even Shalmanasar. The gates cut in the representation are short at the top, are formed of the same live rock with the rest, and are about a third part open at the bottom, wide enough to allow of entrance, by stooping, to the interior, which is empty. And, as there are two similar representations of like architecture in the mountains of Chehil-minar, into one of which admission is easy on account of the ascent up the rock not being so sharp nor equally perpendicular, I entered it the evening before I visited the ruins. The account given by Diodorus of the sepulchres of the Kings, I found exactly correspond with my observations; these are, as he describes them, cut in the body of the mountain, of a square figure, higher than the stature of a man, and with three large niches. In the middle of this grotto I saw a long stone lying on the ground sealed across the middle, which possibly might be the place of the tomb, if the niches were not. In these, I saw other large stones badly polished, the use of which I was unable to conjecture. These niches are much deeper than the rest of the cavern; and the channel that I saw on the outside cut in the rock, which seems to be a conduit for water, made me judge that they might be reservoirs, yet of what utility could water be in such places? I saw likewise under the mountains a large square chamber, somewhat elevated in form of a tower built of marble, and enclosed on all sides with only one door at the top, in an almost inaccessible spot, which I conjectured, was also a sepulchre. These buildings, cut in the rock, and erected at the foot of the mountains, make me imagine, first, that the city filled the whole of the plain, and secondly, that its inhabitants did not possess the ingenuity requisite for transporting large stones to any distance, as the most superb buildings and most excellent sculpture are either on the mountain itself or at his foot; unless

unless, indeed, the planners were actuated by a desire particularly with respect to the figures of making them last for ever, and preserve them in better condition than by any other means could be done.

After two days' examination of and reflection on the curiosities I have described, on Thursday three hours after sunset we left Chehil-minar after supper, and proceeded towards the city of Shiraz, the capital of the province of Farfistan, and the chief residence of the governor Imanculi Khan. By the nearest road Shiraz is ten leagues distant, but on account of a bridge being broken down which laid on our way, we were obliged to go two leagues about to cross the Kur, by another bridge, Culla Bend Emir, two leagues from Chehil-minar. We travelled all night long, wandering about on each side, on account of the absence of the moon, and the whole of these plains, which are sowed with rice and other grain, being watered and intersected by a number of small rivulets, of which we had to seek the fords: at length, on Friday morning, a little before day, we passed the bridge of Bend Emir. After crossing the river, we rounded a mountain which we kept on our left for some time, and descending a pretty deep valley, at length arrived at a village called Zercon, only six leagues distant from Chehil-minar, although by our wandering we had journeyed much more. Here we rested in a house, the master of which afforded us great accommodation. At the second or third hour of the night we mounted our horses anew, and rode onward till sunrise, by which time we reached the gardens of Shiraz, on Saturday, 6th of October. Shiraz is situated in a small plain, entirely surrounded by hills. On entering it by a narrow pass between the mountains, we rode beneath a large arch ornamented on the sides by different figures of lions and other animals, and having a number of inscriptions by various hands. This arch goes over the whole road and joins one mountain to the other. It has, in consequence, obtained the name of Tenghel Ekbar, or the pass of the Most High. On leaving this pass, we entered upon a long, broad, and spacious causeway, adorned by gardens on each side, and embellished by a number of buildings, which form the chief ornament of Shiraz. We were much delighted with the prospect about us, but our pleasure was increased on reaching, midway to the city, the margin of a large canal eighty-three paces in length, by fifty in breadth, the water in which was level with the surface of the ground. The canal was divided by the road, which here has walls on each side of it, with arches on them, allowing a view of the water. Hence we continued our way as straight as a line to the city. A little beyond the canal we perceived a small and ancient mosque, somewhat away from the road on the left, called from a person who filled that office, by whom it was built and who was buried there, the mosque of the Calanter. Near this place is the musselè, or place where public prayers are read, on a stream of clear water, which runs from the canal, and which is covered and shaded by large green leafy trees, whose agreeable situation induced us to unload our baggage here and rest ourselves till we could hire a house in the city to suit us. This having effected, we entered the city by the handsome causeway, passing through the middle of the meidan, or public square, which is rather without the walls, and is a favourite place of resort for the gay, as well as over an elegant stone bridge, not over a river but a ravine through which, in the winter, or after rain, the water flows, which rushes in torrents from the neighbouring mountain. After passing the gates, we came to a long straight street, at the end of which we found a large bazar or market, vaulted over according to the custom of the country, furnished with shops all round, and on one side of it we took up our abode, in a house that had been got ready for us belonging to one Hussein

Bey, a native of Bagdat, but who, from infancy, had lived in Persia, where he had a wife and children.

We had no intention of making any long stay in this city, but simply to rest here awhile. Wherefore, we had scarcely arrived ere we began seeking for new mul-teers to take us forward, as those which had brought us to Shiraz were engaged to go no farther. While, therefore, our baggage was loading, I employed myself in examin-ing every thing remarkable.

This city is large, and one of the best and most populous in the empire. It is not, however, of any great antiquity, as is easily perceived by the inscriptions about it, its architecture, and other indices, which plainly shew it to be a work of the Mahometans, who are incurious architects. In short, it contains within its walls nothing that is ele-gant, nor can boast of any thing whatsoever that is extraordinary. Its streets for the most part are narrow, crooked, badly paved, the houses badly built. The palace of the khan is not far distant from the house where we were lodged, and fronting a large square. It is inclosed by walls, with vaulted galleries around, which have a good effect. Opposite to the gate of the castle, at the entrance of this large square, is a small house, whence every evening music is given as in Hispahan, and whither the officers belonging to the Khan repair to pay their court according to the general custom of the Persians. In another neighbouring square is a public college for education, newly built, called Medriffè, the handsomest and most flourishing of any in the kingdom. This new structure is erected on the spot where criminals formerly were executed, and in a small vacancy in front of it mountebanks erect their stages to divert the people. There is another square, the most spacious of any in Hispahan, called the bazar or horse-market, in which is a royal palace and a large garden, and this undoubtedly is the most elegant and superb house in the city, where the English dwell, some of them being constantly here for the regulation of their affairs. Near the palace of the Khan, below the small house, whence music is given to the public, is another covered market, the best fancied and most handsomely built of any in the city. Of all the numerous mosques, I saw but one deserving notice, lately built by one Aga-riza, a rich Mahome-tan from India, who carried on an immense trade in Persia, particularly with Shiraz. Finally, the last thing which I saw deserving notice was an animal (a hyæna), called by the Persians castar, as strong as a large mastiff, but which had not grown to its full size. It was of the colour, form, and appearance of a tiger, but had the muzzle of a hog. I am told that it will eat human flesh, and to obtain it makes its way to the tombs it finds in the country, for the carcases they contain.

Having nothing more to write of to you respecting Shiraz, I shall finish this with an account of my affairs and family, premising that all of us enjoy good health, and that our travels have hitherto been pleasant. For myself I have recovered my strength and appetite to such a degree, that I can occasionally eat a large fowl for my breakfast. The little time we stayed in this city did not allow us to make any acquaintance. One Armenian Christian alone, out of respect to the master of our house, came to visit us, and shewed us great civility. To-morrow we mean to depart. With my most humble service which I proffer to yourself, I beg you to present my best respects to all our friends at Naples.

## LETTER XVI.

*From the Gardens of Shiraz, 27th July 1622.*

IF I have suffered nine months to elapse without writing to you, attribute it not to fault in me or forgetfulness, — no, your image is too deeply engraven on my mind to allow of time effacing it : I have met with a misfortune, weighed against which, every other calamity were light ; — I have lost my dear wife, Madame Maani, whose life was my only blessing, whose death makes life a burthen. You will most likely have heard of my loss by means of the Carmelites, who, no doubt, will have communicated the event to Rome. I am ready to imagine that your commiseration will have been deeply excited, and that although you know her but by her fair report, you will much have lamented the premature death of such a person, and in whose esteem you held so high a place. However, it is past ; it was the will of God, and she, I hope, in heaven, reaps the harvest of her worth : for me, in this vale of misery, deprived of my dear partner, I wander about a wretched instance of human calamity. I have travelled about a great deal, in great measure without other object than to seek a remedy for the wound I have received.

On the 22d October, last year, all of us being in perfect health, we left the city of Shiraz by the same gate at which we entered, with design of taking the road to Ormuz ; and in order to prepare for our departure with less embarrassment, we pitched our tents near the mosque of the Calanter, on the banks of the canal, where I am at present. We hired for our journey some excellent camels, as well for the transport of our luggage as to carry our litters ; and on Sunday, the 24th of October, every thing being ready, as night began we quitted our station, and turning our backs on Shiraz, proceeded towards our destination nearly in a southern direction. After travelling three leagues, we passed a bridge over a ravine, through which flew occasionally the torrents which gush from the mountains, but which when we passed was dry. A little beyond the bridge is a caravanferai, which, although entire, is without inhabitants, as well as a ruined castle in the neighbourhood, owing to the want of water. Here the road divides ; that on the right hand, which is the most frequented, leading to Lar, the most eastern and least beaten going to Passa, which is that we took, it being a less dangerous road to travel in time of war. As, however, there was no place where we could lodge except at a considerable distance, we unloaded our camels in a handsome plain out of the high road, where we stopped the remainder of the night, and almost all the following day, which was the second of our journey. Two hours before night-fall we departed hence, and continued travelling till day-break between two long mountains and two sloping hills ; beyond them, near the foot of one of which on the right, the road runs ; the other being at some distance on the left, in a large plain almost entirely white and covered with salt. At length, after journeying four leagues, we arrived at a place called Jiganli, where, on the banks of a rivulet of good water, we saw a few houses, inhabited by Turkmans and a race of people called Behi, who, by means of the water of this stream, fertilize their fields and cultivate cotton. We left Jiganli two hours before sunset on Tuesday, and travelling six leagues during the night, halted at a large town called Selvistan, or the cypress plantation, on account of the number of these trees growing there, which, however, was formerly much greater. Without the town is the tomb of a certain Sheik, Isuf, held in veneration by the Mahometans, near which we pitched our tents. This town of Selvistan, and several others around, notwithstanding they be inclosed by the territories under the government of Imanculi Khan,

Khan, of Shiraz, are not dependent on him, but on Nadir Khan, who holds them directly from the King. About an hour before the fall of night we continued our way, travelling over very pleasant hillocks covered with those small trees called chaclacuchi by the Persians, and others of various kinds. Behind us we left a caravanferai at which caravans are wont to rest, when, solicitous of getting forward, journeying altogether five leagues and a half, and halting two hours before sunrise, reposing with our beasts under a large tree of chaclacuchi, in an open country inclosed by mountains, without any covering but the sky. We remained the whole of Thursday under this chaclacuchi, which was a male tree that did not produce fruit, but only large grains resembling those of the laurel, which grow, five or six in a groupe, on the edges of its leaves, vaulted, and curved like a bow; and in these grains small flies are engendered. In other respects, these chaclacuchi resemble the female trees, of which I have previously given you a description. Here I must observe, that there prevails universally in Persia a practice of distinguishing a difference of sex not only in trees and plants, as is the case in some instances with us, but also in every thing else, as well natural, such as vegetables, meat, fruit, and the like, as artificial, such as flax, silk, cotton, and even in the elements, as in water and air; calling male, as related by Seneca to have been usual with the Egyptians, that of its kind which is the strongest and most robust, and that on the contrary the most tender and delicate, the female; thus, according to their philosophy and observations, which are far from bad, they judge to what use each sex is adapted. For example, female water is better for drinking and more salubrious than male, being more delicate, and particularly so for persons of handsome complexion; of some animals, the flesh of the male is superior to that of the female for persons of a strong stomach, possessing more substance; and, on the contrary, that of the female for persons of weak habit, being most easy of digestion. Male air is fittest for the breathing of men of robust make, female air for children, and thus of other things. This I have deemed a matter curious enough to make public.

Thursday, two hours before night, we left our covert to travel in the dark, among hillocks covered with the same description of trees last-mentioned, and, after six leagues, arrived on the territory of the great Passa. Here we arrived at two o'clock in the morning, and trod upon the remains of the ancient Passagarda, which, according to Pliny and Quintus Curtius, was the place of sepulture of Cyrus the Great. On coming to this spot, on one side is an old cypress tree, the handsomest and largest I ever beheld, whose trunk alone, which spreads into various large branches, is of such prodigious size that five men together cannot clasp it, and whose branches spread from their trunk at least five-and-twenty of my feet. Its height is proportionate to its size, although it does not terminate in a point like the generality of cypresses. Its dimension is a proof of its antiquity, and the cause of the reverence shewn it by the Mahometans. From a small stem of one of its branches runs a certain fluid, which is a kind of gum that the Persians, particularly the ignorant among them, look upon as miraculous blood, seeing it exudes on every Friday, which with them is a holy and sacred day. And in a large hole in the middle of the trunk, capable of containing two persons, they are accustomed to light candles as in an august and venerable place, according to their usage of holding large and ancient trees in esteem, deeming them the retreat of the souls of the blest. On this account they call them *pir*, which signifies an old man in Persian, and in Arabic sheik or iman. This veneration of the Mahometans for large and ancient trees is, no doubt, a remnant of Paganism, as such were in high estimation among the Gentiles.

On the following day, upon advancing farther into the territory of Passagarda, I distinguished little remarkable but palm trees, which are not found in the other provinces of Persia. I saw, moreover, a great quantity of orange trees and double narcissi, which elsewhere would be esteemed a rarity in the month of October. We did not quit the territory of Passa till after the first hour of the night, and on leaving it came to two roads, one of them leading to Lar, which we left on the right, the other, which we took, towards the east. This being less frequented, we wandered from, regaining it with difficulty after a five leagues' ride, when we reached a town by day-light, called commonly by the people of the neighbourhood Timaristan or, for abbreviation's sake, Temistan; a little below which place we unloaded our baggage, as well to ease our animals as rest ourselves. Here our wheat bread became scarce, the inhabitants of the towns towards the sea using none but barley; advised of which, we had laid in a stock sufficient to last us at least for several days. Night beginning to diffuse its cool occasioned us to leave Temistan, to travel by rugged descents, which gave us a great deal of trouble, till more than three hours after sun-rise the next day, which was Sunday the 31st of October. In the night we had travelled eight leagues, and dismounted at a town, consisting of about thirty houses or huts, built in the midst of a large plantation of palm and date trees, and called Zizevan. An hour after sun-set we continued our journey for five leagues in the dark, passing through several hamlets with much inconvenience, on account of the rivulets full of water which crossed the road, without any bridges over them, and which our camels found great difficulty in fording. Passing through these hamlets we left behind us the city of Darabghierd, which still retains the name of Darius, who is the founder, and which is the chief residence of Shemseddin Khan, who is governor of several towns in the neighbourhood, which he holds direct of the King, as well as his command over a number of soldiers. He is called a cazaque. On Monday the 1st of November we halted at noon under some date trees, at the entrance of a large town called Dekair (that is to say, good town), the houses of which are not joined to each other, but separated by intervals, being mixed in a wood of palm trees, the fruit of which, with barley bread, serves as food for the inhabitants. In the evening a large company of ladies from the town, who had been into the country, according to the custom of the Mahometans, to pray at the tombs of their ancestors, came to our tents, where accidentally I was alone, entering them with great familiarity and without invitation, with their veils up and their face uncovered, which is very unusual among the Mahometans, eating with avidity of my wheaten bread, which to them was a delicacy, and conversing with much freedom. We remained here till the following Tuesday, not leaving the place till an hour before night-fall, receiving in course of the day a second visit from these ladies, for whom Madame Maani served up a collation which to them must have appeared both ample and superb; after which we travelled three leagues through a desert country, reaching by midnight the banks of a running stream, where we halted under an old wall in this vast solitude, called Moghokiel, and where at day-break I pitched my tents near a pond whence the rivulet flowed, and whither the cattle of the neighbourhood resort to drink. This place we left an hour and a half before sun-set, and after journeying three leagues rested at midnight under large gize trees, about which were a quantity of myrtles and running water, half a league before the sepulchre of their Imanzade, a little beyond. On Thursday, in the evening, we left this place, and travelled through a pass between low but very steep mountains, like walls on each side; at the entrance of which is a ruined castle, built for its defence at a time when the country was not under the domination of Persia, but that of a particular Prince, Khan of Lar, at whose decease the Sovereign of Persia made himself master

of his dominions, and destroyed the fortifications which guarded the pass. On Friday by day-break, after having journeyed five leagues, we reached a large town of two thousand houses, badly constructed, and confusedly built among palm trees called *purg*, but written *furg*, where we dismounted, and unloaded our camels in a convenient spot at a distance from the buildings. We resumed our journey an hour before sun-set, and after two leagues riding, being apprehensive of having missed our road, and fearful of losing ourselves in these deserts, we waited till the moon or day should light us on our way. It wanted but an hour to dawn when we recommenced our journey, at first by favour of the moon and afterwards the sun, travelling for five leagues through difficult passes, keeping the mountains on the left, which we had occasionally to ascend and at others to go down. In the morning we found ourselves in a very narrow pass; at length, towards evening, we reached a wood of palm trees in a valley at the foot of the mountains, in front of a town called *Tasent* or *Tascivit*. The moon rising about midnight, we continued our course for five leagues by a very even road, keeping almost always on our left this long chain of mountains, and another at a greater distance on our right, till we arrived at a small village of ten or a dozen houses, near which we halted about noon in a small wood of palm trees, to take repose under a large tree of a species I had not seen before, called by the Arabs, *nebe*, by the Persians, *konar*. It yields a small fruit with a kernel, resembling our cherries but ripening sooner, of a yellowish colour inclining to red, and of no unpleasent taste. It possesses, moreover, this property, that its leaves, reduced to powder and soaked in water, produce a lather, and serve instead of soap, and is the only thing used by the ladies of the country for washing their faces. We took with us a bag of it to shew in Italy, as it will keep any length of time. After minutely examining the fruit and leaves of the tree, I recollected that in a handsome and large vineyard belonging to my uncles, the *Alberini*, at Rome, there are two large trees by the side of a fountain, of the same species, which constantly preserve their verdure, and are the only ones of their kind at Rome. The little village of *Seid Geuder*, where we took up our abode, is dependent on the large town of *Tarom*, called by some a city, on account of its being the chief of several neighbouring towns, although at present in a very ruinous state. We did not choose, for reasons that we had, to go thither ourselves, but sent our people for provisions; who brought us back intelligence that the Portuguese had put to death a great number of *Kizilbashi*, and set many places on fire belonging to the Persians on the sea shore. The inhabitants of *Tarom* did not appear to be very sorry for this, on account of having been vassals and much attached to the deceased Prince of *Lar*, now ill treated by the *Kizilbashi*, and never well inclined to the King of Persia or his empire. This rupture, which was the beginning of open war between the Persians and Portuguese, was not very agreeable to me on account of the obstacles I foresaw it would throw in the way of my travels. The whole country about *Tarom*, as well as its proper territory, is entirely covered with palm trees, under which, as well as through the remainder of the country, they sow an abundance of cotton as well as other seed. As for wheaten flour, it is not to be met with, except in large towns, where it is eaten by the rich alone; the chief food of the inhabitants being dates, in which article they carry on a considerable trade. The chief part of the population is very poor and wretched. Here, for the first time, I noticed the shoes or rather sandals worn by the people being made of woven palm leaves, of which the sole is made tolerably thick, the upper part consisting only of two strings interwoven with similar leaves, which clasp the foot pretty tight, and join in the middle towards the point, which they pass between the great toe, and thus keep the sandal firm on the foot. Among the villages on the sea side this sort of sandal is in general use. A pair of them I have bought

to shew as a curiosity in Italy. I made, likewise, another observation, which was, that the dress of these villagers, except the hair of the head, which, as with all Mahometans, is shorn and covered with a small turban or one of their little pointed caps, perfectly resembles that of the figures of low condition which I had noticed at Chehil-minar.

To continue the course of our journey : as we arrived rather late on Sunday the 7th of November at our halting place, we did not leave Seid Geuder the next day, on account of the heat becoming so extreme, that notwithstanding it was one of the coldest months of the year, for coolness sake I stripped to my shirt, as I had been accustomed to do in Hispahan in the midst of summer. The nights, indeed, were somewhat cool, and shewed us the difference of the season. From this stage we did not set out till Monday at midnight, and in the interval sent to Tarom for barley-meal and chopped straw for our camels, which unlike those of the Arabs require substantial food, and are not satisfied with grass ; we likewise furnished ourselves with other provisions which might be requisite on our journey, with which we traversed a large plain from one extremity to the other ; and after passing a small river which crosses the road, the water of which is saltish, and which, on that account, has obtained the appellation of *Abshur*, or salt water, we reached on the following Tuesday two or three hours before noon a small hamlet of ten or twelve houses, well shaded with trees, called *Pelengon*, that is to say, the panthers, possibly from those animals being found in its neighbourhood. Besides the giez, which I had frequently seen in other places, I remarked among those trees a plant unknown to me, called by the natives *charg*. It is a shrub which grows to a great height, and from the root throws out around several small branches, or rather sucklers, covered with large thick oval leaves, cottony, and full of a kind of milk, as is the whole of the plant ; which milk is of such a malign nature, according to the relations of the people of the country, as to blind upon its being rubbed on the eyes. Its leaves grow in pairs, one opposite to the other, in such quantity that the whole branch is covered with them to its tip, in squares, and pointing four different ways. At the extremity of these small branches grows a handsome cluster of flowers of a white colour, duskyish without, and within of a reddish violet, resembling the columbine. This shrub produces no fruit fit to eat ; I am, however, inclined to believe it possesses medical virtues, as the people of the country apply the leaves with success to bruises. They likewise eat a small seed growing in the middle of the flower, and possessing the quality of the poppy, which they have been for some time accustomed to eat daily, in common with most of the Persians, in such quantity that it is surprising it should not kill them, some eating as much opium as would equal a walnut in size. They are of opinion that it is good for their health, and relieves the spirits, making them forget all care ; this it actually does, seeing it possesses a great stupifying quality. However, they are so greatly addicted to the use of it, that it cannot be dispensed with ; it being to them the greatest punishment to be obliged to abstain from it a single day. Those who endeavour to break themselves of the use of it, cannot do this but by taking in its stead an immoderate quantity of wine or other intoxicating liquors, and even then feel themselves uneasy without it. In the town of *Gelengon*, we found a *rabdari*, or keeper of the highroads. He was captain of a company whose rendezvous was at another place, two leagues beyond. He examined our baggage, but in the most obliging manner possible, not opening our trunks or packages, and was satisfied with a small tax, which was his due, amounting to four *abbassins*, equal to four Roman testoons. For this small tribute he not only let us pass, but moreover sent a man forward to escort us part of the way, and direct us on our road. In this you have an instance of the lightness of the taxes in Persia ; in recompence and for this trifling exaction, also, they are obliged to keep the way free from thieves, and, if any thing be lost or

stolen, are obliged to make it good to the owner out of their own purse. When we began our journey night had already set in two hours, and we had gone two leagues when we reached the office of the rabdari; when as the moon was not yet risen, and our road, which laid through the mountains, was difficult and unpleasant, we halted at the entrance of this pass, at a spot called Dertenghi-chebar-rud, or the narrow gate of the four rivers, on account of its being the passage in time of rains through which four torrents, which gush from various parts of the mountains, discharge their waters. When we passed it was only a small rivulet, which is never dry. This name of Derteng, or narrow gate, is common in Persia to other similar passages between mountains. One, among others, I saw on the confines of Persia, on the great road from Bagdad, of the same name; the Persians thus imitating the Latins, who, with the same meaning, give similar names, such as the *Portæ Caspiæ*, *Portæ Caucasæ*, *Portæ Ciliciæ*, &c. When we entered this narrow pass, in the bed of one of the torrents, we had two hours of daylight before us, and kept the river continually on our right till we arrived at a small rivulet of salt water, which we found running by the side of the bed of the torrent between the mountains, and on its banks a number of plants with long narrow leaves, the fruit or seed of which grows in a pod of some length, almost like that of the cassia, but not so thick. The people of the neighbourhood maintain that this plant is venomous; in Persia it is called *char zabrè*, or asses' poison; possibly it is the same with the oleander, so common with us: as, however, I am a novice in botany, I cannot judge in this instance any more than in that of various other plants and shrubs which I saw without knowing what they were. At length, after travelling no more than two leagues, the sun having nearly reached its meridian, we found the heat so excessive that it obliged us to halt on a spot where travellers are used to stop, under the shade of a large giez tree, called *giez mir azard*, on account of *Mir Azard*, a notorious robber, having been slain here. An hour before night-fall we continued our journey, travelling throughout the night by a bad road and difficult passes, still among the mountains and in the bed of the torrent. On Thursday by an hour after day, having journied four leagues, we rested at the side of a pond banked in, which the people of the country keep as a reservoir for the supply of the neighbourhood, as far as to a town pretty distant, called *Guhnè*, where I remarked another tree covered with thorns, which bears no fruit but only leaves, which are eaten by cattle; it is called by the inhabitants *kahur*. I took it for an acacia, such as I had seen in Arabia Petrea, which yields the gum arabic, although when I saw that in Arabia its leaves were much smaller than those of this tree. The Persians are at no pains in collecting the gum of the *kahur*, possibly from their ignorance of its value. At night fall we recommenced our course, and after three or four leagues over an even and pleasant road between the mountains rested two hours before day under a tree, near some saltish water, the only which we could obtain that was good in a place called *Curi-hazi-gon*, or the merchants' tomb. A little after sunset we remounted our camels, and after travelling about four leagues on a road not so agreeable as the last, yet not very bad, still among the mountains, we came to a wood of palm trees, where were some huts which people inhabit at the time of gathering the fruit, a little before dawn on Saturday. Here we met with a spring of fresh water. The name of the place is *Ser Zebi-rizevon*. At sunset we left this place, after regaling and fully satisfying some other rabdaris who dwell here. The following Sunday, after travelling four leagues by a much less tiresome road than the preceding, although not very excellent, we dismounted an hour before day light at a spot which is one of the quarters of some rabdaris belonging to the band we met with the day before. We shewed them a paper signed by their comrades, with which they were content; and as this

place

place was inhabited by rabadaris alone, and afforded neither convenience for sleeping nor provisions, we travelled two leagues farther on, by a level road, keeping constantly the mountains in sight on both sides of us, and after six leagues travelling, three hours after sunrise in the morning, we rested ourselves on the banks of a stream of fresh water, called *Abi Dunger*, the extremity of the principality of *Lar*, and the frontiers of the country which belonged to the King of *Ormus*, before his country was wrested from him. On the sun setting we resumed our journey, and shortly came to a small river of salt water, called by the villagers in their language *Rud Shind*, or the salt rivulet. After passing this rivulet we continued our road to the first town, called *Chuchiu-lalion*, which we entered on Monday, the 15th of November. This is a town consisting of more than forty houses, away from each other in a wood of palm and other trees. This town is the first of the province of *Moghostan*, or the country of palms. Here the heat is so great that, notwithstanding it be the middle of November, I sleep in the open air without any canopy whatsoever, and in my shirt, without suffering any inconvenience from this indulgence. I see little boys, the children of the poor, run about at this season entirely naked, save a band of linen to conceal their distinction of sex; and those even in superior circumstances wear simply the lightest dress imaginable; the women, in general, wear only a shift, which covers half the arms and the body to the waist, and from the waist downwards wrap themselves round with a large piece of silk or cotton of different colours, which breadthwise reaches to the feet, and is long enough to wrap round the body twice, but altogether is not of more consistence than a petticoat. On their feet they wear sandals of plantain leaves, but no stockings. Their head-dress is a piece of silk or cloth, similar to that worn round the lower part of their body but smaller, which, thrown over the head, hangs down in part on the shoulders behind, and falls over the face after the manner of the Persians. On their arms they wear a number of bracelets from the wrist to the elbows, which are not covered by the sleeves of the shift, and similar ornaments round their legs. These are made of different metals; straw which looks like gold, amber, crystal, and the like, and are composed of small round flat pieces joined together. All of them, likewise, the rich as well as the poor, wear pendant from the nose, not large rings as is common with the Arabs, nor small neat ones on the side, as is usual with the Persians, but a piece of gold, either plain, enamelled, or set with precious stones, of a rhomboidal figure, rather narrow, and somewhat less long than their nose, which hangs somewhat on one side. Owing to the excessive heat of the sun the people are of an extreme dark complexion, but have very regular features, and are well made. We had intention of embarking secretly at *Benderi-deler*, but we learnt that the Portuguese had landed there and destroyed the place, so that we gave up all hope of reaching *Ormuz*, from that port particularly, as the Khan had prohibited all intercourse between the shore and the island; that in consequence all the craft had been drawn on the strand, and that military were stationed at all the places whither vessels were accustomed to resort, to prevent their landing. The intelligence which we received at *Chuchiu-lalion* determined our waiting there for an opportunity of taking water unperceived. The chief of the town informed us, that barks frequently came to different spots which were not guarded, to procure provender for their camels, and that our only means of getting away would be by one of these; we in consequence promised him a handsome reward if he would assist us, which induced him to send his brother and another person to watch for any boat which might arrive; for, notwithstanding the interdict of the King, the inhabitants of this part, who carry on a considerable traffic with those of *Ormuz*, beneficial to each, still maintain correspondence. Two persons were deputed on this errand, in case of finding a bark that one  
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might remain, while the other should return to us with advice of where it was. On the 16th of November these two men departed at night, and we remained at Chuchiululion, retaining the camels we had hired.

In the mean time we swam in joy; Madame Maani, who passionately desired to have a child, communicated to me the pleasing intelligence of her being pregnant, and fancy pictured the happiness I should find when, after terminating my travels, I should at length reach Italy and home. Our joy, however, was somewhat damped upon the return of our messengers with an account that there was no likelihood of any more boats venturing on shore.

We waited yet some time at Chuchiululion, till apprehensive of causing uneasiness to the chief of the town, and understanding that the Sheheriari, which is the title of the governor of Moghistan, dependent on the Khan of Shiraz, was every day expected to pass, from whom I might meet with impediment, I resolved on leaving that town and retiring to a place of safety, in case of the passage being stopped. Hearing, therefore, that the English caravan with silk had taken refuge in Mina, the capital of Moghistan, not to be exposed to the attacks of the Portugueze by their venturing unprotected near the coast, we bent our way thither. After travelling five leagues on the road we came to a village of huts, built among palm-trees, called Duzrach, where we arrived in the morning two or three hours before day, leaving it again an hour before night-fall; and on Friday the 3d of December, having journeyed four leagues, we reached the small fortrefs of Mina, built on a hill, under which is a village of huts in a wood of palms, where we unloaded our camels, and took repose beneath the trees, waiting for sunrise, to seek where the English were lodged.

At break of day we learned that these gentlemen were lodged in a large house in the neighbourhood, which had a garden attached to it, and was the palace of the Khan of Shiraz. We sent thither to enquire for their interpreter Jacob, who formerly lived with me, and who acquainting the English with our arrival, they deputed to me Mr. Robert Gifford, an old friend of mine, and a Catholic, with offers of service from their chief, prevented by indisposition from waiting on me himself. He informed me at the same time, that all hope of passing to Ormuz through their means was vain, as the orders of the King were so strict that a bird was not suffered to go thither, much less a boat; that, however, if I chose to wait till the termination of the investiture of Ormuz by its capitulation, or a peace, which might soon follow the arrival of the English ships of war, then expected, they would use all their influence in getting me a passage to some port of Arabia; if not direct to the settlements of the Portugueze, at least to those of their neighbours and friends: and that finally, as a last resource, they would take me to Surat in India, whence I might either proceed with them to England, or travel thence by land to Goa. Seeing no remedy, therefore, I was constrained to abide at Mina, where, with permission from the English, in order to be more comfortable, I built myself a large house, after the manner of the country, of branches of palm interwoven, as our small tents were not proof against the rain, which fell unexpectedly on the two preceding nights, and in such abundance as to wet every thing beneath them, and oblige Madame Maani to fly in her shift for shelter to the litter. My house, which in that country was a capital one, was completed in a day, and cost, materials and labour together, no more than thirty shahi, or a sequin and a half (15s. sterling). On the 16th December I took the latitude of Mina, which I found to be  $26^{\circ} 35' N$ .

We suffered all of us from the bad air of Mina, and Madame Maani, being attacked by a fever, was prematurely delivered of a dead child, to our great affliction. Her fever, however, in spite of every remedy continued to increase, and in eight days after  
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she paid the debt of nature, on the 30th December. Picture to yourself my sufferings on the occasion; the anguish of my mind increased the illness which consumed me daily, and finding ourselves so unpleasantly situated here, as much from the malignity of the climate as the total absence of all comforts and even of many necessaries, we resolved on removing to Lār, notwithstanding it was some days' journey distant; and having had the body of my much lamented wife embalmed, I intended it to be entombed where, when it may please God to take me, my bones shall be laid, I obtained permission from the governor of the province to transport it wherever I might choose to go. The first and second day after our departure we encamped in a desert country, as our guides would not take the nearest way by the sea-side, that they might avoid the bad and marshy roads they would otherwise have to pass, by which we came; but after crossing the Mina river, they stretched away from the sea, lengthening our journey one day by this circuit. On the third we arrived at Chuchululion. Thence, taking a different road to that by which we first arrived there, the fourth day we reached Iffin; the fifth, after crossing a salt river, Kushiār; the sixth, Kahuristan, called so from the profusion of kahur, or acacia-trees growing about it; here, on account of the violence of my fever, we halted two days; on the eighth we arrived at a caravanferai, called Guri bizirgon, or the merchant's tomb, in the neighbourhood of that at which we lodged on coming; on the ninth, after taking another road, we rested at a caravanferai, called Tenghi dalan, in a flat country; the tenth at Chormud; the eleventh at a caravanferai, called Boadini; the twelfth at another, called Basili, or Vafili; and on the thirteenth, which was the 30th of January, arrived at Lar. For my part, on reaching Lar, I was more dead than alive; my servants, however, were recovered by the change of air. At Lar I was placed under the care of an admirable physician, who shortly dismissed my fever, and with his medicines and diet recruited my strength.

The physician who prescribed for me, whose reputation was great, perceiving by the conversation we had together that I was not an ignorant man, made a favourable report of me to several men of letters with whom he was intimate, and who ranked high in this city. Being a quiet place without any court, its inhabitants void of ambition, undistracted by commerce, and not alarmed by the din of war, or pestered with military, are, as a consequence, prone to literature; and to such a degree that I can truly affirm, in no place whatsoever in Asia where I have been, nay, I may say in the world, have I met with individuals so learned and deep read in science as those of Lar. My acquaintance was much sought after, and much courtesy was shewn me by them, as well during my illness as after my recovery.

About the 20th of February I left my bed, but still was so weak that I could not walk across my chamber without the assistance of a stick. At this period there fell a little rain, the only time it had rained throughout the year; whence you may judge of the temperature of this climate.

The city of Lar is the capital of a great province, or kingdom, formerly possessed by a sovereign who made himself independent, either justly or unjustly, till Abbas the reigning Shah made war against him, about three-and-twenty years ago, rather from the pride of conquest than cupidity; and, after dethroning the Prince, carried him away prisoner to court, whence, after some slight reproaches, he sent him back to Shiraz, to the Khan of the province, who had had the management of the war. This unfortunate Prince died on his way thither. Since that period this country has become united to the empire of Persia. Lar is at present the residence of a Sultan, dependent on the Khan of Shiraz. The palace of Ibrahim Khan, who was formerly the sovereign

of this state, is at present unoccupied, being reserved for the Khan of Shiraz on his occasional excursions hither; it has a square in front of proportionate size. The bazar begins at the extremity of the square opposite to the palace, and is extremely long, extending in a right line; is well built, arched over, of sufficient height, well proportioned, airy, and light. In the middle of the street is a dome, opposite to which two other streets diverge, which make part of the bazar, forming a cross. Beyond the market, at the end of this large street, on the right hand, at one of the extremities of the city, I saw a castle built on an eminence, which projects some distance into the plain, on each side surrounded by walls alone, and of little consideration.

On the 7th of March I took the latitude, which I found to be  $27^{\circ} 17' N.$ ; a great mathematician of this city, however, informed me, that the latitude was  $27\frac{1}{2}$ , so that possibly my observation was not sufficiently exact. I noticed, that the greatest cold experienced here also is at the beginning of March; it is, however, very tolerable, and lasts for so short a time, that before the conclusion of the month the city is scarcely habitable, on account of swarms of flies. At this period also orange-flowers, jasmine, and roses make their appearance, and barley shews itself in the ear. Water is very scarce in this city, the only obtainable being rain-water; which, as it does not rain in this part sometimes for years together, the inhabitants preserve when it falls in immense reservoirs, capable of containing sufficient for several years duration. On the 21st of March, the festival of Neurouz, or New Year's Day, I noticed that a number of shops were shut, as well on that as for several succeeding days; upon enquiry, I found that none were allowed to exercise their calling until they had first made their gift to the new governor, and obtained permission. Upon this being obtained, one of each trade parades the streets, accompanied by fifes or flutes in token of joy. I saw a butcher, before whom certain people carried on their heads whole sheep ready cooked, and covered with laurel. This custom of baking whole animals at once is common in this country, and on some occasions they bake one within another; for example, a capon in a sheep, a fowl within a capon, and within the fowl again a smaller bird: such a dish is called perian. This practice is very ancient, Herodotus mentioning it to have been practised in his time. The people here are grievously burthened with taxes, and in consequence hold the King and the Kizilbashi in utter abhorrence.

At a feast, to which I was invited by the Cady Rokneddin, I saw a species of orange, which I had never before beheld either in Asia or in Europe. These oranges are large and handsome, of a flame-colour externally, and deliciously sweet; what, however, is most remarkable about them is their rind, much thicker than that of oranges in general, which is very tender, and is better eating even than the inside itself, being of a very pleasant spicy flavour. I have preserved some of the seed of them, as well as of sweet lemons, but doubt whether they may keep to Italy.

On Wednesday, 8th of June, I left Lar in the night, on account of the extreme heat of the weather not admitting of our travelling by day; and, after traversing a mountain difficult to pass, halted in the morning near a town called Kurdeh, on the margin of one of the large reservoirs which they are accustomed to make in this country. The fields, on account of a want of water, although they had been, were not at present in a state of culture. The wind which blew was so hot and burning, that it left traces of its course. On account of the violent heat having pulled off my trowsers, my legs thus being bare became instantly red and inflamed, and caused me to experience so much pain that I was unable to put my feet to the ground, although at the same time it was venomous the wind felt refreshing. My servants experienced similar effects from its influence with myself. The Persian almanacs distinctly point out the time of its prevalence,

fence, and call it bad feman, or the poisonous wind. Its baneful consequences, however, are confined to the more southern provinces. An hour after sunset we continued our journey two leagues, as far as to a caravanferai in the neighbourhood of a town called Bir. We were constrained to make very short stages on account of the dearth of water through the country, none being to be found except rain-water preserved in cisterns. The next night, after riding two leagues, we stopt in a narrow valley between some low mountains, where was a cistern, the place was called Ghielu Ghiendè. Saturday night we travelled three leagues, and reached a place called Jezdchest, inhabited by people who live in black tents like the Arabs, changing their quarters in search of herbage, but never removing from a space comprized within a square of two leagues. These people are Persians, and our guides, whose tents were pointed out to us with those of the rest, formed part of their number. At night-fall, continuing our way, we encamped on Monday morning in a desert country, by the side of a pond, near certain sepulchres, which shewed the place to have been formerly inhabited; after passing the day here under our tents we departed in the evening, and travelled an equal distance with what we had done the night before, that is to say, four leagues; stopping at a place called Beni Miri. The following evening we journied on four more leagues, resting at a small walled town called Nefirabad; the next day with difficulty, owing to our camels being weak from want of their accustomed barley and bran, we reached a town called Charcuon, belonging to the Begum, or great Queen, and consequently independent of the Khan of Shiraz, notwithstanding it laid within his district. Here we discharged our camels, entirely exhausted. Thursday night we left Charcuon early, but did not arrive at Passa till very late, owing to my guides having missed the way. On our arrival at Passa I rested beneath the same tall cypress I had done in coming, but not with equal comfort; I had lost what made the desert cheerful; my Maani was no more. Looking over some garden walls, I perceived, basking in the sun, an extraordinary number of tarantula, or lizards, four times as large at least as the largest I had ever seen in our country.

On Sunday, 19th of June, a little before dawn, somewhat fatigued from having travelled five leagues the preceding night, we rested in one of the small towns within the jurisdiction of Selvisfan, called Hafan Havask, or of good air. Beginning again our course at night we made six leagues, and halted among the Turkmans of Giganli, near the spot where we pitched our tents before. The next night, four leagues brought us to the bridge of Passa; and thence two or three leagues more to Shiraz, where we arrived on Wednesday, 22d of June. I did not choose, however, to enter the city, but turning a little out of the high road into that which leads to Hispahan, I dismounted near the mosque of the calantar under the trees by the water side.

On the 1st of July, I rambled a short distance from where we took up our abode, to see the tomb of Kogia Hafiz, an illustrious poet of Persia, whose odes are in great celebrity. In a tolerably spacious garden, ornamented by several works of architecture, the chief which presented itself resembled a small chapel with a dome; within this place this exquisite poet is entombed. The sepulchre is large, and engraved all over from the top to the bottom with various characters, and is loaded with epitaphs even about the base. The front is taken up with a most excellent epigram on his name. On one side of this sepulchre are others of two disciples of Hafiz, and on the other, that of a certain Seid, whose name I have forgotten. The whole of the exterior court is full of similar tombs of less repute; however the whole edifice was built in honour of the poet, and is called by the Mahometans Ziara. Such in Persia is the estimation in which men

of letters are held. Near where he is entombed, his book is preserved as a monument of his mind, which is called the Divan, and is written in letters of gold. It is not, however, that which was written by himself, and which formerly was preserved here; the King having caused that to be removed into his own library. I visited here likewise the tomb of Sheik Saadi, another famous poet, who besides a Divan, or collection of poetry, wrote the Gulistan, and the Bostan.

Many happy days and years to Signior Marius! Long may he live for himself, and for the public; and with him all our common friends, whom I salute affectionately.

## LETTER XVII.

*Combru.*

THE last I wrote to you was from the gardens of Shiraz, on my way to Hispahan, for the purpose of taking my departure thence to Europe by the way of the desert and Turkey; I have been prevented, however, from pursuing this plan, owing to the impossibility of my meeting with camels for my baggage, owing to their being all employed in transporting the booty made at Ormuz; I, therefore, waited at Shiraz until by a courier I understood that the English were about to embark for Surat with their silk. Having therefore so good an opportunity of visiting India, I abandoned my first project of travelling through Turkey to Europe, as being replete with inconvenience and danger, and resolved on visiting the sea-shore a third time from Shiraz. I believe I omitted to state to you before that the Shiites, contrary to the opinion of the Turks and the Sonnites, hold it lawful to marry for a limited time; at the expiration of which the parties are free to separate, or, if satisfied with each other, may contract a lasting marriage. Such females as thus have married for a time and separated are not, on that account, the less esteemed. Most of the marriages at Shiraz are after this manner; and such is said to be the disposition for changing of the women of this city, that a curious tale is related, which is constantly in every one's mouth; of two women who were intimate friends meeting together, one asked the other how long she had lived with her present husband, and being answered two months; "Poor creature," said the first; "and how is it possible you could endure one man so long!"

On the 20th of August Shiraz was in a tumult of joy, upon the news arriving of the Shah having made conquest of the city and province of Canduhar. It seems it capitulated subsequent to the garrison, and the chief of its inhabitants having abandoned it with their property.

On the 26th of August I left Shiraz for the sea-shore, intending to pass by Darabghierd, which I had not yet seen; and continued the same road we had travelled before as far as to Zirevan, arriving there on the 5th of September. On the evening of that day we took the road leading through Darabghierd, leaving that which led through Deh Chair, by which we passed the year before, and arrived there by day-break, having travelled four leagues. All I can tell you of Darabghierd is, that, from the form of its habitations, and a number of palm-trees growing in the place, it has more the appearance of a borough than a city, nothing but its great extent and its numerous population giving it a superiority over the neighbouring towns. It has only one remarkable beauty, which is a stream running through the great square and market-place, in the former of which it traverses a small basin of water of a round form. The meaning of its name, Darabghierd is, Darius enclosed it with walls (*cinxit Darius*). The day of our

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our arrival was spent in receiving visits ; and upon the approach of night we mounted our camels, and arrived on Thursday at the peach-garden of Moghokiel ; and on Friday at the mosque of the tomb of an Imanzadi. On Saturday we halted under the palm-trees of the village of Furg, and rested on successive nights at the town of Taskvie, Seid Geuder, where we stopped all Tuesday, Peturgen, Dertenghi chehar rud, Guhnè, Guri Bazirgon, and thence at Serzebi rizevon, where we found no inhabitant, every one having fled from fear of the soldiers, who in this quarter conducted themselves very indifferently to what they are used when under command of the Shah. Here we quitted the road of Abibungher, and took that which runs south to Combru ; we passed in the night through a town called Chah Chakor without halting, making five leagues from our place of departure, at the end of which we encamped under the shade of the luli dagheli, a tree whose branches hanging to the ground take root and produce a new tree, and this so repeatedly as to form a forest of arches, sufficient in some instances to shelter an immense number of people. Its leaves are thick, oval, somewhat resembling those of the quince, but much thicker and larger. Its fruit is very small, of a greyish scarlet colour, but when quite ripe inclining to black ; the wood of it is extremely light.

In the evening we left this natural house, and arrived at Combru two hours before day-light, on the 21st of September. This place is large, spacious and well peopled on the sea-shore, and having now changed its master, has likewise changed its name, being now called Port Abassi. In this city people of whatsoever religion they may be or country, who resort hither to trade, are welcome, and have the free exercise of their religion. We lodged here in the house of a Jew, in which we met with every convenience and accommodation as well in board as lodging.

While remaining at Combru for the arrival of the English, on the 4th of October the city experienced four or five dreadful shocks of an earthquake, which were repeated the succeeding night so violently as to throw down several houses, with one of the towers of the fortrefs.

I send you this by Mr. George Strachan ; who for benefit of his health, affected by his residence at Mina, is about to go home to Lar, and afterwards to Hispahan. Mentioning Lar, I have to observe to you, that the coins of that province being of pure metal, difficult to counterfeit, and taken by weight, pass currently all over the East. I salute you and all my friends ; to whom I beseech you to make my respects.

The author remained at Combru till the 15th of January 1623, when he left Persia, embarking on board the Whale, an English ship bound for Surat.

## AN ACCOUNT OF GEORGIA.

Presented to His Holiness Pope Urban VIII. by Pietro delle Valle in 1627.

THE country at present called Georgia comprehends all that known to the ancients under the names of Colchis and Iberia, with part of Armenia, and possibly of Albania. This tract, according to Strabo, includes the country of the Muscovites, for it extends in length from the most eastern extremity of the Black sea, where it begins, to the Caspian; it has towards the east only a small maritime district of Albania, belonging at this time to the King of Persia; in which are situated the cities of Backu and Derbent, called by the Turks, *Domircapi* (Iron-gate), and descending a little towards the South, a small portion of Shirwan, the capital of which is Schamachi, apparently a part of the ancient Media Atropatenis. A little towards the west Georgia is bounded by the Black sea. North of it are the Caspian mountains, branching from mount Caucasus and stretching from one sea to the other, inhabited at this time by certain barbarians and thieves, called *Lezghi*, chiefly Mahometans, and some very possibly still idolaters or atheists. It is not improbable they may be the *Soani* or *Phthirophages* mentioned by Strabo. Finally, towards the south it has for boundary that part of Armenia bordering on Media, and lower down on the most western side, towards *Trebisond*, if I mistake not, some part of Cappadocia.

The whole of this country, throughout which the same language is common to all the inhabitants, was governed formerly according to their account by one King, until he divided his dominions among his four children, all of whom he made sovereign Princes. With the eldest, however, to whom he gave the middle and better portion of the division, he left a certain pre-eminence above the others, whence this Prince is even now respected by all the rest, is considered as the elder branch, and is honoured by the title of *Mepet Mepè* (King of Kings), the other princes taking the style of Princes of Georgia only.

The number of Princes at this time is six; for in addition to the four of royal blood before mentioned, there are two others, who were chief ministers of the *Mepet Mepè*, and governors of two considerable portions of his dominions on the Black Sea, who revolting, seized upon and made themselves absolute lords of the provinces they governed. Acquiring in process of time, authority and reputation, they not only rose to an equality, but formed an alliance with the others. At present they are all upon an equal footing, and frequently intermarry; remembrance is however yet kept up of the distinction of the *Mepet Mepè*, for when he mounts his horse, the two princes formerly his vassals and ministers, when by, are wont to hold the one the bridle the other the stirrup as an acknowledgement of his sovereignty. As to the division of the country since its partition into six distinct Sovereignities, the *Mepet Mepè* is lord of a dominion in the centre of Georgia, called in the language of the country *Imeriti*, the innermost, the strongest part of the whole, and undoubtedly the *Iberia* of the ancients. The name of the reigning Prince of this part is *Ghiorghhi* or *George*; on addressing him, for shortness sake, he is not called *Mepet Mepè*, the only name he signs, but *Ghiorgi Mepè* or *King George*. The Turks, however, for what reason I am ignorant, call not only the country but the ruling prince *Bâsh-yachivi*, or bareheaded.

Eastward of this state is another province called Kacheti, which, if I mistake not, forms a part of the ancient Iberia, and probably of Albania. This is the dominion of a Prince descended from the youngest of the four brothers of the blood royal; his residence is the city of Zagain. These princes, however, as well as the gentry of the country (for, unlike the usual custom of the east, the Georgians are distinguished by an hereditary nobility, and intermarry only according to rank as in Europe), these princes, I say, as well as the gentry called *Asnaures* reside chiefly in and prefer the country, looking upon towns as suitable only to people following trades and commerce, which they consider beneath them; and so powerfully does this sentiment prevail among the Georgians, such even as are not *Asnaures*, provided they be able to subsist otherwise, disdain to live in towns, and despise all handicrafts and trade, leaving the exercise of these to foreigners, such as Armenians, and Jews, the number of whom in the country is very considerable, and others of similar activity.

As for them their chief occupation is arms, the ecclesiastical profession, which, however few among them follow, or, in which many are employed, the culture of their own estates, which are extremely productive not only of fruits of all description, but also of silk which they collect in quantities. Most of the inhabitants possess some portion of land, and so many being employed in the field was the cause why they were termed Georgians by the ancient Greeks (*Γεοργίαι*), or husbandmen. From this propensity of its inhabitants, the towns in this country are few in number and inconsiderable, but the fields are well populated in every part, and covered with good houses, although principally of wood. They have, moreover, a number of chambers, well constructed in themselves, but commonly in but indifferent repair.

The Prince who formerly reigned over this province of Kucheti is still living, but deprived of his dominions, as I shall hereafter relate, and is called *Teimuraz*: *Abbas*, the present King of Persia, was friendly disposed towards this prince, and on his wife dying sent to him father *John Thaddeus de St. Elizèe*, a barefooted Carmelite, at present in Persia, and at that time chief of the mission, with compliments of condolance. Prince *Teimuraz*, who is of the Romish communion, on that account, as well as from his being sent by King *Abbas*, shewed him great civility, and was extremely affable to him; causing him to celebrate mass in his principal church in presence of the metropolitan, and intended himself to have been there on the occasion, but by some means was prevented. He offered him also territory for the establishment of a convent of his order, and to build a church upon in short, the Prince himself as well as the metropolitan, whose name was *Allah Verdi*, a prudent man, and well affected to the Holy See, exhibited an extreme attachment and respect towards the Romish church.

Of the two Princes descended from the two other brothers of the blood royal, the one is Sovereign of a dominion south of Kacheti and *Imiretti*. The name of the country is *Cardel* or *Carduel*. It forms part of the greater Armenia, the name of its capital *Teflis*. It formerly was subject, (and even in the memory of our fathers) to Prince *Simon*, who died afterwards in prison at Constantinople, famous in history for the wars he waged against the Turks. This Prince, from the letters written by him to *Paul III.* of happy memory, if those letters were truly of his writing, as I believe them to have been, was evidently well affected towards the Holy See. One of these letters, together with the note previously addressed by that Sovereign Pontiff to the Prince, is inserted in a book published by *Thomas de Jesus*, a barefooted Carmelite, and entitled *de procurandâ salute omnium gentium*.

Latterly, this state was governed by *Luarfab*, a young Prince of great promise, the grandson of the said *Simon*, but some few years ago, while I was in Persia, he came to  
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a wretched end, being put to death in prison, where he had been confined for several years, without leaving any issue, not having consummated with the bride to which he had been betrothed. His principality came afterwards under the dominion of another Prince of his house, his nephew, or cousin, but a Mahometan, and not as an absolute Sovereign, but in vassalage under the King of Persia, as I shall describe.

The other Prince descended from the blood royal, held dominion over a country westward, comprizing a part of Carduel: it bordered upon Armenia, Cappadocia, and the frontiers of Media. At present, this state no longer exists, as will appear.

The two last Princes descended from the ministers of whom I have spoken, and not from the ancient Kings, possess dominions situated on the Euxine or Black sea. The one towards the north is master of the country which lays between the Caspian mountains and those of Dadian, (a word importing vagabond, from the way of life anciently followed by its inhabitants, resembling that of the Arabs), but of late years, since this custom has been changed, the country is one of the finest and best cultivated in Georgia.

This province, the ancient Colchis, is called by the Turks, Mingrelia. The Prince which reigns over it at present is young, his name to the best of my recollection, *Levan*. In 1615, a Jesuit from the establishment at Constantinople, who visited the Christians of this country to inform himself of their disposition, returned while I was yet at Constantinople. I was with him without other company for three or four days, he being taken ill on his return of a contagious disorder which reigned in that city. The good father related to me that he had seen this young Prince, at that time, but twelve years of age; that the mother, who lived in a coarse, rustic manner, governed during his minority; that he had inducted the Prince into the church, to offer up the head of a wild boar which he had killed; that the Prince had loaded him with kindness and shewed great attachment to him, but that for want of knowing the language of the country, and of any who could interpret for them, they were at a loss to understand each other, and incapable of treating on any matters. Nothing beyond has transpired of the journey of this Jesuit, either owing to his dying of the plague, or his papers being lost in a tempest at sea. But I hope that his brethren at Constantinople, as they are so contiguous to this state, that a voyage thither may be effected in a week, or even in less time in case of favourable weather, will not have given up the mission; possibly, indeed, they may already have either deputed missionaries, or be on the eve of sending some.

South of Mingrelia on the Black sea, and bordering on Cappadocia and Trebisond, reigns the remaining Prince not descended from the ancient Kings. This state called *Guriel*, is in my esteem either a part of Cappadocia or Colchis. The Prince's name I think, is *Jese*. Of his family, I believe, is the Metropolitan now at the head of the whole of the Georgian church not subject to the King of Persia. Over that part dependent on the latter which lays more towards the east, there is another primate nominated by that Sovereign. The last succeeded to that *Allah Verdi*, whom I before have mentioned; and was living while I was in Persia. A different one called likewise *Allah Verdi*, (if that name be not rather an appendage to the person holding the primacy), had a sister, at present in existence in Persia, whither she was transported together with numbers of her nation on occasion of that famous transmigration of the Georgians, on which I shall touch as I proceed. This lady married the son of a sister of the old *Allah Verdi* deceased. She has two sisters, one of which was gossip with me, I having stood as sponsor for three of her sons brought thither on the migration from Georgia. They are at present living in *Hispahan*, where they have resided a number of years in a very wretched manner, as I was witness to, suffering every privation rather than apostatize,

the King refusing them any allowance, but upon condition of their changing their religion. They supported their misery with great patience, notwithstanding they had been educated in Georgia in profusion and grandeur, and after having disposed of all they had brought from their own country, they were supported by their labour, and occasionally by alms from the monks at Hispahan. These good fathers continually protected them as well as the other Europeans resident there, each as long as we remained in that city relieving them to the extent of his ability.

Georgia has existed almost constantly from early time in the manner I have here described. As to temporalities, it has ever maintained itself independent, which is certainly a prodigy, its situation between the two great empires of Persia and Turkey being considered, and the inveteracy they have constantly shewn against it, rather on account of the religion of its inhabitants, than for any other cause; that they should so have upheld themselves, divided by party differences as its Princes frequently have been, almost without knowledge of artillery, with few or no fire-arms, with so small a number of subjects compared with their opponents, and what is above all, without the means of receiving succour from any other power, owing to their insulated position. These collective circumstances evince in their governors a great portion of courage; while, in spite of all attempts at oppressing them, with their sovereignty they have even to the present day upheld themselves, as have their subjects also, true votaries of the Christian faith. On this account it appears to me not only that they deserve great praise, but that the church itself is highly indebted to them for the bravery and prowess they have exhibited in the wars they have waged at one time with the Persians, at another with the Turks, frequently defeating their armies; and especially for the constancy with which they have defended and preserved the pure religion of Jesus.

In the present age, either as a punishment for their sins, or otherwise by permission of the Most High, the Georgians have been sorely oppressed; and that, more than to any other cause, owing to their disorganization and feuds: hence, notwithstanding they yet have considerable power, they have lost a great part of that they formerly possessed. For, of the six Princes which I have described, one descended from their ancient Kings, whose dominions bordered on Armenia and Cappadocia in the neighbourhood of Tabril and the confines of Media, and who served against his will, at one time in the armies of the Turks, at another in those of Persia, in their continual wars, had his territories by degrees incorporated with those of the Turks, who finally seized upon the whole of them, under the vain pretext of his being the fomentor of these troubles. I am told that there yet exists a young Prince of his family who lives at the court of the Grand Signior, soliciting there in vain, as an indemnification for the dominions ravished from him, the government of some province.

Of late years, upon a fresh war breaking out between the Persians and Turks, shortly before my travelling into Persia, two other Georgian Princes of the ancient royal house were spoiled of their principalities; and, although not utterly ruined, were reduced to a wretched condition. Possibly, however, some new revolution, which is not unlikely to happen, may reinstate them. These two Sovereigns are the Princes Teimuras and Luarfab, both whom, their territories laying on the frontiers of Persia, were in measure dependent on that empire. The greater part of the Princes of Georgia even were accustomed to receive their education at the court of that power, and these two latter passed several years of their infancy there. In the war of which I speak, while peace was negotiating between the Persians and Turks; whilst yet the armies of either

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power were in presence of each other, and while, whom these Princes depended on was yet under discussion, each claiming them as his vassals, the King of Persia affirmed to the Turkish ambassador that they constantly owned allegiance to him, and that as a proof they waited on him in his camp as often as required. The ambassador, who would not allow his claim, answered, that if they were thus submissive, it might be proved by his summoning them at the instant.

Upon this the King summoned them, but these Princes, seeing the Turkish army so close upon them, were fearful of declaring themselves, and prevaricated first with one then with the other, excusing themselves handsomely towards the Persians, but refusing to enter their camp. This piqued the Persian exceedingly, and brought him into a degree of disrepute among the Turks; he, however, dissimulated his resentment at the instant, as he could do no other; but after the Peace was concluded and the Ottoman army withdrawn, he, by his usual intrigues, managed to effect a disunion between Luarfab and Teimuraz, such even as almost to engage them to resort to arms, notwithstanding their affinity, for Teimuraz had espoused as a second wife the sister of Luarfab; extremities, however, were prevented, while their two armies were on foot, by the interposition of certain noblemen, their vassals, who represented to and satisfied them of the division being fomented by the King of Persia, for the purpose of ruining both. Upon looking into the intrigue, they discovered that this King had secretly conveyed a letter or order to either, couched in the self same terms, exhorting each to attack, make away with the other, and seize upon his dominions, in which attempt he pledged to succour him, and maintain him in possession of the territories he should conquer: professing to each he addressed the strongest friendship and the greatest aversion to his adversary, on many accounts which he suggested. Notwithstanding this elucidation, so easy of deception is this nation, it failed to put them on their guard, or teach them wisdom.

In addition to this, the King fomented discord between Teimuraz and his mother, or at least excited mistrust. This princess, called Ketevan Dedupali, or Queen Ketevan, possessed great abilities, was of exemplary conduct, related to Luarfab, and being a widow, had governed the state for years during the minority of Teimuraz, and had valiantly defended it against Constantine Mensa her cousin, a Mahometan Prince, who, upon the death of her husband, Daud, the brother of Constantine, had mercilessly and cruelly massacred her old father Alexander. After him another brother attempted an invasion of the state, and would have succeeded but for her giving him battle, defeating him, and putting him to death, together with a number of persons who supported him. Upon these several accounts she was exceedingly esteemed and loved by the people. The King of Persia, to excite mistrust in the mind of Teimuraz, insinuated that his mother intended to marry a certain officer, whom, for his valour and prudence, she had employed in different departments of the government; and that in such case, she would contrive the ruin of Teimuraz, for the purpose of securing the principality to the children she might have by her second husband.

Teimuraz nourishing this idea, and ignorant of the snare laid for him, put this officer, the best stay of his country, to death, and withdrew all authority from his mother; afterwards this young man, unexperienced and not beloved by his nobility, found himself encircled with trouble. For the King of Persia excited fresh discontent in the state, and rendered him contemptible in the eyes of the nobles, on account of his being a child, treating them on their visits to Persia with the greatest distinction and familiarity, making them considerable presents, and in every thing which regarded their

their religion, admitting perfect toleration; so that by degrees they became attached to this monarch, weaned of their affection for their natural sovereign, and esteemed as the height of felicity their having him for lord.

After employing such artifices for some time, the King of Persia, in 1613, fell all at once upon Georgia with a large army, under pretence of Teimuraz having married the Princess Kaurashian, sister of Luarfab, who had previously been promised to him. Wherefore, on his arrival upon the frontiers of the dominions of Luarfab and Teimuraz, he ordered these two Princes to repair to his camp, to render account of this and bring him the bride, stating his firm resolution of possessing her, and insisting on the dissolution of her marriage with Teimuraz, which already had been consummated; as if such a practice were allowable with the Christians as with the Mahometans.

The Georgian Princes were astonished at this unexpected summons, and what augmented their confusion was the treachery of a number of noblemen, who afforded a free passage to the troops of Persia, and introduced them into the heart of the country; into which, without this perfidy, from the natural fortifications which surround it, and its difficult passes, it would have been impossible for him to have penetrated. These Princes, exceedingly perplexed, knew not what measures to adopt, and Luarfab, the most simple of the two, resolving on obedience, surrendered himself, and was sent by the Persian into the province of Asterabad, on the Caspian Sea, a considerable distance from Georgia, where he was placed under the care of the khan of that province, and treated rather as a guest than a prisoner, being allowed to go wherever he chose. The King of Persia did not commit any devastation upon or even enter the territories of Luarfab, but established there as a governor one Riarei, or Bagred Mirza, either an uncle or cousin of Luarfab, who had some years before turned Mahometan in Persia. He had a son a Moslem as well as his father, but born in this religion, who governed in that country when I was there, not indeed as a sovereign prince, but as a khan and vassal of the King of Persia, the better part of whose forces were commanded by officers of the Christian faith, which likewise was the religion of the chief part of his subjects.

After Luarfab had resided in this manner for some years in Asterabad, that he might be more secure of his person, the King of Persia caused him to be removed to Farsistan, or Persia Proper, one of the provinces the most distant from Georgia, where he was closely confined for some time in a fortress, at a short distance from the capital, called Shiras. At last in 1621, or about that time, when his subjects had the greatest hopes of his liberation, and the King appeared most anxious to see and be favourable to him, exactly the reverse occurred. For this sovereign all at once was disgusted with the Prince, in consequence of the revengeful insinuations of one Murza, a man of highest consideration among the Georgians, and very powerful, whose sister Luarfab had either promised to marry, or after marrying had repudiated, who persuaded the King, with whom he was high in favour, that he never could maintain a secure and peaceable possession of the dominions of Luarfab as long as he lived; for being so well beloved by his people, they would constantly nourish hopes of seeing him again their sovereign, as long as he existed, their hearts and good-will being wholly his. Instigated by this motive, or else from the discovery of a conspiracy about this time among the Georgians to destroy him, Abbas resolved on quashing their hopes, which, in case of any insurrection, might cause these people to appear in array against him, and caused Luarfab to be strangled in prison with the bow-string.

Teimuraz was more cautious, never trusting himself to the custody of the King of Persia, declaring when cited, that he was apprehensive of his anger, as he was

offended; that it was impossible for him to part with his wife, as neither the Christian religion nor his own honour allowed him to give her up to another; but in order to satisfy him of his submission, he sent to him his own mother with his two unmarried sisters, and two young children, his offspring by the lady contested. This measure was adopted by Teimuraz under expectation that the Lady Ketevan, his mother, a woman of consummate ability, and who had several times before negotiated different affairs in Persia with the King, with whose manner and disposition she was perfectly acquainted, would be able to appease that Monarch, and procure him peace. The measure, however, was fruitless, the King being inexorable, and appearing to be passionately attached to the Princess Kaurashian, well knowing that Teimuraz neither could nor would listen to the insolent proposal made to him of giving her up, he insisted on Teimuraz appearing before him. But as the Prince refused obedience, the King retained the Princess Ketevan, and sent her, together with her children and grandchildren, to the city of Shiras, where, when I was there, she was maintained with the respect due to her rank. After this the King of Persia entered Georgia with his army, that is to say the province of Kacheti, dependant on Teimuraz, which was made accessible by the treason of severable nobles, who sided with him in hopes of great rewards, and opened to him the most difficult passages through the mountains.

Teimuraz perceiving his enemies all at once in the midst of his country, without any army on foot to oppose them, or time to raise one, was fearful of trusting himself to subjects whose fidelity he had full reason to suspect, and having no other resource, he, with his wife and a number of Georgians, who faithfully adhered to him, betook themselves to flight; first taking refuge in the more interior and strongest part of the country of Imeritè, where this Prince first reigned, and afterwards flying to Odisci or Dadian.

Many noblemen under false hopes voluntarily submitted to the King of Persia, and apostatizing enrolled themselves under his banners. Others of more generous disposition, but who had no time to fly, were overcome by force. Thus the whole people, in immense numbers, became the prey of the spoiler.

The King, upon his entrance into Georgia, after observing the natural strength of its fortifications, and reflecting on the injury to which he would be exposed from the inhabitants provided they should become united and under a good government, was not only undesirous of retaining the country, but conceived it best to withdraw thence the whole of his army as soon as possible. He was, however, unwilling to miss the advantage he obtained by the subjugation of such a numerous people, of infinitely greater value than the country itself; and duly weighing the desolation which would follow the entire depopulation of a whole province, he caused all the inhabitants, males as well as females, to leave their houses, noblemen as well as plebeians, young and old of all descriptions, causing them to take with them their most valuable effects, as many as they could, and placing them in front of his army, he marched them rapidly into his own dominions, afterwards distributing them among those provinces farthest from Georgia, the thinnest of inhabitants. Hence the provinces of Kherman or Caramania, Mazanderan, on the Caspian Sea, and several others of that empire, are now principally inhabited by Georgians and Circassians; for a number of Circassians but a short time before, from a dearth of provisions in their own country, passed into that of Teimuraz, and became the vassals of this Prince in common with the Georgians, living and intermarrying with them. These, therefore, were treated in the same manner as the Georgians, and, alike dispersed over the different provinces of Persia, enjoy equal liberty with the other subjects of the crown. Although they are found in many

other provinces, in Farfistan and Mazanderan, they are in such numbers, that throughout whole cities and districts there are no other inhabitants. For their subsistence the King grants them lands, for which they pay, in common with the Mahometan subjects, an inconsiderable fine. These people, who form the chief of the inhabitants of these provinces, preserve their religion, which, however, is very gross Christianity, owing to their having no priests or ministers to instruct them, or at least so small a number as to be insufficient for the tuition of such a multitude of people variously dispersed; and even such as these are so ignorant themselves, as to be of little utility. Many noblemen, however, impatient of hardships, and most of the soldiers, with several among the people, moved by ambition and avarice, in order to participate the bounty of the King largely dealt out to those who change their religion, and again numbers induced by necessity, have turned Mahometans, and still continue to do so. By means of these the army of Abbas has been frequently augmented; he employing these serfs, as they are called, as a counterpoise against and to restrain the insolence of the Quisilbashi. The number of these renegades in his service, exclusive of Armenians and Circassians, is computed at 30,000, all embodied together. Some of them hold commands in the army, have governments, and have risen to various dignities, even to those of sultans and khans.

Distinct from these Georgians, who are free in Persia, there is moreover an infinite number not only of the common people, but of the nobility, who in the disorder consequent on the irruption of the Persians into their country, were made slaves by the Persians. So many are there of this description, that there is not a house of any consequence in Persia but is full of men and women of this country. Not a satrap but has his wives entirely of the Georgian nation, the women of that country being famous for beauty, and even the King has scarcely any other for his attendants, his palaces swarming with them, as well females as men. All of these nearly have abjured their religion, either in fact or in semblance, under the impression common among them, that God knowing the secrets of the heart, it is enough they should remain faithful internally to their religion, and that it matters not what profession they exteriorly make.

This unfortunate measure of transporting the inhabitants of Georgia was attended by the most dreadful disorders and excesses. Murders, people dying of starvation, robberies, rapes, children stifled in despair by their own parents, or thrown by them into rivers, others massacred by the Persians for want of good complexions, others again torn from their mothers' breasts, and thrown into the streets and highways, to become the prey of wild beasts, or be trodden to death by the horses and camels belonging to the army, which for a whole day together trampled upon carcases: such is the picture of this shocking expedient; and afterwards, how agonizing the separation of parents from their children, husbands from their wives, brothers from their sisters, divided from each other, and forwarded to different provinces! So numerous were these wretched ruined people on this occasion, that they were publicly sold at a cheaper rate even than beasts. But let us draw a veil over this frightful scene, and proceed to speak of Teimuraz. After wandering for several days in the territories of the other Princes of Georgia, he at last withdrew to the Turks, among whom he latterly continued to dwell, receiving from the Grand Signor, as I was informed, the government of the city of Cogni, with some lands in Cappadocia, inhabited principally by Christians of the Greek church, the revenue from which government serves for his support. He has continually endeavoured and still seeks to be revenged on the King of Persia. He it was, who, in 1618, was the instigation of that great army of the Turks and Tatars penetrating into Persia, in which expedition he accompanied it. This army made

greater progress into Persia than any one had ever done before, almost reaching Ardebil, a sanctuary of the Persians, and the place of sepulture of the reigning dynasty of that country, which Teimuraz was ardently desirous of destroying, to avenge himself for the destruction of the churches in Georgia. In this war, the most perilous of any in which Abbas was ever engaged, I accompanied him. The Turks, however, from bad conduct, want of skill and courage, did not reap the advantage they might have done upon the occasion, and finally concluded, as is commonly the case with them, by effecting nothing; nay, their retreat rather resembled a flight, a number of their men being cut off, which caused the Persian to return to court in triumph, Teimuraz repairing to his government. Since then he has remained quiet, waiting a more opportune instant, which, at the farthest, must occur on the death of Abbas, whom he has every chance of surviving, being much the younger of the two, and of which he is secure, owing to the disappointment these Georgians have experienced in their expectations, who apostatized in Persia after their treachery to Teimuraz; the King not having required them as they wished, nor treating them any longer with the same kindness he did before they became his vassals, nor in matters of religion acting as they expected, receiving none into his service, nor affording to any one, whether noble or a soldier, the least assistance, other than on condition of turning a Mahometan. For these reasons the Georgians look on him with disgust, and repent their conduct, so much so even, that they exclaim openly they have been deceived, and that if the past could be recalled, they would act differently. Hence, I doubt not, although Abbas as a prudent and much dreaded Sovereign may be able to maintain his ground as long as he lives, that upon his death (as is always the case in Persia) the sword will be drawn at his funeral; when, provided the Georgians retain their present disposition and be united, provided they have a chief possessed of abilities, Teimuraz by their assistance may eventually effect great things in Persia, nay possibly assume the succession: against this, there is but the natural temper of his people, fickle and prone to change. Nor will it any ways surprise me, if the dominions of Luarsab should again become subject to some Christian Prince, either by the abjuration of Mahometanism on the part of the present governor, or by the people deposing him and placing some Christian on the throne, similar revolutions not being unusual in Georgia.

The Princess Ketevan, the mother of Teimuraz, was, as I have noticed before, conducted to Shiras with her two grand-children. While I was there she resided still in that city, and was treated with great respect. She, with all her family, consisting of a number of male and female attendants, remained firmly attached to the faith of Christ, observing all the duties of religion as well as she was able; but at that time she had no priest with her, or any regular minister of her country to fulfil its duties. On this account, one of her attendants officiated, attached, as I conceive, to the church by some degree, as he was a good Christian, and being looked upon as such by the Mussulmen, they were solicitous of removing him; for which purpose they accused him of some weighty crime, and suborning false witnesses to prove it, put him to death, burning him alive at Shiras. He met death with constancy, firm in his faith, and bearing his fate with resignation. As for the other clerk she had with her when I was there, he managed the whole affairs of the household as an intendant, and was rather a courtier than a divine; and, whether owing to ignorance or any other cause I know not, he never said mass. She had with her, moreover, a monk, but merely a novice of his order, and a lay brother, who was of no service. As, however, the Carmelites and Augustin friars have now a convent and a church at Shiras, I doubt not they will have afforded consolation to the Princess, and preserve her steady in the faith, particularly as they were never wanting while I

was there in rendering her assistance in temporal matters, as long as she lived. I say as long as she lived, for in passing through Bassora some months ago, I received intelligence of the death of this Princess on the 22d of September, 1624. She suffered martyrdom in a most cruel and glorious manner in the city of Shiras, by order of the King of Persia, on account of her persistence in the faith. I am ignorant wherefore they were solicitous of forcing a renunciation upon her, and can say nothing of the particulars; for them I refer to the memoirs of Father Gregory Orfini, a Dominican, the vicar general of Armenia, who in his travels passing through Persia shortly before me, at a time this newly happened, gave a relation of the circumstance. This Father was at Bassora when I met him, and heard of it from his mouth, and thence he afterwards brought a minute detail of the matter with him to Rome. As for the grand-children of this princess, the one called Levan, the other Alexander, they were brought up by the King, who would never suffer them to see their grandmother, as he educated them in Islamism, lest she should convert them, notwithstanding they resided in the same city. The same year that Luarfab was put to death in prison, Abbas caused them both to be castrated, desirous of destroying in them, with all hopes of posterity, any desire they might conceive of returning to the country of their ancestors.

In my time, the grandmother, not to hurt her feelings, was kept ignorant of this circumstance; and, on having occasion to see her domestics, they enjoined me the first thing not to mention it. Teimuraz has, however, other children by his second wife, boys as well as girls: Providence not allowing, possibly, that his family should be wholly extinct. When some months back I was at Aleppo, news had arrived there that Teimuraz, on account of being urged by the Turks to turn Mussulman, had sought refuge in Muscovy with a Christian Prince, as well as himself a sectary of the Greek church, after which he attempted but fruitlessly through his interference, he being on intimate terms with the King of Persia, to obtain the liberation of his mother. It was even said that this interference was the cause of Abbas insisting on her apostatizing, as in case of her turning Mahometan it would justify his refusal, or objecting would give a colour to his putting her to death. However this may be, the latent sparks of hatred in the breast of Teimuraz were kindled into a flame upon this new outrage, and, joined by the Muscovites, he breathed nothing but war and revenge. These, moved to pity and indignation at such an atrocity, afforded him aid, and taking his route through Circassia and by the Caucasian mountains, which lay between Georgia and Muscovy, this Prince re-entered Georgia, and not only in his own country but also in that of the murdered Luarfab had attacked the Persians with great hopes of success; the way being paved for him by a terrible slaughter of Mahometans, on the part of the same Moura, chief of the Georgians, and a renegado, who, as I have before related, was the first instigator of all their calamities, and governed this country for the young Prince, in the hands of the King of Persia. Moura at length becoming suspected by Abbas, from the great authority he possessed, the wily King intended to put him to death; this, however, being discovered by Moura, he repented his conduct to Luarfab, and forgave the injury he had received, already too amply revenged. It is said he has renounced Islamism, and made profession anew of Christianity; that, by a piece of artifice, he has destroyed several general officers belonging to the Persians, who had shortly before arrived in that country, and either dethroned or put to death the young Mahometan Prince. He is, it is further said, industriously employed in rendering Teimuraz sovereign of all those countries, and delivering his nation entirely from the tyranny of Persia, and the religion of its false prophet. This news, however, I do not give for fact, but relate it merely as it was current.

Notwithstanding the misfortune which, as I have related, befel Teimuraz and the murdered Luarfab, the dominions of the latter are on their old footing, still governed by a relative of his family, but a Mussulman and a subject of Persia, unless the last-mentioned news be true, and it be relieved from his yoke. Teimuraz is still alive, although deprived of his dominions; his country and his children enslaved by Persia, his mother martyred, and part of his territories depopulated and laid waste. In short, hitherto he waits for what fortune or rather Providence may have in store for him.

There are three other Georgian Princes, that is to say, of Imeriti, Odishi, and Guriel, who have constantly flourished, and continue to do so, preserving their dominions in prosperity, without suffering from the Mahometans. The territories of the two Princes of Odishi and Guriel lay on the Black Sea, somewhat exposed indeed to attack from the naval power of the Turks; but possessing, in consequence of their position, the advantage of a considerable trade in silks and other articles with Constantinople and the whole of Greece. In order to keep friends with such powerful neighbours, and that they may have no molestation from them, they profess a dependance on Turkey, and by dint of presents and continual services manage to secure for themselves peace and tranquillity. They, however, never admit the Turks into their country to assume command, nor allow a passage even for their army to any other part. On the contrary, they preserve such perfect liberty, that notwithstanding the Polish Cossacks, who dwell at the mouth of the Dnieper on the Black Sea, be constantly inimical to the Turks, and are ever injuring them, the Georgians nevertheless receive them as friends, being Christians, and intermarry with them; nay it is said that the King of Poland maintains a friendly intercourse and correspondence with them, and that vessels frequently traffic between the two countries, a circumstance likely to be of great consequence to the Georgians, the Cossacks at present being masters of the Black Sea, and very powerful; add to which, the King of Poland by means of this sea, in case of their being disturbed by the Persians or Turks, might render them assistance, and these again be of service to the Cossacks, the ports of the countries affording secure retreats to cruizers, in their different expeditions. Moreover, it is not impossible that their position may in some future time be highly advantageous, should any great enterprise be undertaken hereafter by the Europeans against Constantinople, in facilitating an attack upon it by sea as well as by land.

As for the dominions of the Prince of Imeriti, from their laying more in the heart of the country, farther distant from the Persians and Turks, and being well defended on all sides by mountains, rivers, and difficult passages, he is independant of either one or the other; exteriorly indeed he pretends friendship to both, at the same time mistrusting each, and admitting neither one nor the other to march their armies through his territories. In this he shews his policy, as either, on account of difference of religion, would ruin him if he could: for the Mahometans, notwithstanding they profess and appear to be friendly to Christians under their government, never tolerate them except when induced by interest or necessity, and incapable of acting otherwise; for ultimately they have ever ended in exterminating them, as the case with the Greeks of Constantinople, of more recent date with the late Kings of Hungary, and in various other instances known to all the world.

After thus having rendered a full account of the temporal condition of Georgia as I found it, I shall now speak of the spiritual. The Georgians at a very early period embraced the faith of Christ, to which they were converted by a foreign female slave, about the year 330. By this slave many great miracles are said to have been performed; her

her name, however, is unknown, even to the inhabitants of the country, notwithstanding they have retained her history; her only denomination in our martyrology being that of *Serva sancta Christi*. From the Greeks, I believe, they first received the faith in the time of the Emperors of Constantinople, and in consequence adopted the Greek ceremonies; those they now observe. The office of the church is read in their own language, which is written in two sorts of characters, the one called Cudfuri, used in churches and for their sacred books, the other Chedroli, for common use; and although this be not the character of the church, the holy books are nevertheless written in it for the benefit of seculars. The Georgians have constantly followed the tenets and ritual of the Greek church, and possibly are yet involved in its errors. Among the Greeks, indeed, these are less numerous than in the other of the eastern churches, and the Georgians admit even fewer possibly than the Greeks; but as they form a nation little addicted to study, arms being their chief occupation, they are consequently ignorant, and but few among them pay attention to these matters, living like good Christians in the faith. As, however, there are some of their country much more addicted than the Greeks to the examination of their own books, it follows, that one meets with an invincible ignorance in them, which is excusable. Moreover, being uninformed of the latter councils, after the holding of which the Greeks still retained certain errors from which the Georgians continue free, (as is justly remarked by Baronius in his Martyrology, and Gabriel Prateolus in his *Catalogue alphabetique des Heretiques*), they stand more justified for those to which they adhere than the Greeks. In addition to this, they are free from the presumption of the Greeks with respect to the supremacy of the church; and notwithstanding they in certain matters acknowledge the Patriarch of Constantinople, they are not subject to him, appointing their metropolitan among themselves, nor suffering any jurisdiction on his part over their church. They have likewise a great respect for Rome, St. Peter and St. Paul, much reverence for the Pope, and are void of that aversion entertained by the Greeks to supremacy. They are neither proud, perverse, nor hypocritical; neither are they deceitful in their treaties like the Greeks, but, on the contrary, mild, docile, honest, simple, and so easy to be deceived, that, as I have before related, they owe to this the whole of the misfortunes which have befallen them from the Mahometans. In addition, they are subject to Christian Princes, form a republic, and possess a government as well for temporal as spiritual affairs; a matter of chief importance, seeing that those nations which have not any chief, nor any established form of government in the East, are made subject to infidel sovereigns, who at bottom are the enemies of all Christians. With such how is a general union possible? What councils for the purpose can there be assembled? And in case of a synod, what resolutions could there be adopted? Or who, on their being framed, would observe them? And, slaves as they are, might not any difference which should follow; might not calumny afford a pretext to the Mahometans to destroy them, and persecute the whole body of Christians under their dominion? But all this is possible among the Georgians, on account of their possessing a regular government, a religion and a King of their own nation, ruling with despotic sway according to the manner of the East; nor is there a doubt but great advantage would result from such an undertaking, provided it were zealously begun, and the inhabitants were instructed by competent persons acquainted with their language; although, for what cause I know not, while the Holy See has employed itself zealously for the reunion of the rest of Christians in the East, and has been lavish of expence to reclaim and reunite the Greeks and other nations, it has hitherto paid no attention to the Georgians, who are not more distantly situated, nor more inaccessible than the others,

others, not less dear to God, nor less deserving of the care of the Romish Church. This consideration has prompted me, acquainted as I am with their affairs, and strongly attached to them, as well spiritually as by the ties of friendship subsisting between myself and many persons belonging to that country, to represent this matter to you, and implore Your Holiness in the most pressing manner to exercise your wisdom in succouring them; for the fewer errors to which they may hereafter be subject, the greater the merit which Your Holiness will evince in the eyes of God, and the more brilliant your glory before man.

In order, however, that your Holiness may not be ignorant of the means by which this is to be effected, and the ways by which succour may be sent, I have to inform you that there are three.

The first and shortest is by Constantinople, whence one may travel to that country by land, passing from Scutaria into Asia in safety with caravans, or companies of merchants, who are constantly going thither through Trebifond, and effect the journey in a month; but much more easily and by a shorter course by sea; the transit seldom taking up more than from five to eight days. The most fit persons for such an enterprise would be the Jesuits, the Dominican friars, and the Franciscans, who have a convent there and a church; but especially the Jesuits, on account of its being their peculiar province to devote themselves to the spiritual health of their neighbour, to instruct and establish colleges and schools, which, as is evinced by experience, is the best and most excellent of all methods. However, in passing from Constantinople into Georgia, I conceive there may exist some difficulty, owing to the objection of the Turks to people of our religion entering that country, particularly if known to be monks or priests; nevertheless, I have no doubt, but individuals possessed of prudence and a knowledge of Turkey, at the same time familiar with the languages, by assuming a different dress, and simulating the character of a merchant, or some other avocation, may travel thither with little danger of discovery, going in small numbers and at different periods.

The second way is by Persia, and much more easy, by accompanying the caravans, or caravan of merchants, first to the dominions of Luarfab, at present subject to the Persians, and thence to the other and all of the states of Georgia. For this purpose, from that quarter the Portuguese Augustines might be dispatched, who have churches in Persia, or more properly the Carmelites; as well as that in their abstinence from meat they much resemble the oriental friars, as that from the austerity of their mode of life, they would have more influence upon the monks and prelates of the country and afford a more excellent example for the people. They would have greater facility in their enterprise from the late martyrdom of the Princess Ketevan at Shiras, whose body is said to be interred in the convent of the Augustines, through the means of the relations of the metropolitan Allahverdi, and several others of the chief of the Georgians, with whom I have formed an intimacy. In this case it would be requisite I should accompany them; and that every thing should be conducted with the greatest caution, secrecy, and address, that the King of Persia might have no suspicion of any other design intended under this cover, which might expose the adventurers to much injury, as well as the Georgians themselves.

The third and last course is by the way of Poland. From the extremities of this kingdom one may readily reach the Black Sea, and thence in a very few days arrive in Georgia. This voyage may also be effected by descending the Dnieper, passing by Kiovia, said to be the Tomos of Pontus, whither Ovid was banished. In Poland there would be

no want of monks for this purpose either among the Jesuits, Dominicans, or Carmelite friars, all of whom have convents in that country; nor would the furtherance of the plan on the part of the King be wanting, so good a Catholic and so pious as he is; nay, we should meet with assistance from his vassals the Cossacs, through whose means missionaries might enter Georgia in perfect security, with a bishop, even nuncio or ambassador, if necessary. The Russians also in Poland might be of some avail, as following hitherto the Greek ritual; although some among them be Roman Catholics, they might be instrumental in inducing them to persevere in the Catholic faith, and would set them a valuable example. But Your Holiness who, separate from your consummate wisdom, are moreover inspired by the Holy Spirit, will readily discover many other and preferable methods to what I can point out. I, therefore, beseech you to accept this account, containing the summary of all the information I possess, as a testimonial of my reverence for the Holy See, and zeal for the propagation of the religion and the service of Christ; with which I conclude; most humbly kissing Your Holiness's feet.

## THE TRAVELS OF SIR JOHN CHARDIN,

BY THE WAY OF THE BLACK SEA,

THROUGH THE COUNTRIES OF

CIRCASSIA, MINGRELIA, THE COUNTRY OF THE ABCAS; GEORGIA,  
ARMENIA, AND MEDIA, INTO PERSIA PROPER;

With a very curious and accurate Account, not only of the Countries through which he travelled, but of the Manners and Customs, Religion and Government, Commerce and Inclinations of the several Nations that inhabit them: Relations so much the more curious, as those Countries and the People dwelling in them, had not been tolerably described before by any Author\*.

1. *A succinct Introductory Account of the worthy Person by whom these Travels were written; of the Value of them; and of the peculiar Excellencies by which they are distinguished.* — 2. *An Account of the Thracian Bosphorus; of the delightful Prospects in sailing through it; and the beautiful Countries upon the Coast.* — 3. *The Author's Arrival at Caffa; a Description of the Country of the Crim Tartars, and of the Condition, Customs, and Manners of that Nation.* — 4. *The Cherks, Abcas, and other barbarous Nations that, however, style themselves Christians, largely described; with some very curious Remarks on the State and Strength of those Nations.* — 5. *A more particular Relation of the Mingrelians, Cara Cherks, or Black Circassians, and other Inhabitants of that Country, known to the Ancients by the Name of Colchis.* — 6. *The large and fruitful Country of Mingrelia exactly described; with a View of the Government, Forces, Way of living, and dissolute Manners of all Ranks and Degrees of People who inhabit it.* — 7. *Of the terrible Corruption, in point of Religion, which reigns amongst them; and from whence it appears to be a wild and extravagant Mixture of Atheism and Superstition, kept up by the Arts and Frauds of their Priests, who are little better than Cheats and Jugglers.* — 8. *The Principality of Guriel, and the Kingdom of Imeretta, anciently called Iberia; with the Countries adjacent described and the Manner in which they lost their Independency, and became Tributaries to the Turks.* — 9. *The Author continues his Journey through Mingrelia; is present at the Ceremony of baptizing two Children, of which he gives a large and particular Account.* — 10. *The famous Mountain Caucasus described; and a View of the Condition of its present Inhabitants* — 11. *A large and circumstantial Detail of the Country and Inhabitants of Georgia; with a Description of the capital City of Teflis, and the State of the Roman Catholic Missionaries in that Country.* — 12. *The Author's Travels through the Countries at the Foot of Mount Taurus, forming a little Principality inhabited by the Cossacs.* — 13. *An Account of the famous City of Erivan, and of the Country of Armenia, of which it is the Capital; as well as of the People who inhabit it.* — 14. *A Digression concerning the Marriages of the Persians, and the Reasons why Divorces, though lawful amongst them, are seldom practised.* — 15. *The Author's subsequent Observations in his Travels through Armenia, and of the Fortresses erected to prevent the Incurfions of*

\* HARRIS, vol. xi. p. 862.

*the Turks. — 16. Of the noble Province of Azerbeyan, anciently called Media; with an Account of a spurious Kind of Cochineal prepared by the Inhabitants. — 17. A Description of the large, populous, and magnificent City of Tauris; the prodigious Fertility of the Country round about it; and a Comparison between the different Climates of Media and Parthia; with many other curious Particulars. — 18. A Description of the last-mentioned Province; and of the Cities of Ebber and Casbin, in the Neighbourhood of which grow the finest Grapes in the World. — 19. An Account of the famous City of Rey, formerly one of the largest in Asia; of which there are now scarce any Ruins remaining. — 20. The City of Com, and the glorious Tombs of the Persian Saints therein fully described; with an Account of the adjacent Country. — 21. A Description of the City of Casban; with an Account of the several Manufactures carried on there, and of the fruitful Country about it. — 22. The Author's Account of two other Roads leading from Warsaw to Ispahan, and from Ispahan to Moscow. — 23. Remarks and Observations upon the foregoing Section.*

1. **WE** have very large and considerable collections of travels through the empire of Persia, and the provinces depending upon it; and, indeed, there are very few countries that better deserve to be visited, or which afford either the traveller himself, or whoever peruses his accounts, more entertainment than Persia. Notwithstanding this, many inconveniencies would arise from inserting numerous accounts of travels through this country, because of necessity it must produce many repetitions, which would appear tedious and troublesome, as well as perplexing to the reader. The method therefore that we shall take, is to give in this section the Travels of Sir John Chardin, from Constantinople into the Persian dominions; and in the subsequent sections we shall give a description, in as regular a method as is possible, of the whole empire, distinguished into its several provinces, with whatever occurs remarkable or worthy of notice in the works of other celebrated travellers, so as to preserve the marrow and quintessence of their relations, without embarrassing ourselves with things of less consequence and particulars, that without the least prejudice to the design of this work may be as well omitted. By this means we shall bring into a reasonable compass all that is requisite, and give a distinct and clear notion of the past and present condition of one of the most powerful and famous empires of the earth.

The reason we made choice of Sir John Chardin's Travels, by way of introduction, was his taking a different route from most other travellers, viz. by the Black Sea, and the countries that border upon it, which are scarce described by any other traveller, or at least are described by none with equal plainness and perspicuity. It rises from hence, that, generally speaking, we have only confused and imperfect conceptions concerning these countries and their inhabitants, which, however, it is of some importance that we should know more distinctly; because as they made a great figure in ancient history, so it is not at all impossible, that as low and despicable as they now seem, they may hereafter come to change their circumstances, and appear with new lustre, if not in ours, yet in the eyes of our posterity. It is very evident, that from their situation they are very considerable; and if their inhabitants were well governed, and lived in tolerable correspondence with each other, they might be now, as they were heretofore, equally formidable to the Grand Signior, successor to the Greek monarchs of Constantinople, and to the Persian emperors. We have a late instance of this in the case of Nadir Shah, who received from these despised and barbarous people, that check which proved first fatal to his authority, and in the end to his person. The author of these travels was a gentleman of a good family in France, and of a liberal education; he applied himself

to commerce very early, and prosecuted with great success the most considerable branch of foreign trade, that of dealing as a merchant in jewels, which he understood perfectly, and by which he acquired, with an unspotted character, a very large and affluent fortune. He made several excursions into the East, by different roads, and resided several years in Persia; had very great and uncommon opportunities of entering deeply into the subjects of which he has treated, and digested his accounts with great accuracy and perspicuity; so that they have been esteemed not only here but in France, and throughout Europe in general, as the most perfect in their kind that have hitherto appeared.

This gentleman, when the persecution against the Protestants broke out in France, came over hither, and brought with him great riches. He was received with much respect at court, and King Charles the II<sup>d</sup>, as a mark of his favour, bestowed upon him, in the month of March 1693, the honour of knighthood. He published the first edition of his Travels in our language, in a large folio volume, but they have been since several times printed with many corrections, great improvements, and considerable augmentations in French. He continued to reside here, and purchased a considerable estate, so that in the reign of Queen Anne, we find him frequently mentioned by such as took occasion to shew how much the wealth of England was improved, and its trade increased, by encouraging foreigners of the Protestant religion to come and settle amongst us. Sir John died at a good old age, on Christmas-day 1712. He left behind two sons and several daughters.

His eldest son was created a baronet of this kingdom by His late Majesty King George the First; and having purchased from Grantham Andrews, Esq. of Sunbury, the noble seat of Kempton-Park, in the County of Middlesex, and not far from Hampton-Court, fixed there, and is still living and unmarried. The old gentleman employed a great part of the latter period of his life in completing his book of Travels, and intended, as himself informs us, to have written a distinct treatise, explaining a great variety of passages in the Scripture, from the customs and manners of the eastern nations, with which no man was better acquainted than he; but by many unlucky accidents was hindered from fulfilling that promise, to the no small concern of the learned world; who expected with great impatience so useful and instructive a book, of writing which he was extremely capable, and of seeing any thing of the same kind, the public since his decease seem to despair.

2. Sir John Chardin left Paris, Aug. 17, 1671, with an intention to go to the East Indies, and travelling by way of Milan, Venice, and Florence, arrived at Leghorn in the end of October, and embarking in a ship, under a Dutch convoy, arrived at Smyrna, March 2, 1672, and twelve days after at Constantinople. He remained in this city four months, and in the mean time there happening a quarrel between the Grand Vizier and the French ambassador, which caused a report, that the Grand Vizier intended to arrest the ambassador, and all the French nation, he was afraid that his goods, which were very rich, and very considerable in quantity, would be seized; and so sought all means to get out of Constantinople, and to proceed on his journey to Persia.

The caravans in those hot months did not travel; but the Porte being about to send a new commander, with some soldiers and money, as they do yearly, to the fort of Azoph, which stands upon the lake Mæotis, he obtained passage in a Turkish saick belonging to that fleet, and embarked, July 27, at a port in the Thracian Bosphorus. This channel, which is about fifteen miles in length, and about two in breadth, in most parts, but in others less, so called because an ox may swim over it, is certainly one of the loveliest parts of the world; for the shores are rising, and covered over with houses

of pleasure, woods, gardens, parks, delightful prospects, and wildernesses, watered with thousands of springs and fountains: the passage through it, in fair weather, is exceeding diverting, by reason of the great number of barks which are continually sailing to and fro, and the prospect of Constantinople from the top of it, which is about two miles distant, is the most charming that ever eyes beheld. There are four castles standing by it, all well fortified with great guns, two of them eight miles from the Black Sea, and two at the mouth of the channel, which is the most dangerous place for shipwrecks in all the Euxine Sea.

3. On the 3d of August, in the morning, he arrived at Caffa, a port in the Tauric Chersonese, or Peninsula, so called, because it was first inhabited by the Scythians of Mount Taurus. It is thirty-five leagues from north to south, and fifty-five from east to west. The isthmus, that joins it to the continent, is not above a league in breadth. It is inhabited by the Crim Tartars, who dwell in cities and towns; whereas their neighbours the Nogays and Calmucs dwell in tents, as the rest do on the continent.

Caffa is a great town built at the bottom of a little hill, upon the sea-shore, and encompassed with strong walls, that advance a little into the sea. It hath two castles: the one, which stands on a rising ground on the south side, is large, and commands all the parts thereabouts, and is the residence of a basha; the other is not so big, but is well furnished with guns. They reckon about four thousand houses in it, of which about three thousand two hundred are Mahometans, Turks, and Tartars, and the rest Christians, Greeks, and Armenians. The houses are small, and built of earth; as are also their bazars, mosques, and baths. The soil about it is dry and sandy, bearing little fruit, and the water is bad, but the air is very pure and wholesome. All provisions are very cheap and good, mutton not being above a farthing a pound, and other things proportionable. The road of Caffa is sheltered from the winds, except on the north and south-east sides, and the ships lie close to the shore safely in ten or twelve fathom water. There is a great trade driven here in salt-fish and caveare, which being taken out of the lake Mœotis, that is twenty-six miles distant from it, in great quantities, are transported into Europe, and as far as the Indies. They also export corn, butter, and salt, with which they furnish Constantinople, and several other places; for the Caffa butter is the best in all Turkey.

From Caffa he went in a ship bound for Colchis, Aug. 30, and the next day arrived at Donslow, or the salt-pits, fifty miles from Caffa, on the shore. Here are great marshes of salt, which is made by letting in the sea-water, and suffering it to congeal by the sun. The people say, that two hundred vessels are laden here with salt yearly, paying only 3s. a day to those that load it. About a mile from the shore is an habitation of the Tartars, where there is not above ten or twelve houses with a little mosque, and round about it a great number of tents, with several waggons close covered, which serve them instead of houses. The tents for themselves are very handsome, being made with poles, and covered with large light furs well stretched upon them; their inside is commonly hung with tapestry, and the floor is laid with the same. Every family hath two other tents belonging to them, covered with a great sarplar of wool, one for their servants, and kitchen, in which is a pit five feet deep, to make a fire in to dress their meat, and the other for their horses and cattle.

They store up their corn and forage in magazines under ground, which they cover so exactly, that none can find them but themselves. They can remove their tents with a small trouble, and in a very little time, and carry them away in carts drawn by oxen and horses, of which they breed a great number. They profess the Mahometan religion, but mix with it strange superstitious and ridiculous opinions of fortune-telling and divination.

divination. From Donflow he sailed all along in the channel to Cape Cuodas, which Ptolemy calls *Cirocondoma*, where the coasts that bound the lake *Mœotis*, which are very high lands, are seen at about thirty miles distance.

4. From the channel of the lake *Mœotis*, to *Mingrelia*, is reckoned six hundred miles along the coasts, which consist of pleasant woods, inhabited by a sort of Tartars, called *Circassians*, and by the *Turks*, *Cherks*, but so thinly, that the country looks like a desert. The ancients called them *Zagæans*, or mountainers; and *Pomponius Mela*, *Sargacians*. They are neither subjects nor tributary to the *Port*, because their country producing nothing valuable, the *Turks* think it not worth the toil of conquering it. The vessels that come from *Constantinople* to *Mingrelia* trade with this people, but with their arms in their hands, and by hostages, for they are infidelity and perfidiousness itself, and will never fail to steal where they find an opportunity. The trade with them is managed by exchange, the *Cherks* bringing down slaves of all sexes and ages, honey, wax, leather, jackals, zandava, and other beasts' skins, for such commodities as they want.

*Circassia* is a pleasant country, and the soil is very fruitful, bringing forth great plenty of all sorts of fruit without trouble, as cherries, apples, pears, walnuts; but their chief wealth consists in cattle, as well-shaped horses, which are so swift and good, that they will tire the wild beasts, and catch them in plain course; goats, deer, and sheep, the wool of which is as fine as that of *Spain*, which the *Muscovites* fetch to make felts. They sow no grain but millet for their own bread, and barley for their horses; and their women till and manure their ground: their drink is water and *boza*, which is a liquor made of millet, as intoxicating as wine: they live in wooden huts, and go almost naked. Every one is a sworn enemy to those that live in the provinces round about him. Their beds are made of sheep-skins sowed together, and stuffed with millet-leaves, beaten in the threshing as small as oat-chaff. They were formerly *Christians*, but now have no religion; no, not so much as the light of nature among them, save what they place in the observing certain superstitious ceremonies, borrowed both from the *Christians* and *Mahometans*.

The *Abcas* border upon the *Cherks*, possessing about an hundred miles upon the sea-coasts, between *Mingrelia* and *Circassia*. They are not so savage as the *Cherks*, but are as much inclined to thieving and robbery; so that the merchants trade with them with the like caution, and after the same manner. September the 10th, he arrived at *Isgaour*, a port in *Mingrelia*, where all the vessels that trade thither lie. It is a desert place, without any habitations, only the traders that come thither build themselves huts and booths of boughs for the time of their abode, which is usually as long as they find themselves safe from the *Abcas*.

5. *Colchis* or *Mingrelia* is situated at the end of the *Black Sea*: it is bounded on the east by the little kingdom of *Imeretta*, on the south by the *Black Sea*, on the west by the *Abcas*, and on the north by mount *Caucasus*. The *Corax* and *Phasis*, two famous rivers in the ancient histories, now called *Coddours* and *Rione*, part it, the first from the *Abcas*, and the other from *Imeretta*. The length of it is about one hundred and ten miles, and the breadth sixty. It was once fortified against the *Abcas*, by a wall of sixty miles in length, which is long since demolished, and become a thick forest.

The inhabitants of *Caucasus* that border upon *Colchis*, are the *Alanes*, *Suanes*, *Gigues*, *Caracioles*, or *Cara-cherks*, i. e. black *Circassians*, so called by the *Turks*, not from their complexion, for they are the fairest people in the world, but from their country, because it is always darkened with fogs and clouds. They were also anciently  
Christians

Christians, but now profess no religion, but live by robbery and rapine, having nothing that can entitle them to humanity but speech. They are very tall and portly, and their very looks and speech shew their savage dispositions, being the most resolute assassins and daring robbers in the world.

The ancient kingdom of Colchis was much larger than Mingrelia now is, extending itself to the lake Mœotis on the one side, and Iberia on the other. The country itself is uneven, full of hills and mountains, valleys and plains. It is almost covered with woods, except the manured lands, which are but few, and those preserved by grubbing up the roots, that are continually spreading into them. The air is temperate, as to heat and cold, but very unwholesome, by reason of the continual wet, which being heated by the sun, breeds pestilences and several other distempers. It abounds with waters, which descend from mount Caucasus, and fall into the Black Sea. The principal rivers are the Caddours, of old called Corax; the Socom, called by Arrian, Terffen, and by Ptolemy, Thassaris; the Langus, of old Aftulphus; the Cobi, called by Arrian, Cobo; the Cianiscari, called anciently, Cianeus; the Tacheur, called by Arrian, Sigemus, and the Sheniscari, i. e. River-horse, called therefore by the Greeks, Hippos: and the Abascia, called by Arrian, Caries; and Ptolemy, Caritus; which two last mix with the Phasis about twenty miles from the place where it falls into the sea.

The soil is very bad, and produces little corn or pulse, and the fruits are almost wild, without taste, and unwholesome, unless it be their vines, which thrive well there, and produce most excellent wine. The earth is so moist in seed-time, that when they sow their wheat and barley, they never plough it at all, but sprinkle it upon the earth; for they say, that should they plough it, the land would be so soft, that all their corn would fall. They plough their lands for their other corn, with plough shares of wood, which make as good furrows as iron, because their land is very moist and tender. Their common grain is gomm, which is as small as coriander seed, and resembles millet. Of this they make a paste, which they use for bread, and prefer it before wheat; which is not to be wondered at, for it is very acceptable to the palate, and conducive to health, being cooling and laxative. They have also great plenty of millet, some rice, with wheat and barley, but very scarce. The people of quality eat wheaten bread as a rarity, but the meaner sort very seldom or never taste of it.

The ordinary food of the country is beef and pig, of which last they have great plenty, and the best in the world. They have also goat's flesh, but it is lean, and not well tasted. Their wild-fowl is very good, but scarce. Their venison is the wild boar, hart, stag, fallow deer, and hare, all which are excellent food. They have partridges, pheasants, and quails in abundance, with some river fowl and wild pigeons, which are good meat, and as big as a crammed chicken. Their nobility spend their whole time in the field, using lanner-hawks, gos-hawks, hobbies, and others, for their sports, to catch water-fowl and pheasants; but their most delightful pastime is the flight of the falcon at the heron, which they catch only for the tuft upon his crown, to put upon their bonnets; for they let him go again when they have cut it off, that it may grow up anew.

6. Mount Caucasus produceth a great number of wild beasts, as tygers, leopards, lions, wolves, and jacals, which last make great havock amongst their cattle and horses, and often disturb their houses with their dreadful howlings. They have large numbers of horses, and those very good ones, which every man almost keeps in great store, because their keeping stands them in little or nothing, for they neither shoe them, nor feed them with corn. They have no cities nor towns, except two by the

sea-side;

sea-side ; but their houses are so thick up and down the country, that you can hardly travel a mile but you meet with three or four. There are nine or ten castles in the country, of which the chiefest is called Ruis, and it is the court of the Prince. Their houses are all built with timber, which is plentiful, and the poorer sort never raise above one story, nor the rich above two. The lower rooms are always furnished with bed and couches to lie down on or to sit upon, because of the moisture of the earth, but are inconvenient, because they have no windows nor chimneys.

They have but one room for their whole family, and so lie all together. The men are well shaped, and the women so handsome, that they seem born for commanding love. They all paint their eye-brows, and their faces abominably. They dress themselves with all the curiosity they can, their habit being like the Persians, and their head attire like the European women, even to the curling of their hair. They are witty and civil, but to balance that, haughty, deceitful, cruel, and impudent. The men have also as many mischievous qualities, and there is no wickedness to which they are not addicted ; but that which they most practise and delight in is theft. This they make their employment and glory. They justify it as lawful to have many wives ; because, they say, " They bring us many children, which we can sell for ready money, or exchange for necessary conveniences ;" yet, when they have not wherewithal to maintain them, they hold it a piece of charity to murder infants new born, as also they do such as are sick and past recovery ; because, they say, " they free them from a deal of misery."

The gentlemen of this country have full power over the lives and estates of their tenants, to sell and dispose of their wives and children as they think fit, and every countryman is bound to furnish his lord with as much corn, wine, cattle, and other provisions as he wants. The lords decide the quarrels of their vassals ; but if they themselves are at variance, they decide it by arms, which makes them go all armed with a lance, bow, and sword. Their habit is peculiar ; they wear very little beard, and cover their heads with a thin felt cap in summer, and a furred bonnet in winter : over their bodies they wear little shirts, which fall to their knees, and tuck into a strait pair of breeches, ; but they never have above one shirt and one pair of breeches, which last them a year, and in all that time never wash them above thrice, only once or twice a week they shake it (for a certain purpose) over the fire.

The whole family, without distinction, eat all together, both males and females. The King with all his train, to his very grooms, and the Queen with her maids and servants. They dine in the open courts in fair weather, and if it be cold, they make a rousing fire, for wood costs them nothing. Upon working-days the servants have nothing but gomm, and the masters pulse, dried fish, or flesh ; but on holy-days, or when they make entertainments, they kill a hog, ox, or cow, if they have no venison. They are very great drinkers, both men and women, and at their feasts provoke their friends as much as they can to drinking. They drink their wine pure, and beginning with pints, proceed to much greater quantities. Their discourse at their merry meetings is, with the men, about their wars and robberies, and among their women obscene tales of their amours.

Mingrelia is but thinly peopled, by reason of their wars, and the vast numbers sold to the Persians and Turks by the nobility. All trade in it is driven by way of barter, for they have no set price of money among them ; the species current are pialtres, Du ch crowns, and abassis, which are made in Georgia, and stamped with the Persian stamp. The revenues of the Prince of Mingrelia amount at most to twenty thousand crowns, which arises from the customs of goods exported and imported, the slaves he sells, impositions and fines ; and this he lays up, for his slaves serve him for nothing,  
and

and his crown-lands furnish his court with more provision than he can spend. He is not able to raise above four thousand men fit to bear arms, and those are all cavalry for the most part, for he has not above three hundred foot to join with them. His court, upon solemn festivals, consists of two hundred gentlemen, but upon other days of about one hundred and twenty.

7. The religion of the Colchians was formerly the same with the Greeks, being converted, as the ecclesiastical historians say, in Constantine's time, by a slave: but the Mingrelians say, St. Andrew preached among them in the place called Pigivitas, where now stands a church, whither the Catholicos, or chief bishop, goes once in his life-time to make the oil called myrone by the Greeks; but now the Mingrelians are fallen into a profound abyss of ignorance and darkness, and have not the least idea of faith and religion, but look upon life eternal, the day of judgment, and the resurrection, as mere fables devised by men; nor do their clergy perform any ecclesiastical duties, for there is hardly one of them that can either write or read. They have utterly lost the true knowledge of the service of God; but the priests make a public profession of foretelling things to come, and make the people believe, that their books show them the course of future events.

The Catholicos of Mingrelia is head of all the clergy of that country, as also of Abca, Gureil, Mount Caucasus, and Imeretta; but the Prince appoints or deposeth him as he pleaseth. His revenue is very great, for he has four hundred vassals under him, who furnish his house with all things necessary for human life, and many superfluities. He sells their children to the Turks; and when he visits the dioceses under his jurisdiction, it is not to reform the clergy, nor instruct the people, but to spoil them of their goods, and rake together great sums. He will not consecrate a bishop for less than six hundred crowns, nor say a mass for the dead under eight hundred, nor any other mass under one hundred.

The sanctity of this prelate consists in a continual abstinence from flesh and wine in Lent, and in long prayers day and night; but he is so ignorant, that he can hardly read his breviary and missal. He has six bishops under him, who take no care of the souls of their people, nor ever visit their churches and dioceses. They suffer the priests to live in all manner of errors, and the people to contaminate themselves with the grossest vices; they understand not the form of baptism, let polygamy be practised, and permit the mothers to bury their new-born children alive. All their business is in feasting and banqueting, where they are drunk almost every day. They are rich, and go very sumptuously appareled, oppressing their vassals, and selling their wives and children to maintain their luxury. They abstain from flesh as the Greek bishops do, and place the whole Christian religion in the practice of fasting, and think not themselves obliged to do any other duty. Their cathedral is pretty neatly kept, and well adorned with images, which they deck with gold and jewels, believing that in so doing they satisfy God's justice, and atone for their sins. They are clothed in scarlet and velvet, as the seculars are, and differ from them only in this, that they wear their beards long, and their bonnets black, round, and high.

There are also in Mingrelia certain monks of the order of St. Basil, who wear the same habit, and live after the manner of the Greek monks, wearing black bonnets, eating no flesh, and suffering their hair to grow; but they mind nothing of religion, but to observe their fasts exactly. They have also nuns of the same order, who observe their fasting days and wear a black veil, but they have no nunneries, nor are under any vows or subordination, but quit their habit and temperance when they please.

The priests of Mingrelia are very numerous, but a sort of miserable creatures. They till their own ground and the lands of their lords, being no less slaves than the seculars; nor have they any respect shewn them, but when they bless their food at meals, or say mass. Their parish churches have no bells, but they call the people together by knocking with a great stick upon a board, and they are kept as nasty as stables, the images being foul and broken, and covered with dust. The worship which they pay to their images is idolatrous, for they adore them not with a relative adoration, but pay their devotion to the material substance. They worship such most, as are finest adorned, or famed for their cruelty, and if they swear by any of these, they will never break the oath. St. Giobas is one of their most formidable images, and him they will not approach nearer than they can just see him, but pray to him, and leave their present at that distance; for they report, that he kills all that approach him very near.

The Christian saints they have no value for, unless it be St. George, whom they account their chief saint, as do also the Georgians, Muscovites, and Greeks. Their mass is after the Greek manner, and the priests celebrate it without any other sacerdotal habit but their surplices. Their cup or chalice is a goblet of wood, and the cover is of the same matter; and their patten is a wooden dish. In Lent they never say mass but on Saturdays and Sundays, for they hold that the communion spoils their fasting. They consecrate unleavened or leavened bread, without any difference, and never mix water with wine, unless it be very strong.

They laugh at transubstantiation, and say, "How can Christ get into a loaf? for what reason should he leave heaven to come down to the earth?" They anoint the foreheads of their children with the oil called myrone, as soon as they are born; but baptize them not till a long time after, and then they wash them all over with water; but none will baptize their children till he is able to make a feast for the priest, god-fathers, and guests, and that is the reason many of their children die unbaptized. They do not believe that ordination imprints a character not to be defaced; and, therefore, they ordain anew such priests as have been degraded. Their marriages are a contract by way of bargain and sale, for the parents of the maid agree upon the price with the person that desires her; the price of a divorced woman is the least, of a widow something more, but of a maid most. When the bargain is made, the young man may company with the damsel till the money is paid, and it is no scandal if she be with child. If any one has married a barren woman, or of an ill disposition, they hold it not only lawful, but requisite to divorce her, as a match not made by God, who only does good. There is none that understands the Bible, or reads it, but the women will repeat several stories of the Gospel, which they have by tradition. They observe the same fasts almost as the Greeks, for they keep the four great Lents, viz., the first before Easter, which is forty-eight days; that before Christmas, which is forty days; St. Peter's fast, which is near a month; and the last, which the eastern Christians observe in honour of the Virgin Mary, which continues fifteen days. They make the sign of the cross when they drink wine and eat pork, but not as any mark of Christianity. Their prayers are all addressed to their idols for their temporal benefits, viz. their own prosperity, or ruin of their enemies. They offer sacrifices like the Jews and Gentiles. They never make holiday upon Sundays, or abstain from works but at the festivals of Christmas and Easter, which they celebrate only in eating and drinking to excess in their houses. Their greatest festivals are when an idol is carried through their country, when they put on their best cloaths, make a great feast, and get ready a present for

the idol. Their mourning for the dead is altogether barbarous, and like that of people in despair, the women rend their cloaths, tear their hair and flesh, beat their breasts, cry, yell, and gnash with their teeth, like people mad or possessed; the men also tear their cloaths and thump their breasts.

8. Their neighbour nations live and act after the same fashion almost in all respects, only they that live near Persia and Turkey are more civil in their manners, and more honest and just in their inclinations; whereas those that border upon the Tartars and Scythians are more barbarous, having no idea or outward form of religion, and observing no laws.

On the confines of Mingrelia lie the principality of Guriel and kingdom of Imeretta. The country of Guriel is very small, bordering upon Imeretta on the north, Mount Caucasus on the east, Mingrelia on the west, and the Black Sea on the south. It lies all along by the sea-shore from the river Phasis to the castle Gonie, which is held by the Turks. The inhabitants are of the same nature and manners as the Mingrelians, and have the same inclinations to lewdness, robbery, and murder.

The kingdom of Imeretta is something bigger than the country of Guriel, and is the Iberia of the ancients. It is encompassed with mount Caucasus, Colchis, the Black Sea, the principality of Guriel, and part of Georgia. It is twenty-six miles in length, and sixty miles broad. The country is full of woods and mountains, like Mingrelia, but the valleys are more pleasant, and plains more delicious, producing corn, pulse, cattle, and herbs of all sorts. There are some iron mines. They have also some money current among them, which is coined in their kingdom, and several towns; but their manners and customs differ little from the Mingrelians. The King has three good castles, one called Scander, seated on the side of a valley, and two on mount Caucasus, called Regia and Scorgia, being both almost inaccessible, as being built in places that nature itself has wonderfully fortified, the river Phasis running between them. The fortress of Cotatis was once in this Prince's jurisdiction, but the Turks are now masters of it.

The King of Imeretta governed the Abcas, Mingrelians, and people of Guriel, after they had all four freed themselves from the power of the Emperors, first of Constantinople, and then of Trebizond: but in the last age, setting up for themselves, and revolting from one another, they were involved in continual wars among themselves, till calling in the assistance of the Turks, they were all made tributary to them. The King of Imeretta pays eighty boys and girls, from ten to twenty years of age. The Prince of Guriel pays forty-six children of both sexes; and the Prince of Mingrelia sixty thousand ells of linen cloth made in that country. The Abcas seldom paid any thing at first, and now pay nothing. The King of Imeretta and Prince of Guriel send their tribute to the basha of Akalzike, but a chiaux gathers it at Mingrelia.

9. Leaving Isagour, October 4, he passed by the mouth of the river Astolphus, called Langur by the Mingrelians, one of the biggest rivers in Mingrelia, and on the 5th came to Anarghia, a village two miles from the sea, consisting of two hundred houses, but so far distant the one from the other, that it is two miles from the first to the last. Hither the Turks come to buy slaves, and have barks ready to carry them away. It is thought, that the fair and large city, called Heraclea, stood in the same place. At this town there is plenty of provisions, and that very cheap, viz. wild pigeons, fowl, porkers, and goats in abundance, and wine is plentiful. From Anarghia he sailed up the river Astolphus, and went to a place called Sapias, which is the name of two little churches, of which the one is a parish church of Mingrelia, and the other belongs to the Theatins, a sort of friars, who first came into Mingrelia in

1627, and were admitted there as physicians, and have built themselves several apartments about it, after the manner of the country. They have some slaves, and two families of country people their tenants. They have good employment as physicians, but none will embrace their religion, their very slaves refusing to communicate in their services; so that they would have long since left the country, had it not been for the honour of the Roman church and their own order.

After a month's stay with the monks, it not being safe to travel because of the troubles of the country, he returned again to Anarghia, and having hired a Turkish feluke, for Gonie, November the 10th, staid till the 27th to take in loading and passengers. While he staid here he was invited to two christenings, and curiosity engaged him to be present at them. The manner was this: the priest being sent for about ten o'clock in the morning, sat himself down in the buttry, and fell to reading a book half torn, about the bigness of a New Testament, in octavo. He read very fast, and with a low voice, in such a careless manner, as if he regarded not what he did, any more than the rest did what he said, for the father, godfather, and child, who was about five years old, went to and again all the time.

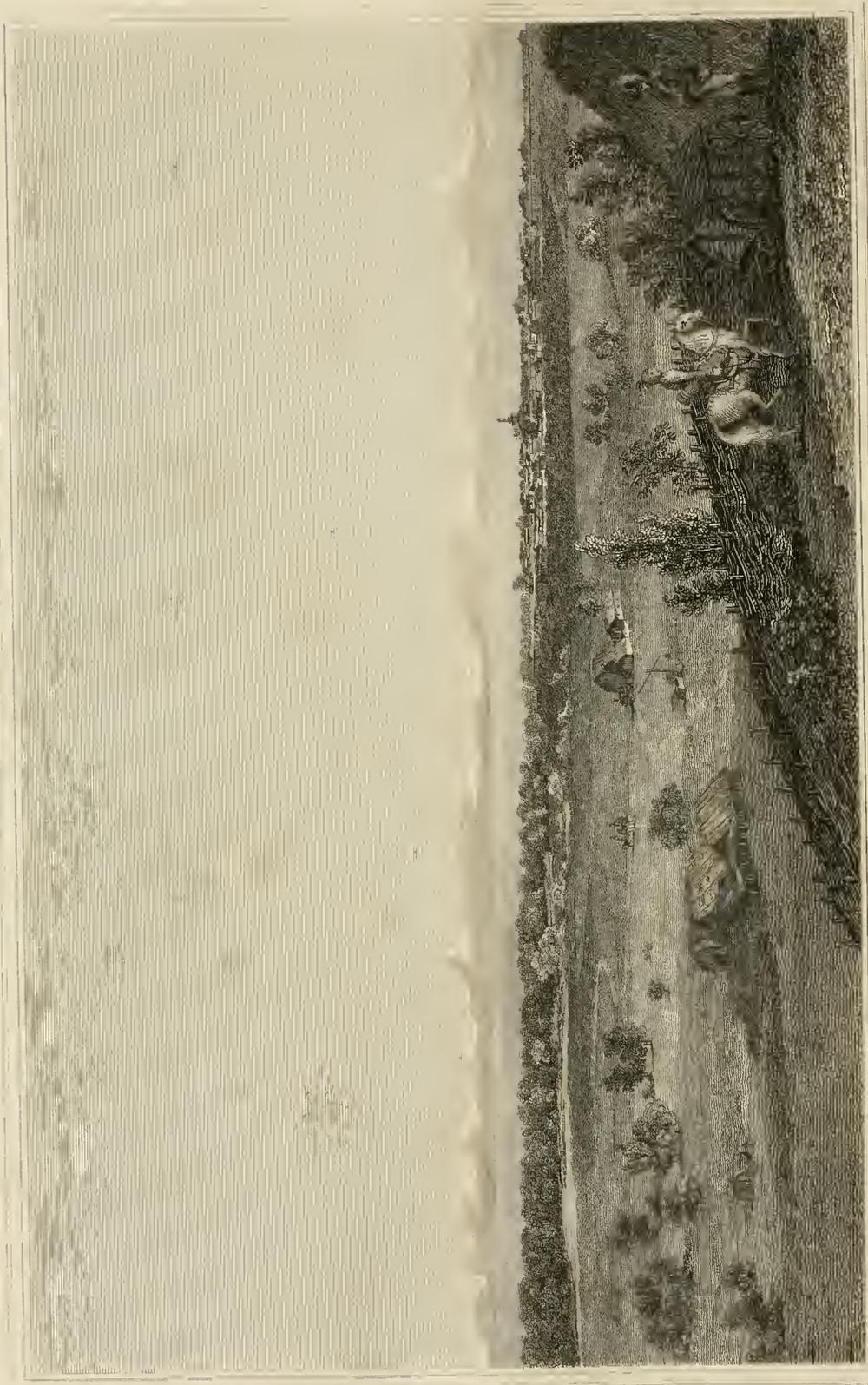
When the priest had read an hour, there was a bucket of warm water got ready, into which when the priest had poured about a spoonful of oil of walnuts, he bid the godfather undress the child; which done, he set him upon his feet in the water, and washed his body all over well, and then the priest gave him a small quantity of myrone, or oil of unction, with which he anointed the top of his head, ears, forehead, nose, cheeks, chin, shoulders, elbows, back, belly, knees, and feet, the priest still reading till the godfather dressed the child, and then the father bringing in wine, bread, and pork, they all sat down to eat and drink, and were all extremely drunk before they parted. Their mas they perform with the same irreverence and carelessness.

Departing from Anarghia in fair and clear weather, he discovered the high lands of Trebilond on the one side, and of the Abcas on the other, and came to the river Kelmhel, which though not so broad nor rapid as Langur, yet is deeper.

10. On the 30th he came to the river Phasis, which, taking its rise in mount Caucasus, runs at first in a narrow channel, though swiftly, about Cotatis, and sometimes so low that it is easily fordable; but where it dischargeth itself into the sea, which is about ninety miles from Cotatis, the channel is a mile and a half broad, and sixty fathoms deep, being augmented in that course by divers streams. The water is muddy and thick, but very good to drink. There are several islands at the mouth of it, which being covered with thick woods, make a delightful prospect. Arrian says, that upon one of these islands stood the temple of Rhea, but there are no remains of it now, though there are some historians who say, it was standing in the time of the Grecian empire, and was, in Zenon's reign, dedicated to the worship of Christ. On this river, and the Black Sea about it, are plenty of pheasants, or phasiani, so called from the river Phasis. All the coasts of this river are a low sandy soil, covered with woods so thick that one can hardly see six paces up the land.

On the 30th he arrived at Gonie, which is about thirty miles from Phasis, the sea-coasts being exceeding high land and rocks, some being woody, and others naked. Gonie is a large castle, in the territories of the Prince of Guriel, built four square, of hard and rough stones of a very large size. It hath no trenches, but walls only, and two great guns. In it are about thirty small poor houses, made of boards, and without is a small village of about as many more, all inhabited by mariners, and other boorish people. There is a custom-house here, the officers whereof are extremely rude, and imperious, and severe to the people of the country, but extravagant to the Europeans,





Engraved by [Name] No.

Mountains of [Name]

not regarding any man's person, nor any recommendations from the Porte, but searching all things strictly, and exacting what they please.

From Gorie he went to the castle of Akalzike. The way lies over Mount Caucasus, which is one of the highest mountains, and one of the most difficult to pass over in the world. The top is always covered with snow, over which the natives pass in a kind of sandals, made flat like a racket, to keep them from sinking. It is usual for the guides here to make long prayers to their images to keep the winds from rising, for if the wind be high, it buries all the travellers in snow.

This mountain, though not inhabited for some leagues together in many places, yet is fruitful to the very top, yielding honey, wheat, corn, wine, and fruits, and feeding hogs and large cattle. The vines are so luxuriant, that they run up to the very tops of their highest trees, so that the people cannot gather them. The country people dwell in wooden huts, of which every family has four or five. The women grind their corn as they want it, and bake their bread on stones, or upon their hearth, and yet the crust is very white, and the bread good. These inhabitants are for the most part Christians, after the Georgian ceremonies; they are fresh complexioned, and their women are handsome. At the bottom of the hill is a very fair valley, rich and fertile, being watered by the river Kur, which has many villages, and in them the ruins of several castles and churches, which, the people say, were destroyed by the Turks.

Akalzike is a fortress built upon mount Caucasus, fortified with double walls, and flanked with towers built with battlements, after the ancient manner, and defended with a few great guns. Upon little hillocks about it stands a large town of 400 houses, which have nothing of antiquity, but two Armenian churches. It is inhabited by Turks, Armenians, Georgians, Greeks, and Jews, who have their churches and synagogues. The river Kur, anciently called Cyrus and Corus, which rises in the Mount Caucasus, runs by it. A basha lodges in the fortress, and his soldiers are quartered in the adjacent villages. It was built by the Georgians, from whom the Turks took it.

From Akalzike he went to Gory, and passed by Usker, where the Turks have a castle built on a rock, with a garrison and custom-house, under the command of a Sanziac, and two leagues farther, you cross over the mountains which part Persia and Turkey, from whence you see several villages, in which are the ruins of many castles, fortresses, and churches, and the miserable remains of the grandeur of the Georgians, before the Turkish and Persian wars destroyed them.

At the foot of the mountain lie a town and fortress, both called Surham. It stands on a very lovely plain, full of censers, villages, hillocks, houses of pleasure, and little castles belonging to the Georgian lords, and has a fortress containing a garrison of 100 men. All the country is very well tilled, and mighty pleasant and delightful as far as Gory, except that on the right hand lies a great city almost in ruins, as not containing above 500 houses inhabited, whereas formerly, by report, it had 12,000.

Gory is a small city, seated on a plain between two mountains, upon the banks of the river Kur, and by it is a castle on a hill, garrisoned by native Persians. The houses and market-places are all built with earth, but the people are all very rich and wealthy, and it is furnished with all necessaries for human life at a cheap rate.

11. From Gory he departed, December the 16th, and travelling upon the banks of the river Kur, through pleasant plains, with great numbers of villages on all hands, he passed through Calicala, a city almost totally ruined, and came on the 17th to Teflis, the capital city of that part of Georgia, lying in the province of Carthueli. The country of Georgia, which is under the jurisdiction of the Persians, borders at this day to the

east upon Circassia and Muscovy, to the west upon Armenia the Lesser, and to the north upon the Black Sea and the kingdom of Imeretta. It is extended from Tauris and Erzerom to Tanais, and was anciently called Albania. It is a country very woody and mountainous, unless in the middle, where it is more even and level. The river Kur runs through the midst of it, and empties itself into the Caspian Sea.

The Grecians are thought by some to have called it Georgia, from Georgoi, husbandman; but others will have the name derived from St. George, the patron saint of all the Christians of the Greek church. The temper of the air is very kindly in Georgia, being very dry, cold in the winter, and hot in the summer. The fair weather does not begin till May, but then it lasts till the end of November. The soil being well watered, produces all sorts of grain, herbs, and fruits in abundance, so that a man may live their deliciously and cheap. Cattle are there very plentiful and good, as well the larger as lesser sort; their fowl is incomparable, especially their wild fowl; their boar's flesh is as plentiful and good as any in Colchis; and, indeed, the common people live upon nothing else almost but young pigs, which are excellent meat, and never offend the stomach. The Caspian Sea, which is next to Georgia, and the Kur, that runs quite through it, supplies it with all sorts of salt and fresh fish. There is no country that drinks more and better wine, and they transport great quantities of it into Media, Armenia, and to Ispahan, for the King's table. They have great quantities of silk, but know not how to weave it, and therefore they carry it into Turkey to Erzerom, and the parts adjoining, and drive a great trade with it. The complexion of the Georgians is most beautiful, you can scarce see an ill-favoured person among them; and the women are so exquisitely handsome, that it is hardly possible to look upon them, and not be in love with them. They are tall, clean limbed, plump and full, but not over fat, and extremely slender in the waist; but this beauty they spoil with painting and dressing, with sumptuous habits and jewels. The Georgians are naturally very witty, and would be as learned men and great artists as any are in the world, if they had the improvements of arts and sciences; but having a mean education and bad examples, they are drowned in vice, are cheats and knaves, perfidious, treacherous, ungrateful, and proud. They are irreconcilable in their enmities; for though they are not easily provoked, yet they preserve their hatred inviolable.

Drunkennes and luxury are such common vices among them, that they are not scandalous in Georgia. The church-men will be as drunk as others; and they keep male slaves in their houses, which they use for their concubines, at which no body is offended, because it is so commonly practised, that custom makes it thought lawful; yea, and they say, he that is not drunk at their great festivals of Easter and Christmas, cannot be a good Christian, and deserves to be excommunicated. The Georgians are very great usurers, and will lend no money without a pawn. The lowest interest they take is two per cent. for a month. The women are as vicious and as wicked as the men, and contribute more than they to that general debauchery which overflows the country. In their common conversation they are civil and courteous, grave and moderate. Their habit is much like the Polonian, and their bonnets like theirs, their vests are open before down the breast, and fastened with buttons and loops; their hose and shoes are like the Persians, and their women's cloathing is wholly in the same taste.

The houses of their grandees, and all their public edifices, are built according to the Persian model, and they imitate the Persians in their sitting at table, in their beds, and manner of diet. The nobility exercise an absolute tyranny over the people, who are their vassals, making them labour as long as they please for them, without food or wages, challenging a right over their estates, liberty, and lives, and selling their children,

children, or making them their own slaves. They were converted to Christianity by an Iberian woman, in the fourth age, but have nothing left of Christianity but the name; for they do not observe the least precept of Jesus Christ; they place all their religion in fasting, and making long prayers.

• There are several bishops in Georgia, with a patriarch, whom they call *Catholicos*, and an archbishop, whose sees, as often as they are vacant, are disposed of by the Prince, though he be a Mahometan, and he generally gives them to his relations, and the present patriarch is his brother. The churches in Georgia, especially in their cities, are kept something more cleanly than in Mingrelia, but in the villages are full as nasty. The Georgians and their neighbours build their churches upon high mountains, in remote and inaccessible places, and bow unto them at great distances, but scarce go into them once in ten years, leaving them to the injuries of the weather, and for the birds to build their nests in. They can give no other reason for all this, but that it is a custom; though we may suppose, it is rather to avoid repairing and adorning them. Georgia was made tributary to the Persians by Ishmael the Great, and though it has several times revolted, yet still continues in subjection to them.

The city of Teflis, the capital city of East Georgia, is one of the fairest cities in all the King of Persia's dominions, though not so big as some. It is seated at the bottom of a mountain, and on the eastern side of it runs the river Kur, which rising in the mountains of Georgia, joins itself to the Araxes. The most part of houses built by the river-side, stand upon a rock, and the whole city is encompassed with strong and beautiful walls, except on the side next the river, and is defended by a fortress on the south side, wherein are none but native Persians. This fortress is a sanctuary for all manner of criminals.

Teflis has in it fourteen churches, which is very much in a country where there is so little devotion. Six of them are appropriated to the Georgian service, and maintained by them, and the other eight belong to the Armenians. The cathedral called *Sion* is built all of hewn stone, and stands on the bank of the river. It is an ancient building, in good repair, composed of four bodies, and has a great duomo in the middle. The great altar stands in the middle of the church, and the inside is full of paintings, after the Greek manner. The Armenians have also several monasteries here; in one of them, they say, they have St. George's skull.

There is not any mosque in Teflis, though it be under a Mahometan Prince, and though the Persians have attempted to build one several times, they could never accomplish their design, for the people mutinied and beat down their work; which action, though very affronting to the Persian religion, yet the Emperor of Persia is afraid to come to any extremities with them, lest they should revolt to their neighbours the Turks, and so Teflis and all Georgia enjoy their liberty to retain almost all the exterior marks of their religion; for, on the top of all the steeples of their churches stands a cross, and in them they have bells, which they often ring. Every day they sell pork openly, as well as other victuals, and wine, at the corners of the streets, which vexes the Persians to see, but they cannot help it. Some few years since they built a mosque in the fortress, and the Georgians could not prevent it; but when the priest, after their custom, came up to the top, to make profession of his faith, and call the Mahometans to prayers, the people so plied him with volleys of stones, that he was forced to fly down in haste, and never dared to appear there any more.

The public buildings, viz. their market-places, inns, and magazines, are well built of stone, and kept in good repair. The Prince's palace is a noble and beautiful building, being

being adorned with halls and rooms of state, gardens, aviaries, and spacious courts, to which the viceroy of Caket's palace is not much inferior.

The out parts of the city are adorned with several houses of pleasure, and many beautiful gardens, of which the Prince's is the biggest; but the trees are such only as serve for shade and coolness.

The Capuchins, who were sent into Georgia about the year 1657, by the Pope, have an habitation in this city, as also at Gory, where they are highly esteemed as physicians, which is the title they give themselves, but they make very little progress in the conversion of the Georgians; for besides that these people are very ignorant, and take little care to instruct themselves, it is so rivetted into their heads, that fasting, as they observe it, is the essential part of the Christian religion, that they do not believe the Capuchins to be Christians, though they fast as they do, because they are informed, they do it not in Europe.

The city of Teflis is very well peopled, and there are as many strangers resort thither as to any place in the world, for there is a great trade driven there, and the court is very numerous and magnificent, becoming the capital city of a province. The Georgians do not call it Teflis, but Cala, i. e. The Fortrefs, which is a name they give to all habitations encompassed with walls, and some geographers call it, Tebele-Cala, or the hot city, either by reason of the hot baths, or because the air there is not so cold and boisterous as in other parts of Georgia.

12. On the 28th he departed from Teflis, and passing through Sogan-lou, or the place of onions, standing upon the river Kur, came to Kupri-Kent, or the village of the bridge, because there is a very fair bridge over the river Tabadi, in the arches of which are made little chambers and porticos, and in every one of them a chimney, on purpose to lodge strangers, and in the middle ones balconies, to take the cool air in the summer; Melick-Kent, or the royal village, and so to Dely-Jan, a village of 300 houses, seated upon the river Acalstapha, which runs at the foot of a high and dreadful mountain, part of Mount Taurus. Here is plenty of water, and the ground is very fertile, and a great many villages to be seen on every side, some of which stood so high upon the points of the rocks, that they were almost indiscernible. They are inhabited by Georgian and Armenian Christians, but not intermixed, because they have such an inveterate enmity one against another, that they cannot live together in the same villages. The most part of the houses of these villages are no better than caverns or hollow places made in the earth; the rest are built with timber, and covered with turf.

These sort of buildings are very convenient, being cool in summer, and warm in winter. The borough of Dely-Jan, and all the country round about for six leagues, is governed by its own natural Princes, from father to son, and holds of Persia as Georgia does. It is called the country of Casac, the people being stout and fierce, descended from the Cosaques, who inhabit the mountains on the north-east of the Caspian Sea, and is at present under a Prince called Kamshi-Can. He lodged at Kara-Phishish, a large borough, seated at the bottom of the mountains which separate Georgia from Armenia. It stands on the banks of the river Zengui, and passing Bichni, where there is an Armenian monastery, our author arrived at Erivan, Jan. 7, 1673.

13. Erivan is a great city, but dirty. The vineyards and gardens make the greatest part of it, there being no ornamental buildings in it. It is situated in a plain, encompassed with mountains on every side, between two rivers, the Zengui and Queurk-boulack. The fortrefs itself may pass for a small city, containing 800 houses, inhabited by Persians only; for though the Armenians have shops there to work and trade in in the day-time,

day-time, yet they return to their houses in the evening. It is surrounded with three walls of earth, and brick made of clay, with battlements, and flanked with towers, and strengthened with ramparts, according to the custom of the ancients, and in it is constantly maintained a garrison of 2000 men. The governor of the province's palace is within this castle, and is a very spacious and delightful place in summer.

The city stands about a cannon-shot from the fortrefs, but the space between is filled up with houses and market-places, which are such pitiful structures, that they may be removed in one day. There are several churches in this city, of which the episcopal see, called Ircou-ye-rize, and Catovike are the chief; the rest are small, sunk deep in the earth. Near the episcopal church is an old tower, built of free-stone, of antique work, with several inscriptions, but none can read them; nor is it known when, by whom, or for what use it was built. At a little distance from it is the Grand Meidan, or great market-place, 400 paces square, where they use all exercises, both for horse and foot, as carousals, racings, wrestling, and managing of horses for war. There are many baths and fair inns in it. The air is good, but a little thick and cold, for their winter lasts long, and they have snow sometimes in April. The country is very delightful and fertile, and produces fruits in great plenty, especially wine, which is there good and cheap.

The Armenians have a tradition, that Noah planted his vineyard near Erivan, and some pretend to shew the place, about a small league from the city. The river and lake, which is twenty-five leagues in compass, furnish the city with excellent fish of nine sorts, of which the trouts and carps are famous all over the East. In the midst of the lake is a small island, where stands a monastery, whose prior is an archbishop, and takes upon him the title of patriarch, refusing to acknowledge the grand patriarch. The Armenians hold this city to be the most anciently inhabited place in the world; for they affirm, that Noah and all his family dwelt there, both before the deluge, and after he came out of the ark, and that the earthly paradise was there. But all this is a story without foundation, reported by persons equally ignorant and vain-glorious.

Two leagues from Erivan stands the famous monastery of the Three Churches, the sanctuary of the Armenian Christians. The Armenians call it Ecs-miazin, which name also the principal church bears. It is a substantial but dark structure, all built of large freestone. The monks shew several relics preserved in it, as a finger of St. Peter, and two of St. John the Baptist, a rib of St. James, bishop of Jerusalem, and an arm of St. Gregory, &c. but they must be very credulous and superstitious that can believe them such. The two other churches that stood near this are St. Caiana and St. Repsima, the names of two Roman virgins who fled into Armenia, as they say, in the ninth persecution, and suffered martyrdom in the same places where those churches stand.

Within the territory of Erivan, which reaches about twenty leagues round it, there are twenty-three convents for men, and five for women, which are so poor, that being continually employed in getting a livelihood, they never perform holy duties but upon holidays. They hold the opinions of the Monophysites, but in other points are very ignorant. Two leagues from Erivan eastward, is to be seen the famous mountain where Noah's ark is said to have rested. The Armenians hold, that the ark is still upon the top of the mount called Maus, but that no man can ascend to it. The governor of Erivan is a Beglerbeg, i. e. a lord of lords, and has also the title of serdar, or general of the army. His revenue is 32,000 tomans, which is above 112,000 l. sterling a year, besides fines, presents, and indirect ways of enriching himself, which amount to 50,000 l. more.

14. While he staid at Erivan, he saw a wedding of the governor's steward's brother. Matrimony in Persia is very expensive, so that only men of estates will venture upon

it, left it prove their ruin. The meaner sort content themselves with a concubine or slave. The Mahometans that follow the tenets of Haly, take their wives after three manners, viz. by purchase, hire, or marriage. All these ways their religion allows, and the civil law acknowledges the children born in any of them legitimate. The wives who are slaves are called Canize. Of these the law allows a man as many as he can maintain, and takes no cognizance how they are used. He is master of their chastity, yea, of their lives, and it is their honour to serve their master as his wives. The hired wives are called Moutaa: of these also a man may take as many as he pleaseth, and as long as he pleaseth, for the price agreed on, and at the end of the term they may part with them, or renew the bargain. A handsome young maid at Ispahan may be hired for 35 l. a year, besides cloaths, diet, and lodging. If any break off before the end of the term, he must pay the whole sum contracted for, and the woman, after dismissal, must tarry forty days before she lets herself to another. These days they call the days of purification.

The espoused wives are called Nekaa, and of these the Mahometan religion allows a man to marry four; but they never marry above one, to avoid expence and disorder, for every one will command, and their mutual jealousy causes a perpetual confusion; wherefore, if they cannot content themselves with one woman, they use their slaves. In Persia they usually marry by proxy, because the man never sees his wife till after he has consummated the marriage, which sometimes he does not till several days after his wife has been at home. One would think, that this way of marrying should produce unfortunate matches; but it doth not, for marriages are not more happy in any country than this. If either of the parties dislike one another, and resolve to unmarry themselves, the Mahometan religion permits a divorce, and they may separate either before a judge or a churchman, giving each other a talaac or bill of divorce, and then the parties are at liberty to marry again where they please themselves.

Upon this dissolution of their marriage, if the man has sued the divorce, he is obliged to return the woman her dowry; yet if the woman sought it, she loseth her portion; but if the persons repent the act, they may renew the marriage again three times: yet, the Persians rarely make use of this license to part with their wives, only some citizens and tradesmen make their advantage of it. Persons of quality count it so dishonourable, that they will rather die than divorce their wives, and the meanest sort cannot part with the portion, and so if they desire a divorce, which is rare, they effect it by ill-using their wives, to force them to sue for a divorce, and thereby sacrifice all to their liberty.

The Armenian patriarch lives in this city, and has an episcopal palace. He, with all the rest of his clergy, is much addicted to simony, as are also all the Eastern sects. Their chief gain lies in selling the oil called myrone, at a dear rate, which they teach the people to believe is a remedy that physically cures all the distempers of the soul, and confers the grace of regeneration and remission of sins, saying, that in baptism it is the oil, not the water, which is the matter prescribed. The patriarch consecrates this oil, and sells it to the bishops and priests, who get great sums by it.

15. April the 8th he parted from Erivan, and travelling through a country somewhat hilly, but full of villages, came first to Daivin, and then to Kainer, leaving the mountain of Noah on the right hand. On the 10th he went on the same road, which led him through a fertile and fair country, and leaving Sederec, a great town, and the capital of the province of Armenia, called Charour, where the Sultan resides, came through Nouratchin, and over the river Harpafony to Nacchivan, which is thought to be the ancient Ariaxate. It is now little else but a heap of ruins, not containing above two thousand houses which are inhabited, and those in the heart of the city, with inns,

baths, and other public houfes, where they fell tobacco and coffee, whereas formerly the Perfian history affures us, that it contained forty thousand.

Five leagues to the north lies a great city, called Abrener, i. e. the fertile field, and seven others near to it, all whose inhabitants are Papifts, and their bifhops and curates Dominicans, who perform their church fervice in the Armenian language. Thefe towns were brought into fubjection to the Pope by an Italian Dominican of Bologna. Twenty villages more acknowledged the fame ecclefiastical jurifdiction, but are returned to their firft religion, and their obedience to the Armenian patriarch; and it is not likely that the reft can hold out long, for the governors of the province ufe them violently, and lay heavy impofitions upon them, for withdrawing from their jurifdiction.

From Nacchivan, he paffed to old Julpha, through a dry ftony country, where there is nothing to be feen but hills of ftones. It is a ruined city, and thought by fome authors to be the ancient Ariammene. It is faid to have contained four thousand houfes, though the ruins do not fhew above half fo many. At prefent there is nothing but holes and caverns in the mountains, fitter for beafts than men to live in.

This city was ruined by Abas the Great, for the fame reafon as Nacchivan, viz. to hinder the invafions of the Turks for want of provifions. By Julpha runs the river Araxes, which feparates Armenia from Media. It rifes in the mountain where Noah's ark is faid to have refted, from which perhaps it takes its name, and empties itfelf into the Cafpian Sea. It is very large, and of fo rapid a courfe, efpecially when it is fwelled by the thaws of the fnows that come down from the mountains, that no bridges can ftand upon it, nor dams refift its force, and the noife of the waters aftonifhes the ears of the beholders.

16. Media, which formerly ruled all Afia with an imperial dominion, at prefent makes but one part of a province, though the largeft in the Perfian empire, called Azerbeyan or Afapaican. It borders on the eaft upon the Cafpian Sea and Hyrcania, on the fouth upon Parthia, on the weft upon Araxes and the Upper Armenia, of which Affyria is a part, and on the north on Dageftan, which is that mountainous country that borders upon the Mufcovite Cofacks, and part of Mount Taurus. The Perfians affirm, that the name of Azerbeyan implies, the country of fire, by reafon of the famous temple of fire which was there erected, where was kept that fire which the fire-worshippers hold to be a god. Nimrod is faid firft to have brought in this worfhip, and there is a certain feft called Guebres which ftill maintain it.

From Julpha he travelled through a country full of little hills, leaving a fpacious plain upon the left hand, where many bloody battles between the Turks and Perfians were fought, and particularly that between Selim, the fon of Solyman the Great, and Ifhmael the Great, to Alacou, and from thence, through a more even country, to Marant, a very fair town, confifting of about two thousand five hundred houfes, and which has fo many gardens as take up as much ground as the houfes. It is feated at the bottom of a mountain, at the end of a plain, watered by the little river Zelou-lou, from which the people have drawn feveral cuts into their grounds and gardens.

In the places adjoining grow plenty of fruits, the beft in all Media; but that which is moft peculiar to thefe parts, is this, that here they gather cochineal, though in no great quantities, nor for any longer time than only eight days in fummer, when the fun is in Leo; for before that time, the people fay, it doth not come to maturity; and after the worm, from which they draw the cochineal, makes a hole in the leaf in which it grows, it is loft. The Perfians call cochineal kermis, from kerm, which fignifies a worm, becaufe it is extracted out of worms. The Armenians have a tradition, that Noah lies buried here.

17. From thence he travelled among the mountains to Sophian, a little village full of rivulets and gardens, and fruitful to a wonder, and so he went to Tauris, which is fifty-three Persian leagues from Erivan. This city is very large and potent, being the second in Persia in dignity, grandeur, riches, trade, and number of inhabitants. It is neither walled nor fortified, and the little river Spingtcha runs across it, which sometimes carries away the houses on the side of it, and makes dreadful havock. On the north-side runs the river Agi, or the salt river, whose water is made salt by the little rivulets, which passing through the salt marshes, fall into it, and so can nourish no fish. It is divided into nine wards, and has fifteen thousand houses, and as many shops in their market-places, among which are three hundred inns, and some so large, as to lodge three hundred people, and many cabarets for coffee, tobacco, and strong liquors. There are three hundred and fifty mosques, three hospitals, which relieve the poor with victuals twice a day, and a fair hermi, called Hali's eye.

The inhabitants have been formerly computed to be five hundred and fifty thousand. This city is full of strangers, who come hither to trade from all parts of Asia, because it is full of all sorts of merchandize, and abounds with artists in cotton, silk and gold. The fairest turbans in Persia are made here; and it is said, there are six thousand bales of silk consumed in this manufacture. The air of Tauris is good, healthy, and dry, but the cold continues long, because it is exposed to the north, and the snow lies nine months in the year upon the mountains; the winds blow every day, morning and evening, and rains often fall.

It abounds with all things necessary for human support, as corn, fish from the Caspian Sea, venison, and other wild beasts. Bread may be bought there at three pounds a penny, and flesh at three halfpence a pound. There are said to grow no less than 60 sorts of grapes in and about Tauris. Near it is a quarry of white marble, a mine of gold, and another of salt. There are several mineral waters, all sulphureous, of which some are cold, and others boiling hot. Most of our geographers of best note, as Ortelius, Ananias, Molets, &c. are of opinion, that this city is the ancient and celebrated Ecbatana, so frequently mentioned in holy writ, and in the ancient history of Asia, but there are no remains of the magnificent palace of Ecbatan, where the monarchs of Asia kept their courts in summer, nor of Daniel's, to justify this notion.

From Tauris he travelled first to Vaspinge, a great borough, surrounded with gardens and groves of poplars and tyles, and watered with several brooks, which make it very pleasant; then to Agi-agach, by which are the plains which afford the best pastures in all Media, and perhaps in the whole world, where the choicest horses in the whole province are put to graze from April to June, to purge, refresh, fatten and strengthen them. These plains are the Hippopothon of the ancients, of which they write that the Kings of Media kept here a breed of fifty thousand horses.

The road from hence leads by several circles of large hewn stones, which the Persians affirm to be the places where the Caous or giants, when they made wars in Media, held their councils, it being a custom among these people, that every officer that came to the council brought with him a stone, to serve him instead of a chair, and so carries you over hills and dales, all fruitful and delightful, to admiration, through Turiman, so called, because that in the fields about it there is a great number of shepherds with their flocks, that are called by that name, to Purvare, an handsome large village at the bottom of an hill, and upon the banks of a little river.

From thence he proceeded in his journey, and crossing the river Miana several times, by reason of its windings, passed through the town of the same name adjoining, both so called because they part Media from Parthia, and ascended a ridge of mountains,

which are a branch of mount Taurus, at the top of which stands a castle, called the Virgin's Castle, because Artaxerxes is said to have built it on purpose to imprison a princess of the blood.

As soon as you have passed these mountains, and the river Kefil-buefe, which is at the foot of them, you perceive a change of the air; for whereas Media is moist and cloudy, subject to high winds and much rain, the Parthian air is dry to the highest degree, without clouds or rain for six months sometimes, and the soil sandy, so that nothing will thrive without good husbandry and rains.

18. Parthia, which was so long the seat of the empire of Asia, is now a large province of the Persian monarchy. It is the proper demesnes of the Shah, and therefore has no governor, as the rest of the provinces. It is extended 200 leagues in length, and 150 in breadth, being bounded by the province of Chorassan on the east; by Fars, which is properly Persia, on the south, by Azarbeyan or Media on the west, and Guilan or Mezanderan, which compose the province of Hyrcania, on the north.

The air is dry, and though the mountains produce nothing but thistles and briars, yet the plains are fruitful and pleasant, where there is water. This province has above forty cities, which is much in Persia, because it is not peopled according to its extent. The Parthians took their original from the Scythians, who were the Tartars, who now inhabit the north of Persia, called Uzbeks, and formerly Bactrians. The first village you come at is Zerigan, which is famed for its antiquity, being founded, according to the Persian records, in the reign of Ardechir-babazon, several ages before Christ, and then passing over delightful plains, you come to Sultany.

This city is seated at the foot of a mountain. It seems afar off a very neat well-built place, but does not appear so when you are within it; yet some of the public buildings are very remarkable, both for the materials and architecture. It contains about three thousand houses, and besides, there are very vast ruins, which makes it probable, that it was once the largest city of the kingdom, as their histories relate. Provisions are very plentiful and cheap there, and the air wholesome, though very changeable, the mornings, evenings, and nights being very cold, and days hot. It is said to be the most ancient city in Parthia. The predecessors of Ishmael Sophi, and the last Armenian Kings, resided there, and then it is said, that it contained four hundred Christian churches; but being demolished by Tamerlane, and several other Turkish and Tartarian Princes, the Christians have deserted it.

From hence he travelled through a lovely country, and passing through several villages, surrounded with meadows, and groves of willow and poplar, he came to Ebher, a small city for the buildings, as containing not above 2,500 houses, but taking up a large extent of ground, because they have so many large gardens. A small river runs through the midst of it. It is thought to be anciently called Barontha. The situation is delightful, the air wholesome, and soil plentiful. It is governed by a darogue, or mayor; and the Mirtsheki-bashi has his tahvil, or salary, charged upon the revenue of this city. The Persian geographers assert, that this city was built by Kei-Cofrou, and that Darab-Reihoni, or Darius, began to build the castle; and that Skender-Roumi, i. e. Alexander the Great, finished it. At Ebher they begin to speak the Persian language, which is spoken all the way to the Indies, more or less pure, as the people are more or less distant from Schiras, where it is spoken in the greatest perfection.

19. From Ebher he travelled to Perfac, leaving Casbin five leagues on the left hand. This great city stands in a delightful plain, three leagues from Mount Alou-

vent, one of the highest and most famous mountains in Persia. It is six miles in circumference, containing 12,000 houses, and 100,000 inhabitants, of which there are forty families of Christians, and one hundred Jews, but all very poor. It was formerly walled, but they are now all fallen down. The chiefest ornament and grace of Casbin is the King's palace, and the great number of the seats of the Persian grandees, who attend upon the court, which has its continual residence there. There are but few mosques in Casbin, but the royal mosque, called Metshid-sha, is one of the largest and fairest in all Persia. This city has no great plenty of water, but it is supplied, with all it has, by subterraneous channels called Kerisees.

The air is thick, and not very healthful, and the soil dry and sandy, yet it abounds with meat, and all manner of provisions, which are brought thither from the countries adjoining, which having many well-watered plains, feed a world of cattle, and produce prodigious quantities of corn. The fairest grape in Persia, called shahoni, or the royal grape, being of a gold colour, and transparent, of which the strongest and most luscious wine in the world is made, grows here. The air is very hot in summer all the day long, but the nights are so cold, that if a man expose himself never so little to the air, after he is undressed, he is sure to fall sick. Some of our European geographers affirm it to have been the city, which the Greeks called Rægea, or Rages, afterwards Europa and Arfacia, and now Casbin, from a King of that name. It is governed by a darogue, or mayor, chosen every year, whose office is worth to him 600 tomans, or 2000 pounds.

Having passed Casbin, he came to Kaiare, and having lodged there, travelled the next night (for that is the general way of travelling all over the east, to avoid the heat of the sun, which would hurt both man and beast in the day-time) by Segs-abad, which signifies the habitation of dogs, to Sava, a great city, seated in a sandy and barren plain. It is two miles in circuit, and walled round, but so miserably built, that, unless it be in the midst, it runs to ruin for want of inhabitants. The histories of Persia unanimously agree, that the whole plain of Sava was formerly a salt marsh, or lake; but how it was dried is not certainly known: some fabulously report, that Haly, Mahomet's son-in-law, drained it by a miracle, and to preserve the memory of it, the people built this city in the midst of it.

19. Just over against Sava, eastward, at four leagues distance, stands a place of pilgrimage, most famous for the devotion of the Persians. They call it Echmouil, that is to say, Samuel; for they believe, that this prophet was there interred, and over his tomb is built a most sumptuous mausolæum, in the midst of a magnificent mosque. Over-against it is still to be seen some remnants of the city of Rey, which is reported to have been once the biggest city of Asia, next to Babylon. The Persian histories relate, that it was divided into ninety-six quarters, every one of which had forty-six streets, and every street 400 houses, and ten mosques; that there were in it 6,400 colleges, 16,600 baths, 15,000 towers of mosques, 12,000 mills, 1,700 channels, and 13,000 inns, and people almost numberless.

The chronicles of the Magi make Chus, the grand-child of Noah, to be founder of it; and Ptolemy calls it Raquaia; but the vulgar opinion is, that it was founded by Housheing Pishdadi, or the chief justiciary, and enlarged by Marroutsher, his successor. It was destroyed by the Mahometans, who being divided into two sects, viz. of Shia and Sunnis, made war one upon the other for sixty years together. The sect of Sunnis called in the assistance of the Tartars, and, by their help, bore down the sect of Shia. In these wars the Tartars, by their frequent incursions, destroyed the potent city of  
Rey,

Rey, and reduced it to nothing before the 600th year of their Hegyra. The soil about it is fertile and pleasant, and produces great plenty of fruits; but the air is unhealthy, making the skin swarthy, and breeding agues.

Departing from hence, he passed by a hill, called Couh-Telism, which has this remarkable and peculiar to it; that as you approach nearer and nearer to it, it shews a different form, and varies both in its bigness and figure; that the top or point of it is always in sight, and you would think, that it turned that side, which way soever you stood to look upon it. It consists of a black earth, that crumbles like that of the burning mountains; but it is not known to have vomited fire. The people of the country say, that they that ascend that mountain never come back again.

20. Having passed it, he came to Com, a large city, seated in a plain, by a river-side. It contains 15,000 houses, as the people say, and is surrounded with a moat and wall, flanked with towers, but half ruined. On the river-side are two fair keys, and at the east of the city a fine bridge. It contains many large and beautiful market-places, both for wholesale and retail: though it be a city of no great trade, yet they export large quantities of fruit, dried and raw, and particularly pomegranates; soap, sword-blades, and earthen ware, both white and varnished, which hath this peculiar property, that it cools the water in summer both wonderfully and suddenly, by reason of its continual transpiration. It contains a great number of fair inns, mausoleums and mosques, wherein the grand-children and descendants of Ali, which are the Persian saints, called Yman-Zade, sons of the apostles, lie interred. One of these mosques is the most celebrated in the east: it has four courts, of which the first is planted with trees and flowers, like a garden, with terraces on each side; the second is not so beautiful as this, but the third is nothing inferior to it, being surrounded with apartments two stories high, and having a terrace, portico and canal. In the fourth are the chambers and lodgings for the priests, governors and students, that live upon the revenues of the sacred place. Fronting these courts stand the body of the structure, consisting of three great chapels upon a line. To the middlemost belongs a portal, eighteen feet high, of white marble. The top is a large half-duomo, overlaid without with large square china tiles, painted with morecco work, and embellished within with gold and azure. The folding doors are plated with silver, gilt with vermilion.

In it stands the tomb of Fatima in the midst, which is overlaid also with China tiles, painted a-la-morecco, and overspread with cloth of gold, which hangs down on both sides. It is enclosed with a grate of massy silver, ten feet high, distant half a foot from the tomb, and at each corner are apples of fine gold. In the two chapels on each side stand the tombs of the last Kings of Persia, viz. Abas and Sophi, both very magnificent; but on that of Abas are written in large characters of gold, seven elegies upon Mahomet and Haly, made by the learned Hafan-Casa.

These are rare pieces of eloquence, and in them may be seen not only the genius of Persian poetry, but the transports of the Mahometan devotion. This city contains several other beautiful and sumptuous edifices, and would be a very pleasant place, were it not for the heat, which is excessive, there being no place in all Persia where the sun scorches more violently, yet is the air wholesome, and soil fruitful, especially in pistachios. The people are very courteous and civil. The river that passeth by it is but a small current in summer, but being swelled with the snow-waters that fall from the mountains, it sometimes overflows great part of the city.

From Com he travelled four leagues over very fertile plains, abounding with fine villages, to Cassem-abad, a town consisting of 300 houses, belonging to the Queen-mother,

mother, as her dowry, from whence he passed over a dry sandy plain, without villages or water, to Abishirin, or sweet water, because there is a fountain of fair water, and went from thence to Cashan.

21. This city is seated in a large plain, near a high mountain, a league in length and a quarter of a league in breadth, running out from east to west in form of an half-moon. There is no river near the city, but it is supplied with water by canals, deep wells, and cisterns. It is encompassed with a double wall, flanked with round towers, after the old fashion, and hath five gates. The city and suburbs, which are the most beautiful, contain 6500 houses, as the people say, forty mosques, three colleges, and about 200 sepulchres of the descendants of Ali. The principal mosque stands right against the market-place, and has a tower, like a steeple, of free-stone. The houses are built of earth and brick, but are none of them remarkable for their beauty.

The bazars and baths are well built and kept, and the royal inn is the fairest in all Persia. The wealth and trade of Cashan consist in the manufactory of all sorts of stuffs, and tissues of gold and silver, plain and flowered, satin and velvet; there is no city in Persia that makes more. Cashan stands in a good air, yet so violently hot that it is ready to stifle you in summer, which is occasioned by the reflection of a mountain that stands on the south of it; but the greatest inconvenience that attends this city, is the great number of scorpions which infest it, and the parts adjoining, when the sun is in Scorpio, and therefore there is nobody but has by him several experienced remedies against the sting of this creature.

Cattle and wild fowl are not plentiful, but the country abounds in corn and fruits. They furnish Ispahan with fruits, especially melons and water-melons, all the season. Several European authors think this city to be Ambrodux or Ctesiphon of the ancients. It is said to be founded by a virgin, who therefore laid the first stone of it when the sun entered Virgo, and named it Cashan from her grandfather. It is governed by a dargue or mayor, who holds his place two years.

From Cashan he passed over a mountain, and then descended into a deep valley, very narrow and about a league in length, which is well filled with houses, vineyards, and gardens, so close one to another that they all seem but one village. Several delightful and clear streams preserve the summer so wonderfully cool here, that the roses were not blown, nor the corn or fruit ripe, when the harvest was quite got in at Cashan. Several modern authors assert, that Darius was murdered by Bessus in this valley, and that not improbably, because history says Bessus fled to Bactriana, and Nabarzanes to Hyrcania, and here the road begins to these two provinces, and so by Moutshacour, a large village of 500 houses, to Ispahan, which is so thick encompassed with villages, that you would think you are in the suburbs two hours before you come near them.

22. There are two other roads, which it is necessary that travellers should be acquainted with, which I shall briefly describe, viz. from Warsaw to Ispahan, and from Ispahan to Moscow.

Warsaw, which is seated upon the left hand of the Vistula, is the ordinary residence of the King of Poland. Beginning your travel here to Ispahan you must go to Lublin, which is six days' journey, and in five more you may get to Iluove, where the customers open all the bales of the merchant's goods, and exact five in the hundred. From Iluove you go to Jaslovieer in twelve days. This is the last city of Poland next Moldavia. Here, if you sell any goods, you must pay five per cent.

From thence you go to Yafhe in eight days. This is the capital city of Moldavia, and the residence of the Wayvod, which the Grand Segnior sends to govern that country,

country. Here all bales of merchandizes are opened, and there is a roll of all that the merchant is to pay; which amounts to five per cent.

From Yafhe the way lies through Ourliaye, to which you come in three days. This is the last city in Moldavia. From hence to Akerman you go in four days, and the customs amount to four per cent. but they take the merchant's account. From Akerman you go to Ozou, where they take two per cent. and so to Precop, where they pay two and a half per cent. but they trust to the merchant's word at both places.

From Precop the road lies to Kaffa, where also the custom is three per cent. And the journey from Warsaw to Kaffa is fifty-one days by the waggon, which is the usual way of carriage in that country, and the customs in all come to eighteen and a half per cent. to which you must add the carriage and passage by sea to Trebifond, where you pay three piafters for every mule's and four for every camel's load. To avoid something of this charge, the Armenians ship their goods usually at another port, called Onnie, which is a very good port, and where they never pay above a piafter and a half for a camel's load.

There is another road from Warsaw to Trebifond shorter by three days' journey, viz. from Warsaw to Yafhe, in the former road, and from thence by Galas, a city of Moldavia, Megin, and Mangalia, the best port in the Black Sea to the west, to Trebifond, from whence to Erzerom five days' journey, from which to Ispahan you go the usual road.

The other road from Ispahan to Moscow lies thus: you must travel the usual road before-mentioned, to Shamaki, and from thence to Derbent, which the Turks call Demir-Capi. This is the last city in the Persian jurisdiction, by which the river Shamourka runs. From Derbent you may travel to Tetark in eight days, where hiring barks with twelve oars, you may be at Astracan, by the help of a little sail which they put up, if the wind serves, in four or five hours, but if you row only it will take up nine. When you embark upon the Caspian Sea, you must provide yourself water for the first three days, because the water on the coast is bitter for that time, but afterwards it is very good. At Astracan the merchants are all searched by the Customers, and they take five per cent.

From Astracan to Moscow you take shipping in great barks, that make use both of oars and sails, rowing against the tide, and weigh all you carry aboard, for which you must pay fourteen caya, and three abassis and a half for every pound. From Astracan you sail to Corinya, and so in order by Sariza, Sarataf, Samarat, Senuriskat, Coulombe, Casan, Sabouk-sha, Godamijan, Triguina, Mouron, and Casin, to Moscow, which they count 2950 ihagarons, or 590 Italian miles.

At Sarataf you may go alhore, and so go by land to Moscow, in waggons, when the snow is gone, and on sledges while it lies, and then the way lies through Inferat, Tymneck, Canquerma, and Valodimer, a city bigger than Constantinople, to Moscow, which journey may be finished in thirty-five days; but this way is never used but upon necessity, when the river is frozen, because in the passage from Sarataf to Inferat, which is ten days' journey, there is nothing to be had for man or horse. At Moscow the customs are the same as at Astracan, viz. five per cent. and all the Asians, viz. Turks, Persians, Armenians, and others, lodge in a sort of inns; but the Europeans lie in a place by themselves all together.

23. There are few countries in the world that are so little visited by European travellers as those about the Black Sea, and indeed there are several reasons for it. In the first place, the Turks will suffer no trade to be carried on by sea in any other than their own vessels, and so jealous they are on this head, that when the Russians were

masters of Afoph, and shared by that means in the navigation of the Black Sea, they were never easy. It is, in the next place, a very rare thing, even for such as travel for pleasure through the dominions of the Grand Signior, to strike out of the common road purely to gratify their curiosity, nor indeed in such a country as this would that be always safe. And lastly, the common reports of most of these countries place both them and their inhabitants in so bad a light, that few have any curiosity to be better acquainted with them. Our author's journey was by mere accident; he took this route to Persia is the most convenient at that time for his purpose; and it was also by accident M. de la Motraye took many years after the same route, and their accounts agree, generally speaking, very well; but some points in both seem to stand in need of explanation.

Our author has given but a very short account of the Crim Tartars, and therefore it is necessary to say something more of them. Authors differ very much as to the condition of this nation, that is to say, whether they ought to be considered as free and independent, as allies or as subjects to the Turks. Instead of endeavouring to discuss the questions, we shall leave them to the decision of the reader, after reporting a few matters of fact. There are not many towns in this Tartary, and in those that have any fortresses, the Turks have garrisons. The Tartar Princes are rarely admitted into and never allowed to lodge in them. Caffa, we have elsewhere shewn, was once a very fine city, and is still a good port, which is in the power of the Turks; so is Baluclawa, which is still a better port, and, if we may depend upon the Turkish writers, is not exceeded by any in the world, either for the depth of water, or security from winds. The town of Chirck, upon the Straits of Daman, has also a very fine port, but it is an open place, and belongs to the Tartars. The capital of this country properly speaking, is Bascia Sarai, which is the residence of the Khan, was taken by the Russians in the late war, and totally destroyed. The Khan of the Tartars, though a sovereign prince, is appointed and deposed by the Grand Signior, but he is always succeeded by a prince of his own family; and this presumptive successor, whether he be the brother or the son of the reigning prince, is styled Sultan Galga. The second prince of the family is styled Hor Bey, the third, Noradin Bey, and the rest of the young princes have particular titles. It is to be observed of the Tartars in general, that even the meanest and most stupid of them is so much master of his genealogy, as to know exactly of what family he is descended, and to what tribe his family belongs. The truth of the matter is, that they resemble exactly Highland and Irish clans, and like them, are commanded by chiefs.

Every distinct family or clan of the Tartars, is by them styled Horda, and the chief, Murfa, or as others write it, Mirza. Amongst the Crim Tartars there are four great tribes, to which all their hords belong, and the chiefs of these four tribes are the counsellors of the Khan, without whose consent he can undertake nothing of importance. Hereditary right is the fundamental law of all the Tartars, and the dignity of Mirza, or chief, descends from father to son. The Khan of Crim Tartary can bring eighty thousand men into the field, but his contingent, when called to assist the Grand Signior, consists of thirty thousand horse. All the world knows that these Tartars are very far from being handsome, but they are, generally speaking, brave, hardy, active, and enterprising, and their horses resemble them, for worse looking or better beasts for service, the world does not produce. As for riches, they consist in horses and in slaves; and as for their manner of living, it is equally coarse and barbarous in the opinion of all other nations, and honourable and happy in their own. They are very hospitable and kind to one another, so that every man is at home in his neighbour's house. Neither are they less  
civil

civil and respectful to such strangers as come among them, who are very welcome to what they have, and would be as welcome if they had more. One thing is remarkable, when any stranger comes to their tents, he is served by their children, and not by their slaves, let the quality of the master be what it will. A gentleman who was in the service of Charles XII. passing through this country in his way to Bender, where that Monarch then was, lodged in the tent of a principal Mirza, and when it was time to go to rest, his son made up for the stranger a bed of skins, by the side of which he set a little stool, with a pipe, a box of tobacco, and a bottle of excellent sherbet. In the morning he came and rolled up the bed, presented him cakes, butter, coffee, and milk, and brought him likewise his boots. The father, who was a kind of Prince, when the gentleman expressed some astonishment at his putting his son upon such offices, made him this answer; "Friend, this world is a lottery, in which there are many blanks to a prize; though I have many slaves, yet, by the fortune of war, my son may become a slave; it is fit, therefore, he should learn to behave in all conditions; the Khan does the same thing; and besides, let me tell thee, stranger, that among the Tartars, we hold the meanest office done to a friend as the highest honour, and therefore never share it with our slaves."

As the Tartars are chiefly known to the rest of the world by their excursions, we cannot describe them better, than by shewing in what manner they act on such occasions, wherein, without doubt, they discover an extraordinary genius for this manner of making war, which, however barbarous it may seem to us, answers all the ends of war to them, by furnishing slaves and booty in abundance, which supplies them with the means of happiness in time of peace. It is very true that they run through great hazards and hardships in time of war, but then these hazards and hardships are all that they sustain, for when they return to their tents they are free and independent, have neither care nor solicitude, but are princes in their own family, and live in what manner they like best, without any apprehensions or constraint. To us, indeed, even their repose and luxury appears a most shocking and hideous course of life; but it appears otherwise to them; and, after all, if there be any thing certain in this world, it is this, that the true standard of happiness is opinion. But to come to the point; every Tartar that goes into the field, carries with him two horses, which are taught to follow without being led, and are consequently useful to, without embarrassing their master. On these horses they lay a sack of rye meal, and another with biscuit and salt, which is all the baggage and provisions wherewith they are encumbered. It is only a few of the commanders that are provided with tents; the rest pass the night in the following manner. They carry with them four sharp stakes, which they drive into the ground, and upon these they fix their mantle, which serves for a bed; their wooden saddle supplies the place of a pillow, and a coarse thick cloth, which is thrown across the horse's back under the saddle, becomes a coverlid. The horses are tied to the pickets with pretty long cords; and while their masters sleep, the beasts very handily remove the snow with their forefeet, and feed upon the grass that is under it, taking now and then a mouthful of snow to moisten it. When a horse tires, his master cuts his throat upon the spot, and distributes his flesh among his friends, who make him the same compliment when occasion offers. The best part of the flesh they cut in slices, of an inch thick, and these they place very neatly under the saddle of the horse they ride upon. When they have travelled three or four leagues, they dismount, turn all the pieces of flesh, and mix them very carefully with the sweat, which they turn up with their fingers, then to horse again, and at night they sup upon this dainty dish, which they take ready dressed from under their saddles.

In this manner they will traverse two or three hundred leagues of ground, without ever lighting a fire, which they carefully avoid to prevent being discovered; and they chuse the depth of winter for their expeditions, that the bogs, lakes, and rivers, being frozen, they may avoid all interruptions, and prosecute their march with great expedition. Thus the Tartars march one hundred in front, that is three hundred horses; every one of them has two, which serve for relays, as has been said before; their front may extend eight hundred or one thousand paces, and they are eight hundred or one thousand in file, which reaches four long leagues, or three when they keep close; for at other times they extend above ten leagues. This is wonderful to those that have not seen it, for eighty thousand Tartars make up above two hundred thousand horses. Trees are not thicker in the woods than horses are at that time in the field; and to see them at a distance, they look like a cloud rising in the horizon, which increases as it rises, and strikes a terror into the boldest; I mean those who are not used to see such multitudes together. Thus these mighty armies march, halting every hour about half a quarter of an hour to give their horses time to stale; and they are so well managed, that they do it as soon as they stop; then the Tartars alight too. They remount immediately, and go on, all which is done only by the signal of a whistle; and when they are come within three or four leagues of the borders, they lie still two or three days in some place chosen for that purpose, where they think they are concealed; there they give out orders, and refresh their army, which they dispose of in this manner; they divide it into three parts, two-thirds are to compose one body, the other third is subdivided into two parts, each making a wing, one on the right, the other on the left. In this order they enter the country.

The main body moves slowly, which, in their language, they call *Coche*, with the wings, but continually, without halting day or night, allowing but an hour to refresh till they are got sixty or eighty leagues into the country, without doing any harm: but as soon as they begin to march back, the body holds the same pace; then the general dismisses the two wings, which have liberty, each on its own side, to stray ten or twelve leagues from the main body; but that is to be understood half of the way forward, and the other half sideways; each wing, which may consist of eight or ten thousand men, is again subdivided into ten or twelve squadrons, of five or six hundred men each, who run up and down to the villages, encompass them, making four *corps de garde* about each village, and great fires all the night for fear any peasant should escape them: then they fall to pillaging and burning, kill all that make any resistance, and take and carry away all that submit, not only men, women, and sucking babes, but the cattle, horses, cows, oxen, sheep, goats, &c. As for the swine, they drive and shut them up in a barn, or such like place, and fire the four corners; so great is the loathing they have for those creatures. The wings being allowed to stray but ten or twelve leagues (as has been said), return with their booty to their main body, which is easily done; for they leave a great track, marching above fifty in front; so that they have nothing to do but to follow, and in four or five hours they join their body again, where, as soon as they are come, two other wings, consisting of the like number as the former, go out on the right and left, to make much the same havock; then they come in, and two others go out, and so continue their excursions without ever diminishing their body, which, as has been mentioned, makes two-thirds of the army; and move gently, to be always in breath and ready to fight their enemy, if they should meet them, though their design is not to meet, but to avoid them as much as possible. They never return the same way they broke in, but take a compass the better to escape; for they always fight in their own defence, nay, and they must be forced to it, without they

know themselves to be ten to one; and yet would they consider of it before they fell on; for these Tartars do not enter Poland to fight, but to pillage by way of surprize. When the Polanders meet them, they make work, forcing them to get home faster than their usual pace. At other times, after they have sufficiently plundered and robbed, they enter upon the desert plains in the frontiers, thirty or forty leagues in length, and being in that place of safety, make a great halt, recovering breath, and putting themselves into order, if they were in any confusion, on account of meeting the Polanders.

At their return from such an incursion, the Khan receives his tenth of the whole booty, which is afterwards divided amongst the several hords, and every Mirza receives the tenth of the share that belongs to his hord; after which, what remains is divided fairly and regularly amongst all that served in the excursion. It is, undoubtedly, one of the most shocking spectacles that can be beheld, to see the unhappy people of all ages, ranks, and sexes, that have been thus carried away, separated from each other, and torn away by their relentless masters, who either keep and employ them in servile work, or sell them, if they think proper, to the Turks, Persians, Circassians, or any of the adjacent nations, or to the merchants who come up into their countries on purpose to buy slaves. It is from their fortune in these kind of excursions, that the Tartar princes become rich and potent; for what they receive from their parents is very inconsiderable, and they make no scruple of telling strangers, when they admire the number of their tents, horses, cattle, and slaves that what they have was acquired by their sword and bow; and that if they had been less lucky in their expeditions, they had been as poor and as miserable as any of their subjects. By leading this kind of life they become very active and vigorous, capable of enduring prodigious fatigue, so as to go without sleep for many nights together, and with little or no food for many days; but when they come to have more leisure, they will fetch this up by sleeping forty-eight hours upon the stretch, and will crowd three or four meals into one. Their good and bad qualities are peculiar to themselves, and seem to be derived entirely from the kind of life they lead; for though they will fight very bravely, yet they must be forced to it, chusing much rather to fly, if it be practicable. They will drink very freely upon certain occasions, but upon such occasions only, for at other times they are both abstemious and sober. The Crim Tartars are very far from being jealous, and are, generally speaking, content with one wife, seldom making use of their slaves as concubines; but then they are merciless masters, treat their slaves in the same manner as their cattle, and sell them with as little ceremony. Under misfortunes they are patient, or rather fullen, but what little education they have makes some difference amongst them, as appears by such of their Khans as are banished to Rhodes, which is the common place of their exile when deposed, where they live very handsomely, and without any dejection of spirit. Indeed this misfortune happens so frequently, that they cannot be much surprized at it. In the court of the Khan's palace at Bascia Saray, there are two tombs of princes who died in possession of that dignity, and, it is supposed, were erected there as curiosities in that respect. I have dwelt the longer upon this subject, because I take it to be both instructive and entertaining.

In order to apprehend clearly the nature of our author's Voyages and Travels, we must consider the countries that lie upon the Black Sea, which is every where shut in by the land, except at the narrow Streights of Constantinople. On the west side lies the European coast, viz. the maritime parts of Moldavia, Bulgaria, and Romania, extending from south to north, that is, from Constantinople to Oczakow, in a straight line, about  
three

three hundred and twenty miles. On the north side lies the Little Tartary, the peninsula of Crim, and the great country of Circassia, that circumscribe the Palus Meotis, which communicates with the Black Sea by the Streights of Daman or Theman, which have the peninsula of Crim on one side, and Circassia on the other. Thus it appears that Circassia makes the north-east boundary of the Black Sea, and stretches itself quite to the Caspian. The countries lying on the west side of the Black Sea, and to the south of Circassia, are Mingrelia, Immoretta, and Guriel, of which our author has given a large and very good description.

These countries are all mountainous and narrow, having behind them towards the Caspian, the large country of Georgia, which borders immediately on the Persian dominions, having Circassia on the north, the countries of Mingrelia, Immoretta, Guriel, and Armenia, on the west, the Caspian Sea on the east, and the territories of Persia to the south. The several nations that inhabit these countries are, properly speaking, Tartars, or very little better; and though there are some towns, and even cities, yet most of the inhabitants live in tents. The Princes of the Circassians are hereditary chiefs of clans, like other Tartars, and it is certainly a degree of complaisance to esteem them Christians. It must be however allowed, that they are not quite so barbarous, or to speak with greater propriety, so far removed in their manners from ours, as other Tartars, notwithstanding their unnatural and detestable custom of selling their children; for it is certain that they take a good deal of pains in their education, but with no other view than that of bringing them to a better market. The boys, besides riding, hunting, shooting, and martial exercises, are taught several languages, and as they are very active in their persons, have quick wits, and are of bold and enterprising natures, they rise frequently to great preferment, both in Turkey and in Persia; as for the girls, they are likewise taught the Turkish and Persian tongues, music, dancing, and to repeat amorous novels and romances. If it may be accounted wonderful to see parents part with their children with so much ease as they do, it is certainly not at all less strange to see the children quit their fathers and mothers not only without pain, but with the utmost alacrity, the girls more especially. This arises from the stories they are told, of the vast fortunes that their countrywomen have made in different parts of the world, which fills them with aspiring thoughts, and to say the truth, their slavery is none of the hardest, for the merchants who buy them take as much care as is possible to improve their education, and are so far from making any attempts upon their chastity, that they are the most jealous guardians of it in the world, because all the hopes they have of selling them to advantage are founded in the extreme fondness the Mahometans have for virgins, and when they are sold, it is at so high a price, that those who buy them must be both able and disposed to maintain them in affluence.

There is no need to add any remarks on the remaining part of this section, because whatever requires farther explanation will be set in a clear light in the subsequent sections; only it may not be amiss to observe, that since the declension of the Persian empire, the Russians have taken many of the Circassian and Georgian princes under their protection, and it is highly probable that in time the rest will follow their example, which perhaps may render the country more accessible, and prove the means of drawing the inhabitants out of their present state of barbarism. If this could be done, and they once civilized, and brought under one sovereign, or even two or three that lived in tolerable harmony with each other, there is no doubt that they might be able to defend themselves against any that should attack them, and by the happiness of their situation, between the Euxine and the Caspian Seas, and the many valuable commodities their country

produces, they might very speedily establish a much more profitable as well as reputable commerce, than that which they have hitherto carried on. The late Schah Nadir, who had great views with respect to trade, was very desirous of forcing a passage to the Black Sea, where he intended to have established a port from which he expected vast things, but very probably these great designs will fall with him, and as the present generation is not like to see his equal, we must leave to posterity the hopes of beholding these countries and their inhabitants in a better situation than they are at present, for which they seem to have been designed by nature; in a worse, however, they cannot well be.

A  
 COPIOUS AND CIRCUMSTANTIAL DESCRIPTION  
 OF THE  
 GREAT EMPIRE OF PERSIA,

ITS SITUATION, EXTENT, DISTRIBUTION OF ITS PROVINCES, CLIMATE, RIVERS, SEAS,  
 SOIL, PRODUCE, AND THE CHIEF CITIES THROUGHOUT THE COUNTRY;

AS TO AFFORD A PERFECT IDEA OF ITS CONDITION IN PAST AND PRESENT TIMES.

Collected from the Writings of the most famous Travellers, particularly from those of *Herbert, Chardin, Tavernier, Thevenot, Le Brun*, and others, their several Remarks and Observations being all digested in into a regular and easy Method.

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1. *The Situation and Extent of the Persian Empire, with a succinct Account of the Reasons why a clear and perfect Notion of the Territories which compose this Empire is of such Importance towards a right Idea of general History and Geography.* — 2. *A distinct and accurate Description of the several Provinces under the Dominion of the Persian Emperor, their ancient and modern Names, Situation, Extent, chief Cities, and Ports.* — 3. *The Air and Climate of Persia in its different Parts; with an Account of the hot and stifling Winds so dangerous to Travellers on the Sea-coast.* — 4. *The Rivers in this Country, and the various Methods made use of to diffuse the Water by Canals and Aqueducts; and an Account of the Seas upon which it borders.* — 5. *Of the Appearance of the Country in general, and of the Diversity of Soils in Persia.* — 6. *Of the particular Husbandry used in this Country, the Produce of Arable Lands and Gardens.* — 7. *Of the Variety of Fruits, Trees, Flowers, and Shrubs, that grow therein.* — 8. *Of medicinal Drugs that are brought from Persia, particularly Opium, Assafœtida, and Bezoar.* — 9. *A large and curious Account of the Animals, tame and wild, in the several Provinces of Persia.* — 10. *Of the Fowls, Birds, and Fish in this Country, and the Reason why the latter is so scarce at Ispahan.* — 11. *Of the Minerals in Persia, and of precious Stones, particularly the Turquois, held to be peculiar to this Country.* — 12. *Of the Manner of building in Persia, how well adapted to their Climate, and of the Methods used to keep their houses cool and pleasant, even in the hottest Seasons.* — 13. *A particular Description of the capital City of Ispahan or Spahawn, with its peculiar Beauties and Blemishes.* — 14. *A distinct Description of the Royal Palace and of the Imperial Mosque.* — 15. *Of the Bagnios, Gardens, and Bridges in the City of Ispahan, and in its Neighbourhood.* — 16. *A large Description of the Borough or Suburb of Julpha, with an Account of the Armenians who inhabit it.* — 17. *The noble City of Chiras described, with an Account of the adjacent Country, and its Produce.* — 18. *An Account of the noble Antiquities at Tchelminar, the Remains of the ancient Persepolis, justly esteemed the most glorious Antiquity in the World.* — 19. *Of other Places of Note in Persia, more especially upon its Sea-coast, and of the Design of Schah Nadir to have removed the Capital of the Persian Empire, with the Reasons upon which that Project was founded.* — 20. *A*

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*Comparison between the past and present State of Persia, in regard as well to the Fertility and Riches of the Country, as of the great Cities and Ports. — 21. Remarks, historical, political, and critical, upon the foregoing Section.*

I. **T**HERE is scarce any country in the world which makes a greater figure in histories, sacred or profane, ancient or modern, than this of which we are speaking. In the Scriptures the deliverance of the Jews by Cyrus; the protection they received from his successors; the memorable preservation of the whole people from the dark and deep laid plot of Haman, all refer to this potent empire and its monarchs. In reference to the Greek history, the earlier parts of it turn entirely on the disputes between the free states of Greece and the great King, as the latter contain nothing more than the history of the subversion of the Persian empire by Alexander the Great, and the division of its several provinces after his decease among his captains. In regard to the Roman histories again, we find the Parthians continually disputing the progress of their arms in the east, and the most considerable part of the Constantinopolitan history, before the irruption of the Saracens proved fatal to both empires, comprehends the disputes between the successors of Constantine the Great and the Emperors of Persia. From the time the Saracens became masters of this country, the succession of their Caliphs forms a principal branch of the Oriental history down to the extinction of their dominion. Since that time the several conquerors of this empire have sufficiently distinguished themselves to deserve notice, and even the frequency of revolutions in this country make the history of it more curious and more entertaining. We know very little of the etymology of the word Persia, some say it was so called from the hero Perseus; son of Jupiter and Danae, but that seems to be a very ridiculous fable; others derive it from Perfes, a nobleman of that country, in times of great antiquity, but with respect to this also there wants both probability and proof; neither is the third account of the matter, which derives its name from Paras, that signifies a horse, very satisfactory; and as for the modern Persian word Fars, it is visibly derived from Persia, and therefore cannot help us to explain it. As to the oriental writers, they know it not at all by this name, but style it constantly Iran. In order to apprehend the meaning of this name, which is absolutely necessary to the understanding their histories, we are to know, that an ancient King of this country, or rather of the Upper Asia, whose name was Ferri down, had two sons, Tour and Irag, who succeeded him in his dominions, the former had all the country on the other side the river Oxus, which by the way, the Orientals style Gihon, and the other the country on this side. Hence arises the distinction of all the countries in the Upper Asia (China and the Indies excepted) into Touran and Iran; the former comprehending Great Tartary, and all the countries bordering or depending upon it, and the latter Persia in like manner, with all its dependencies. As for the modern writers in the Persian tongue, as they style their sovereign Shah, so they give his dominions the title of Shahistan, or the territories of the Shah.

We will proceed next to the situation of this country, and this is best shewn by marking the dominions of these Princes that confine it; for as to the distinct and precise limitations of this empire, it is impossible to lay them down with accuracy or certainty, because they depend upon the power of its monarchs, which fluctuates every day. On the east it has the dominions of the Great Mogul, the ocean and the Gulph of Persia towards the south, the territories of the Grand Signior on the west, and the country of Circassia, the Caspian Sea and the river Oxus, which divides it from the Usbeck Tartary, on the north. It may not be amiss to observe, that the northern and southern boundaries seldom or never vary, as being fixed by nature; but on the east and west the Per-

fians sometimes encroach upon, but in later times have been oftener encroached upon by their neighbours, as will appear more clearly when we come to speak particularly of its provinces.

As to its extent, it reaches from south to north about twenty degrees, that is, from twenty-five to forty-five degrees of north latitude. It contains pretty near the same number of degrees of longitude, the nearest of its provinces lying in the longitude of forty-five, and the most distant about sixty-six degrees east from the meridian of London. According to the ordinary computation, allowing for the division made by the Caspian Sea, it is a square of between eleven and twelve hundred miles, which shews plainly, that it is one of the most considerable countries of Asia; and if it was as thoroughly inhabited as the excellency of its situation, climate, and soil deserve, its monarchs would be, doubtless, as powerful as any sovereign Princes in the world; though at present, from a multitude of concurring accidents, it seems to be thinner in people, and weaker in point of government, than any of the other four Asiatic empires. As Persia, properly so called, is but a very small country in comparison of what now goes under that name, so the different times and occasions by which the other districts that now depend upon it were annexed thereto, render it extremely difficult to fix the number, the names, and the situation of its provinces, about which hardly any two geographers or travellers have been hitherto able to agree; therefore the reader will not think it strange, if the account we give of them differs from those he has met with before.

2. In order to deliver as plain an account of this matter as is possible, we shall observe, that the most accurate of the Persian writers themselves divide their country into thirteen provinces, and therefore it appears most reasonable to follow that division; and it may likewise be convenient to pursue their method of describing them; as this is a thing altogether arbitrary, and there seems to be the same cause to take it one way as another, provided that when the method is once chosen it is closely pursued, that the reader may be able to trace it exactly, without confusion, and even to form in his head, as it were, a scheme of the whole country that is laid before him. We shall begin then with the north-east, and so passing along southward, describe all the countries of Persia that lie towards the frontiers either of Tartary or India. We shall then describe the provinces on the ocean and the Persian Gulph, together with such as lie within land; those on the frontiers of the Turkish empire will follow these, and we shall end with the provinces that lie north-west and north on the coast of the Caspian Sea.

I. Astarabat, or Estarabat, is situated on the coast of the Caspian Sea, to the south of the opening of the river Amu or Oxus; it hath Chorasan on the east, and on the south the province of Masanderan, on the west the Caspian Sea, and part of Tartary on the north. It is but small, having thirty-five leagues in length from west to east, and fifteen in breadth from north to south; for which reason many of our geographers include it within the great province of Chorasan. In regard to fertility, as well as to its climate, there is not a finer country in Persia. A ridge of hills that run through it furnish abundance of small rivulets, and some fine rivers that, running through it into the Caspian Sea, clothe the country, for a great part of the year, with continual verdure. The capital of this province has the same name with the province itself, and is one of the best built cities in Persia; and as it is a frontier towards Tartary, it is tolerably fortified, and has commonly a good garrison. It stands upon a gulph of the same name, and has a very good port for small vessels that do not draw any great depth of water. There are in it both silk and woollen manufactures, and the inhabitants drive a great trade in a sort of camblets, that are much esteemed both for beauty and strength. The country about is well cultivated, and as for the western

part of the province, it is a perfect orchard, abounding with fruits of all kinds, as well as with fine trees for shade and for timber; but the same thing cannot be said of the eastern part of the province, which being exposed to the inroads of the Usbeck Tartars, is so depopulated, that, in spite of the kindness of Nature, it looks like a perfect desert.

II. Chorasan is esteemed the fairest, richest, and most fertile province of the whole empire, and is the country known to the ancients by the name of Bactria; it is divided by the mountains of Balck from Great Bucharia, has the principality of Candahar on the east, the province of Segistan on the south, the provinces of Yerack and Mafanderan to the west, and the province of Esterabat and the river Amu on the north. It is thought to be about one hundred German leagues in compass. The climate is very temperate, the soil extremely fruitful, abounding with rich fruits, fine pasturages, producing excellent corn, wine, and silk, and affording besides rich mines of gold, silver, and precious stones. It was formerly the best peopled, the best planted, and the best built province in Persia, but of late the incursions of the Usbeck Tartars have laid one half of it waste; and though for a few years they were kept in awe by the Shah Nadir, who drove them out of this country, for which he had a peculiar affection, yet it is not to be supposed, while the affairs of the Persian empire are in confusion, that they can be long restrained. The chief city of this province is Mefchid, or Thous, of which we shall have occasion to speak more hereafter; and besides this, there are many other considerable places, such as Nichabour, Herat, Tcharkez, Amonoye, &c.

III. Sablufan, bounded on the north by the provinces of Chorasan and Candahar, which latter is sometimes reckoned a part of this province, on the east by the dominions of the Great Mogul, and on the south and west by the province of Segistan. The climate is tolerable, but the soil is extremely mountainous and barren; the inhabitants are, generally speaking, boorish and rude, at least in comparison of the rest of the Persians, yet the capital of the province, which is the city of Bost, is large, well built, well-inhabited, and the country about it is exceedingly well cultivated; all which arises from its lying in the direct road to the Indies. It is a place of great trade, abounds with manufactures and strangers from all countries, and with the district about it, looks so very unlike all the rest of the province, that it seems to have dropt into it from the clouds. Some other towns there are, but of no great importance, only it is fit to remark, that the people of this country make the hardiest soldiers, and are the best infantry in the Persian empire.

IV. Segistan, which seems to have been the Drangiana of the ancients, is bounded by Sablufan on the north, the territories of the Great Mogul on the east, by the provinces of Makeran on the south, and by part of the province of Kerman on the west. This country is tolerably fruitful, and is particularly remarkable for its palm-trees and its excellent dates, but it is greatly exposed to winds, which sometimes drive the sands in such a manner, as to cover the houses, and even whole villages. It was formerly famous for its gold mines, which, if we may trust the Persian authors, were the richest in the world, the veins sometimes pushing to the very surface; in which they are countenanced by some very ancient Greek authors. This province has produced both heroes and learned men, who have from thence borrowed the surname of Segistani, which by the way is a practice very common in Persia. The capital is the city of Zereng, more commonly styled Segistan, but a place of no great note. There are besides two other places of some figure in this country, Cobin and Mastich.

V. Macran, or Macheran, supposed to be the ancient Gedrosia, is bounded by Segistan on the north, by the dominions of the Great Mogul on the east by the ocean

on the south, and by the province of Kerman towards the west ; it is looked upon as one of the worst provinces in Persia, the air being very indifferent, and the soil barren ; it is but indifferently peopled, and the inhabitants are esteemed barbarous and faithless. The chief towns in it are Makeran, Passir, and Gest ; the north part of it is entirely a desert of ten days' journey ; it has, indeed, a port at Guadel, but of no great consequence, for it is capable of receiving only small vessels, and is besides not very secure.

VI. Kerman, which is without doubt the Caramania of the ancients, a very large and noble province, which may be well esteemed one of the most beautiful in Persia. It is bounded by Segistan and Makeran towards the east, the ocean towards the south, the province of Fars towards the west, and by a desert which separates it from the province of Yerac Agemi, towards the north. Some part of it is mountainous and barren enough, but the vallies are wonderfully fertile, producing fruits, roots and flowers in vast abundance ; it is in this province that such vast quantities of roses grow, as enable the inhabitants to carry on a considerable trade in rose-water, which is highly esteemed not only throughout all the east, but in Europe ; they have also very rich mines in this country, particularly those of Turquoises, of which we shall speak hereafter ; admirable steel, out of which they fabricate all kind of arms, and they have besides great manufactures of tapestry. But after all, the principal glory of this country is its sheep, the wool of which is esteemed the finest in the world ; and they have a very singular way of coming at it, for at a certain season of the year they pull it from the backs of the animals with their fingers, so that the sheep are entirely naked ; this wool is all wrought in its natural colours, and without dye ; it is of three sorts, the first brown, the second of a speckled grey, and the third of a milk-white ; this last is the most esteemed ; for there is none of it that ever goes out of the country, for it is entirely employed in making garments for their moulhas, or men of the law, and priests, who wear nothing else. There are in this province more of the Gubers, Gaurs, or fire-worshippers, who are the remains of the ancient Persians, than in all the empire beside ; and these frugal and industrious people manufacture from the other two sorts of wool, several kinds of light stuffs, which in point of beauty and lustre are not at all inferior to silk. The city of Kerman is the capital of the province, it is large and well peopled, provisions are cheap there, and in the neighbourhood they have a manufacture of earthen-ware, which comes very near porcelain. The fort of Gambroon, and the island of Ormus, are by some authors reckoned dependent upon this province, which has produced several great heroes, learned physicians, excellent poets, and in a word, famous men of every kind ; amongst the rest, the celebrated Achmet Kermani, who was poet laureat to Tamerlane, and composed in Persian verse the acts of Alexander the Great, of Gingischan, and of his patron.

VII. Fars or Farsistan, as the Persians call it, is the ancient Persia Proper, the Orientals say that it derives its name from Fars, the son of Azaz, that is Arphazad the son of Shem, the son of Noah ; but what authority they have for this is more than I can determine : it is bounded on the east by Kerman, by the Gulph of Persia on the south, by the province of Chusistan towards the west, and by a great desert called Naudendighian upon the north, which separates it from Yerac Agemi. This sandy desert is of a vast extent, and reaches to the frontiers of the province of Chorasan ; it is the same we have mentioned before, in speaking of the province of Kerman. This is a rich and noble country, abounding with all the necessaries of life, but more especially famous for producing in the neighbourhood of Shiraz, the richest and finest wine in Persia ; but the imperial grape of Tauris is esteemed most pleasant and luscious for eating.

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They have also an admirable glass manufacture in this province, where they blow bottles of an enormous size, some that are said to hold three gallons of our measure; but they keep their wine in earthen vessels, as we shall have occasion to shew hereafter. The chief cities in this country are Shiraz, which will be described elsewhere. Lar, formerly the capital of a little independent principality; Bander Congo, a port upon the Persian Gulph, to which we may add, though, as I have said, some comprehend it under the province of Kerman, the famous port of Gambroon, or Bander Abassi. On the opposite shore of Arabia there is a small territory, called from the principal place therein, Elcatiff, which formerly belonged to the Persians, and was sometimes annexed to the government of Farsistan, which is one reason why I mention it here; another is, that in several maps, and in many oriental authors, the Persian Gulph is from hence called the Sea of Elcatiff.

VIII. Chusistan, the Susiana of the ancients, is bounded on the east by the provinces of Farsistan and Yerac, by the Gulph of Persia on the south, by the territory of Bassora on the west, and by the province of Curdestan on the north; the capital of this country is Schouster, believed with reason to be the city of Shushan mentioned in the book of Esther, famous for a noble palace built here by the Persian Monarch Artaxerxes, who is the Ahafuerus of the Scripture, and for the tomb of the prophet Daniel, of neither of which there are now any remains, though a Persian author of great credit assures us, that the latter was standing in his time, and that he had seen it.

IX. Curdestan, or Curdistan, part of the ancient Assyria, bounded on the west by the dominions of the Grand Signior, by the province of Chusistan on the south, by Erac Agemi on the east, and by Arderbeitzan or Media on the north; it is with very little reason that this country finds a place among the provinces of Persia, for the Curds are a nation that sometimes own the protection of the Porte, and sometimes profess a dependence upon the Shah, but are in reality subjects to neither; they are, to say the truth, a very extraordinary race of highlanders, governed by their own hereditary chiefs, and the reason that I style them extraordinary is, because their force consists in horse, of which some chiefs can bring hundreds, others thousands, and it has been known, that a chief has brought twenty thousand into the field, where they behave as well as any troops in the world. As to their religion they call themselves Mahometans, but except circumcision and abstinence from wine, in both which they are very strict, they observe no other precepts of the Alcoran, and have neither moulahs nor mosques, except in two or three of their great towns. The mountains, of which this country is full, are rude and barren, but the vallies are fertile and pleasant, producing great quantities of tobacco and vines; of the former they make a great profit, but they make no wine of the latter, which they convert into raisins. The chief city in this country is Betlis, and besides this, there are some other places of note, indifferently built, but well inhabited. Thamas Kouli Kan attacked these people often, but with very little success, and they have more than once defeated both the Persians and the Turks in pitched battles, yet they act generally on the defensive, and seldom fight out of their own country.

X. Erac Agemi, or as some write, Azemi; the reason of this addition is to distinguish it from a province of the Turkish empire which is called Erac Arabi, and is precisely the ancient province of Babylon; whereas Erac Agemi is the ancient Parthia. This noble province is bounded on the north by Aderbeitzan and Ghilan, by the province of Chorasán on the east, by Chusistan and Farsistan on the south, and by Curdestan on the west. The chief city is the capital of the Persian empire, viz. Ispahan, or Spahawin, situate in the latitude of thirty-two degrees, forty minutes north, and in the fiftieth

degree of longitude east from the meridian of London ; there are also in this province several other considerable places, such as Casbin, supposed to be the ancient Arfasia ; Com, described in the last section ; Sava mentioned there likewise ; Hamadan, a very fine city on the frontiers of Curdestan, the country about it extremely fruitful in rice, the mountains in the neighbourhood supplying several fine rivulets, which render its territory wonderfully fruitful. The Turks became masters of it by storm in 1623, and almost totally destroyed both it and its inhabitants. Casban, which lies about seventy miles north of Isfahan ; Yezd, which is situated one hundred and five miles to the eastward of that capital.

XI. Gilan, under which the modern Persian geographers comprehend not only the country properly so called, which comprehend precisely the Hyrcania of the ancients, but also the provinces of Mazanderan and Tabrestan ; so that, considered in this light, it is a very extensive country, bounded by the Caspian Sea on the north, by the province of Chorasan on the east, by that of Erac Agemi on the south, and by the great country of Aderbeizan on the west. The whole of this province is wonderfully fair and fruitful. It is distinguished from almost all the provinces of this great empire by some very particular advantages. In the first place, its situation is very peculiar ; for on the one side it is covered by the sea, and towards the land it is surrounded with mountains and rocks that rise like so many natural fortifications, with this singular circumstance, that while they are rude, inaccessible, and terrible on that side, which is turned towards the rest of the provinces of the empire, they are on the inside respecting this province, of gentle ascent, covered with perpetual verdure, and covered with groves of citrons, oranges, olives, and figs. The very summits of the mountains shaded by cypress-trees and other excellent timber, which may be easily transported to the sea-side ; for through this rampart of rocks, nature has formed several passages so wide, and with such a slope as render them perfectly easy, and yet so well fenced on each side, that a small barricade will render them impregnable. Another singular benefit which this country enjoys, is its unbounded and amazing fruitfulness, which with very little cultivation pours out such prodigious abundance of all things necessary and desirable as is scarce to be believed ; for it is equally famous for its silk, its oil, its wines, its rice, its tobacco, and a vast variety of fruits. In other parts of Persia their houses are but mean, and the moveables of the common people very coarse ; but here, on the contrary, every peasant has a good house, and most of his furniture is made of box, of which they have the largest and finest trees in the world, and a large garden full of citrons, oranges, figs, and vines, so large, that the branches of them are frequently as big as a man's body. A third commodity, in some measure peculiar to this province, is a vast abundance of fish in their rivers, and in that part of the Caspian Sea which washes their coasts ; from whence, as the people draw an immense profit, so the Shah derives from thence a great revenue. The capital of this province is Resch, which stands in the latitude of thirty-seven degrees of north, a large and populous city ; besides which there are Kesker, Astara, and other considerable places within its bounds. Two things more deserve our notice ; one is, that the people of this province are of the Turkish, and not of the Persian religion, that is, they are followers of Omar, and not of Ali : the other, that by the treaty between the Emperor Peter the Great and the Shah in 1723, this province was yielded to the Russians. Mazanderan and Tabrestan are also very considerable countries, but so like to Gilan in their produce, that it is not necessary to describe them particularly.

XII. Aderbeizan, which comprehends the greatest and best part of the ancient Media, is a very noble and beautiful country, bounded by the province of Shirvan on the

the north, by Gilan and the Caspian Sea on the east, by Erac Agemi and Curdestan on the south, and by the river Aras or Araxis on the west, which divides it from Georgia. The famous city of Tauris or Tabris, which is described in the foregoing section, is the capital of this country, and was one of the finest cities of Persia, till destroyed by the Turks in their last war with the Persians, when they are said to have put one hundred thousand persons of all ranks, ages and sexes to the sword. Ardevil is another great and fine city in this country, standing about thirty miles from mount Tauris; and Sultania, which was destroyed by Tamerlane, was scarce inferior to any city in Persia, as the ruins that still remain sufficiently testify at this day. It is still a good town, containing about six thousand inhabitants; but is particularly remarkable for a most noble mosque, in which is the tomb of the founder of this city, the famous Sultan Mahomet Chodabende. This mosque has three great gates, all of polished steel, and the tomb is seen through a grate of the same metal, finely wrought in foliage and branches of trees; and though some of these are of the thickness of a man's arm, yet they are so exquisitely finished, that there is not so much as a joint to be perceived in the whole; from whence the inhabitants persuade themselves, and would willingly persuade strangers, that it is made of one entire piece, and affirm that it was seven years in making.

XIII. Shirvan, or, according to the Persian orthography, Schirwan, contains the northern part of Media, and is by many authors made only a part of the foregoing province; but we comprehend within it, for the sake of keeping within bounds, the little province of Dagestan, and so much of Georgia and Armenia as belongs to the Persians; and taking it in this light, it is thus bounded; by Circassia and the Russian territories on the north, by the Caspian Sea on the east, by Aderbeitzan on the south, and by the Turkish Armenia and Georgia on the west. Schamakie is the capital of this province, and stands in the latitude of forty degrees fifty minutes north, between two mountains well fortified, and is a place of great trade. Derbent, or Debircan, which signifies an iron gate, is a famous pass between the mountains and the Caspian Sea. Baku is the only tolerable port on the west side of the Caspian; it is large and safe, but not deep; the town is small, but well peopled, and commanded by a citadel; it was given up to the Russians by the peace of 1723. The province of Dagestan is at present for the most part in the hands of the Tartars, and to curb this fierce nation, who are able to bring twenty thousand men into the field, the Russians built the fortress of St. Andrew, not far from Tarku, which is the capital of this country, as Teflis is of that part of Georgia which belongs to Persia. That part of Armenia which belongs to this country is styled Aran, and the capital of it is Erivan, which has been before described. Within the bounds of this province stands also the city of Nackfivan, which the inhabitants are fully convinced is the oldest in the world, having been built by Noah and his children upon their coming out of the ark, of which, if you will credit them, there are still some remains on the mountains that are not far from hence. Thus we have completed a regular and geographical description of all the parts of this great empire, which will enable the reader to comprehend perfectly all that follows in the ensuing section. And we dare also assure him, that he will find it of very great use towards understanding all the histories of and travels through this country, already published, as well as the accounts we may hereafter receive from thence, which might otherwise appear very unintelligible.

3. Persia, extending from the twenty-fifth degree of latitude to the forty-fifth, the longest day in the south is thirteen hours and a half, and in the north above fifteen hours. In so great an extent of country it is natural to suppose that the air and seasons are very different, as in fact we find them to be. In the middle of the empire, their

winter

winter begins in November and continues till March, with severe frosts and snow, which falls in great quantities on their mountains, but not so much in the champaign country; from the month of March till May the wind is usually high, and from thence to September they have a calm serene heaven, without so much as a cloud; and though it be pretty hot in the daytime, the refreshing breezes which blow constantly morning and evening, as well as in the night, make the summer very tolerable, especially since the nights are near ten hours long. The air is so pure, and the stars shine with that lustre, that one man may know another very well by their light, and people travel much more in the night than the day. In this part of Persia there are very seldom any hurricanes or tempests and very little thunder and lightning, nor is it subject to earthquakes, and the air is so extremely dry in the summer season, that you will not find the least dew or moisture on any thing that is laid abroad all night, or even in the grass, and it very seldom rains in the winter. No country is more healthful than the interior part of Persia, as appears by the hale complexion of the natives; they are strong and robust, and, generally speaking, enjoy constant health. As for foreigners who come thither, it is a common observation, that those who are healthy at their arrival continue so, and that those who are sick seldom recover.

The air in the southern part of Persia, particularly about Gombroon, is very unhealthy in the spring and fall: our European factors never pass a year without a dangerous fit of illness, which frequently carries them off. It is an ordinary thing for two of them to agree, that if one of them die the survivor shall possess the other's fortune. Nor is this any great prejudice to their relations, for if a man leaves private trustees, or makes the Company his executors, the heir of the deceased will meet with great difficulties in recovering the testator's effects. The months of June, July, and August, are healthy enough, but so very hot, that both natives and foreigners get up into the mountains at that time. The hot winds which blow from the eastward, over a long tract of sandy deserts, are ready to suffocate them, and sometimes there happens a pestilential blast, which strikes the traveller dead in an instant. It rains but very seldom here any part of the year, and the water they save then is very unwholesome.

The provinces of Georgia, Shirvan, and Adirbeitzan, are very dry and warm in the summer, but subject to storms and tempests in the winter, and as severe frosts for six months as any countries on the continent in the same latitude; but as this part of Persia is very mountainous, there is frequently a vast difference between the air on the north and the south side of the mountains, and in a few miles travelling people think themselves in a different climate; but however cold the mountains in the north may be, they are extremely healthful. On the contrary, the flat country of Gilan and Mezen-deran, which lies upon the Caspian Sea, and was the ancient Hyrcania, is very damp, full of stinking morasses, and unhealthy, inasmuch that the inhabitants in the summer retire into the mountains, all the water they have being foul and corrupted in the hot season; and here, and in Chorasan, it is said earthquakes are very common.

4. It is observable, that there is no country in the world of so large an extent as Persia, where there are so few navigable rivers; there is not so much as one river in the heart of the country that will carry a boat of any burthen; and you may travel several days' journey, without meeting with any water whatever, in some parts. The river Oxus, indeed, which divides Persia from Usbeck-Tartary, is a large stream, but as there are no branches of it that arise in the Persian dominions, it is of little use to them. The rivers Kur and Aras, anciently called Cyrus and Araxes, which rise in the mountains of Ararat, and run through Georgia, Shirvan and Adirbeitzan, and having joined their streams, fall into the Caspian Sea, are much the most considerable rivers in

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in the Persian dominions. However, there are several small rivulets which fall from the mountains, and are conveyed by subterraneous channels or otherwise to their principal cities.

Water being so scarce in Persia, there is no place, where they husband it better, or have more ingenious contrivances, to convey it to their cities, and into their corn-fields and gardens. This is the care of the government, and there is a great officer in every province, who has the charge of the conveyance and distribution of the waters. They turn all their little rivulets and springs to those parts of the country where they are most wanted; they dig wells also of a prodigious depth and breadth, out of which they draw the water with oxen, in great leathern buckets, which being emptied into cisterns, is let out as there is occasion for the service of the country. They have also vast subterraneous aqueducts, through which they convey water twenty or thirty leagues to the places assigned. These are two fathoms high, and arched with brick, and at every twenty paces distance, there are large holes like wells, which were made for the conveniency of carrying on the arch without working under ground too far, and the more easy repairing them. The distribution of the river and spring water, is made one day to one quarter of the town, and another day to another, as occasion requires, when every one opens the canal or reservoir in his gardens to receive it, for which every garden pays a certain sum yearly to the government, particularly about Ispahan; and as it is very easy for one to divert his neighbour's water into his own channel, this is a fraud that is severely punished. They give a greater rate for river water, than they do for spring-water, which is not found so proper for the improvement of their grounds.

Besides the ocean, there are two seas belonging to Persia, one on the north, and he other on the south-west, viz. the Caspian Sea, and the Gulph of Boffora or Persia, which have been already mentioned. The Caspian Sea is about a hundred leagues in length, from north to south, and ninety leagues in breadth, and has near a hundred rivers running into it, of which the chief is the Wolga, at the mouth whereof stands Astracan; but this sea has no communication with any other, and though so many rivers fall into it, there is no visible way by which it discharges itself of its waters, but they remain, always of the same height, and do not either ebb or flow. The Russians have in a great measure the sole navigation of this sea, which is very profitable to them, and might be made much more so by the new trade that has been set on foot, from Europe to Persia, through Russia.

The Shah Nadir was very desirous of becoming a maritime power on this side also, and employed a gentleman of a certain country, to build him ships of force for this purpose, but considering the revolutions that will probably attend his death, these designs are like to fall to the ground. The Persians were formerly entirely masters of the gulph that separates their country from Arabia, for which they were in a great measure indebted to us, who assisted them in dispossessing the Portuguese of the island of Ormus, upon which they had opened a very advantageous port, allowing us half the customs arising from the goods imported and exported here. But Shah Abbas the Great, thought that consideration too large, and therefore when he transferred the commerce to his new port of Gambroon, or Bander Abassi, i. e. the port of Abbas, he allowed the East India Company no more than one thousand tomans, which makes three thousand three hundred thirty-three pounds six shillings and eight-pence of our money. It was in this gulph, on the coast of the island of Baherem, that they had the finest pearl fishery in the world, which produced annually above fifty thousand pounds,

but in the late unsettled state of their empire, the Arabians have seized or rather recovered this fishery, and are in possession of it, at least for the present.

5. As we have now given a clear account of the rivers and seas of this country, we will next speak of the soil and its produce; and in the first place we must observe, that there is not a country in the world, which has more mountains and fewer rivers than Persia, and some of their mountains are looked upon to be the highest on the face of the earth. Mount Taurus, which receives different names as it branches itself out into different provinces, runs quite through the country, from west to east. The loftiest of these mountains are those called Arrarat in Armenia, the mountains which separate Media from Hyrcania, and those between Hyrcania and Parthia or Erak. Those also which divide Fars or Persis from Carmania are exceedingly high, the most famous of which is called mount Jarron, but they are generally dry barren rocks, without trees or herbage upon them, except those of Gylan or Hyrcania, and the mountains of Curdestan, which are covered with woods and very fruitful, where they are manured. There are vast sandy deserts, several days' journey over in this kingdom, where there is scarce a drop of water to be found, and the land in general upon the frontiers lies uncultivated, to discourage their enemies from invading them; and in fact there is not the least subsistence to be met with for several miles, whether you enter this empire from Turkey or India. There are however some fruitful plains and vallies, in which their principal cities stand, which yield plenty of grain, and herbage, and no country is more fruitful than the provinces which lie upon the Caspian Sea, as has been already observed. But then Hyrcania is very unhealthful in summer time, which some apprehend proceeds from the multitude of snakes and insects, which lie rotting upon the ground when the waters are dried up, as well as from the foulness of the water itself, which is so thick and muddy that there is no drinking it at that season of the year.

As to Persia in general, there is not a tenth part of it cultivated, not but that there are many vallies which bear neither grass nor grain at present, which formerly when greater care was taken to turn the waters into them, were fruitful countries. In some provinces, there are hundreds of fine aqueducts, choaked up and buried in ruins, so that it is not so much a defect in the soil, as the want of people, or at least of husbandmen, which renders Persia barren. The soil in some parts is a hard gravel, and in others a stiff whitish clay, almost as hard as stone, but either of them are fruitful enough when well watered, and will bear often two crops, and sometimes three in the compass of a year; and if we give any credit to ancient authors, there was not a more plentiful country in the world than Persia was formerly; the reason of this alteration some ascribe to the different dispositions of the people, who have inhabited it. The ancient Persians, the fire-worshippers, it is said, were obliged by the precepts of their religion to cultivate the soil, and it was by them accounted a meritorious act to plant a tree, to bring the water into a field, and make a barren spot of earth produce grass or grain, while the Mahometans seem to have no genius for improvements, or even to keep up what their ancestors have built or planted, but let every thing run to ruin; however, one reason of this neglect may be, that the properties of the people are in no security, and no wonder they have but little inclination to make improvements, when they have no certainty of reaping the advantage of them.

6. Near great towns they improve their grounds with the dirt and dung of the streets, but at a greater distance, they throw their fields into little level squares, which they bank about, and then turn the water into them, letting it stand in the field all night, which having soaked it, the water is let out next morning, and the sun shining with almost perpendicular

perpendicular rays upon the moist earth, renders it fit for the production of any sort of grain or plants. Where the ground is light they plough with two or three oxen or buffaloes; but in Gilan and other countries, where they meet with a stiff clay, it is as much as eight or ten oxen can do to draw their ploughs which are very large. Rice, wheat and barley, are almost the only kinds of grain growing in Persia; oats they have none, and little or no rye. Their seasons are not the same in the north as in the south, but when they are sowing in one part of the country, they are reaping in another, and in some places it is not more than three months between seed-time and harvest.

Their land never lies fallow, but it is sown once every year, at least, it is so meliorated and enriched by being flowed, and the heat of the sun afterwards working on the mud, that it is never out of heart. As to the rice, it must be constantly supplied with water till the harvest; but for other grain, the land is only flowed before the sowing, to render it prolific. Their kitchen gardens are well furnished with most of the roots and fallads we have in Europe; they have no less than twenty several sorts of melons during the season they last, which is about four months, the common people make them their constant food, those which come to maturity first in the spring are round and small, those that rippen in the latter part of the season are the best and largest, some of them weigh eight or ten pounds, and are as sweet as sugar itself; at the tables of persons of quality they have them all the year round, there being a way to preserve them under ground till the season returns again, and it is said, some persons will eat eight or ten pound of melons at a meal, without being sick. The best melons grow in Chorassan near Tartary, and they are carried as far as Ispahan for the Shah's use, and as presents to their friends. Cucumbers are another fruit much eaten by the common people, one sort of them has scarce any seeds in it, and is eaten without paring or dressing, and is not reckoned unwholesome.

7. Of grapes they have several kinds, and some of them are so large, that a single grape is a mouthful. They make their wine at Ispahan of the Kismishs, a little round grape, and without any stone that can be perceived, but much the best wines are made at Shiraz. They keep their grapes all winter, and let them hang a considerable time on the vine, wrapped up in linen bags; the air is so dry, that it preserves all kinds of fruit as long as they can desire. Dates are reckoned one of the most delicious fruits in this country, they are no where so good as in Persia, the pulp which encloses the stone is a clammy substance, as sweet as honey; they are laid on heaps when they are ripe, and melting, candy or preserve themselves without sugar. Foreigners are advised to eat moderately of them, because they heat the blood, and occasions ulcers in those who are not used to them, and sometimes weaken the sight, but have no ill effects upon the natives; the tree which bears them is slender, but very tall, and like other palms, has no branches but on the top, and the fruit grows in clusters of thirty or forty pounds weight; the tree does not bear till it is fifteen years old, but continues bearing above a hundred years. There are in Persia most of the fruits which are to be had in Europe, and they would be in much greater perfection, if they knew any thing of gardening, but they understand neither grafting, inoculating, or the art of managing dwarf-trees; all their trees run up very high, and are loaded with wood. They have excellent apricots of several kinds, which are in season one after the other, and their nectarines and peaches weigh sixteen or eighteen ounces a-piece; there is an apricot red within, which is called, the egg of the sun; these are dried and exported in vast quantities; they are boiled in water, which is thickened by the juice of the fruit, and makes a perfect syrup without sugar.

Apples and pears grow chiefly in the north part of Persia, they have also pomegranates of several kinds, with oranges, quinces, and prunes, and such variety of fruits, that Sir John Chardin says, he has seen above fifty sorts at an entertainment, some of which grew three hundred leagues from the place. The pistachio nuts are almost peculiar to Persia, and are transported all the world over; here are also small nuts, filberds and almonds. Olives grow in Hyrcania, near the Caspian Sea, but they neither know how to preserve them, nor draw oil in the best manner from them. They have also plantations of sugar and tobacco.

Among other trees in their gardens, they have the cypress, the palm, and the mulberry, of the last there are large plantations for their silk worms, which they do not suffer to grow up to be great trees, because the leaves are best when the shoots are young. They root up the trees therefore when they grow old, and plant their grounds afresh. But the tree which is in as great esteem as any in Persia, is the Senna; the body of this tree is very large, and frequently forty or fifty feet high, and straight as the mast of a ship, having no branches but on the head of it; the bark is of a bright grey, and the wood serves them to make doors, rafters, and for other uses in building. The trees that are most common in Persia are the plane-tree, the willow, the fir, and the cornel-tree; the plane-tree the Persians imagine is a preservative against the plague, and other contagious distempers, and observe, that the plague has never raged in Ispahan since this tree was planted in their streets and gardens. The trees also which bear the gall nut is very common in many parts of Persia, and there are trees which yield gum mastich, and frankincense; that which produces frankincense very much resembles a pear-tree, and abounds chiefly in Carmania.

There are likewise trees which produce manna of several sorts: the best manna has a yellowish cast, a large coarse grain, and comes from Chorassan or Bactria; there is another sort called Tamerisk, because the tree it drops from is so named, and is found in large quantities in the province of Susiana; and there is a third sort gathered about Ispahan, which falls from a tree much like the tamerisk, but larger; the leaves of this tree drop liquid manna in summer-time, which the natives take to be the sweat of the tree congealed upon the leaf in the morning; the ground under it is perfectly fat and greasy with it, and this has as sweet a taste as other manna.

The cotton-tree is common all over Persia, and they have another little tree, which yields a kind of silken down, used for quilting and stuffing of pillows; there is also a plant, called hannah, that bears a seed which they beat to powder, and colour their hands and feet, and sometimes rub over their faces with it, apprehending it keeps their skin smooth, and preserves their complexion: they sometimes bruise the leaves of it, which serves them for the same purpose.

There are found in the desarts of Carmania, two little shrubs of a poisonous quality, the first is called galbad samour, or the flower that poisons the wind; some people imagining that it is this occasions those killing winds which blow in this province in the hot season; the other shrub is called Heizebre, the trunk whereof is about as big as a man's leg, and grows about six feet high; its leaves are almost round, and it bears a flower like the sweet-briar. There are scarce any trees to be found on the mountains, or wild fields in Persia; these are for the most part destitute of all manner of verdure, while in their cities, and the villages for three or four leagues round them, the streets as well as gardens are so well planted, that the houses are hardly to be discerned at a distance; when you have travelled some few leagues, indeed you meet not either with house, tree, or shrub, for many miles, but all looks like a barren desert, notwithstanding

standing which, great part of this soil, were it watered, would be as fruitful as the other, and actually was so some ages since, when a more industrious generation than the present possessed the country.

From their trees, I pass on to their flowers and of these there is a great variety to be found in some provinces. The south part of Persia has much the fewest; excessive heat being as destructive to them as extreme cold; but nothing can be more beautiful than the fields of Hyrcania, where are whole groves of orange-trees, jessamins, and all the flowers we have in Europe. The east part of this country, which is called Mazanderan is one continued parterre from September to April; the whole country at that time is covered with flowers, and this, though it be their winter season, is also the best time for fruits. In the other months the heat is so excessive, that the natives find themselves under a necessity of retiring to the mountains.

In Media the fields produce tulips, anemonies and ranunculuses; about Isfahan, and some other towns, jonquils grow wild. They have also daffodils, lilies, violets, and pinks in their season, and some flowers which last all the year round; but they have the greatest quantity of lillies and roses; they export abundance of rose-water to other countries; in the spring, there is vast plenty of yellow and red gillyflowers, and another red flower which resembles a clove, of a beautiful scarlet colour, and every sprig bears thirty of these flowers, which form a fine head as large as a tennis-ball.

Their roses are white, yellow, and red, and others white on one side and yellow on the other; but notwithstanding all this great variety of beautiful flowers, their gardens are not comparable to those of Europe. As flowers are so common they are very little regarded; you see them intermixed with fruit trees and rose bushes without any order; but large walks planted with trees, fountains, canals, cascades, and pleasure houses, at proper distances, are all that must be expected in their finest gardens; nor do the Persians take any manner of pleasure in walking in them, any more than in the fields; but set themselves down in some alcove or summer-house as soon as they come into them, totally negligent of that exquisite variety that every foreigner is charmed with.

8. Persia also affords great plenty of physical drugs, as cassia, fenna, antimony, nux vomica, gum armoniac, galbanum, sal armoniac, and a kind of rhubarb, with which they purge their cattle; but the best rhubarb comes from China, or rather from eastern Tartary, which lies to the northward of China. The Persian poppies are in great esteem from the quantity of juice they yield, and the strength of it; they grow four feet high in some places, and have white leaves. They extract the juice from them in June, when they are ripe; by making little incisions in the head of the poppy, a thick liquor distills from them, which is gathered very early in the morning before sun-rise. It is said to have such an effect on the people, who are employed in this work, that they look as if they had been buried and taken up again, and their limbs tremble as if they had the palsy. The liquor which is thus drawn from the poppies in a little time grows thick, and is made up into pills. The Persians give it the name of *afoun*, and we, probably from thence, call it opium. The Persian bakers strew poppy-seed on their bread, which incline those that eat it to sleep, and the eating it is not reckoned unwholesome after their meals; the common people eat the seed at any time almost for pleasure.

Saffron grows plentifully in Persia, and *assafoetida* is to be had every where almost, which is much admired by the natives of Persia as well as India, and frequently eaten with their food; that which to us is most offensive of all scents, by them is esteemed a perfume.

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Assafœtida is a liquor which distills from the plant called hiltot ; it thickens after it is drawn, and grows as hard as gum ; there is the white and black kinds of it, of which the white is reckoned the best to eat. The smell of this drug is so very strong, that if any goods be near it in a ship, the smell is communicated to them, let them be wrapped up every so close, and it is almost impossible to clear them of it ; nay, it affects the colour, and therefore Sir John Chardin tells us, the vessels used in transporting it are frequently broke up and burned, to prevent other goods from being spoiled by being carried in them, from which no package can save them.

The Persian bezoar is esteemed preferable to that of India, which having already described, we shall not dwell upon it here. It is sufficient to observe, that the reasons it is not so much esteemed in Europe as it was formerly, are these ; in the first place, it is frequently sophisticated, notwithstanding that several methods are in use for detecting these frauds, of which I shall mention a few. The genuine bezoar, at least that which comes from Persia, has a very fine smell resembling that of ambergris but not near so strong ; if thrown into hot water, and left there for three or four hours it, loses nothing either of its colour or weight ; if pricked with a hot iron, no smoke arises ; if rubbed upon a leaf of Dutch vellum, it leaves a yellow impression ; if broke or cut, it appears to be composed of several coats unequally disposed, in the same manner as appears in cutting an onion. Another reason why it has lost its credit, is the humour people have of embracing the contrary extreme to that of their ancestors ; heretofore bezoar was sold very dear, and was held to have many and great virtues, and now it is fashionable to affirm that it has little or no virtue at all ; which though it has driven it out of use, has not much beat down its price, because in the east, and even in other parts of Europe, it is still in esteem.

A third reason is, our giving it in too small doses, so that its virtues are not discernible. A famous Persian physician had a great secret for curing lunacy, which he sold to a French gentleman for a large sum of money, and this secret consisted in giving equal quantities of bezoar, musk, and camphire, as I found in a French manuscript of receipts, in which it is said, that very singular cures were performed by it ; but the quantities of these drugs in a dose were not mentioned.

In the province of Chorasan they frequently find human bodies preserved in the sand, the flesh of which they sell under the name of mummy, for medicinal uses ; and there are also such bodies found in a cavern not far from the borough of Abin, in the province of Farfistan. It is however necessary to inform the reader, that in the Persian and Turkish languages, the word moun, from whence we have formed mummy, signifies literally a soft clammy substance, of the consistency of balsam, which explains sufficiently what is meant by mineral mummy, which is a kind of natural balsam distilling through the rock of a large cavern in the province of Lar, esteemed so precious, that the Shah keeps it entirely for his own use, the doors of this cave being sealed by the governor of Lar, who opens it only once a year, to take out the balm the quantity of which seldom exceeds ten ounces. A multitude of virtues are ascribed to it, particularly in the cure of fractures, in which it is said to perform wonders ; but it may very well be doubted, whether any of this was ever brought into Europe.

9. We will now proceed to speak of the animals that are found in Persia, and in reference to these, the camel, for a beast of burthen, much excels all the rest, whether we consider the weight he carries, the dispatch he makes, or the little charge of keeping him. Of these camels there are several kinds ; some have two bunches upon their backs, and others but one, and there is a third sort ingenerated between a dromedary or camel, with two bunches, and a female with one, which are esteemed much the best,  
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and fold for twenty or thirty pounds a-piece, for they are seldom tired, and will carry nine hundred or a thousand weight. Those which travel between the Persian Gulph and Isfahan are of a much less size, and do not carry above five or six hundred weight; but these, notwithstanding, are almost as serviceable as the other, for they are much swifter, and will gallop like a horse, whereas the others seldom go faster than a foot pace. These swift camels are kept by the Shah and great men, and serve to transport their women from place to place, and carry their baggage; they are usually adorned with embroidered cloths, and silver bells about their necks; a string of six or seven of them are tied together when they travel, and governed by one man; they use neither bridles nor halter to hold them, or whips to drive them, but they are directed by the driver's voice, who sings or plays to them as they travel; good usage only moves them, for they are naturally so obstinate, it is in vain to beat them if they tire.

When they are to take up their burthen, the driver touches their knees, whereupon they lie down on their bellies till they are loaded, groaning however, and giving signs of uneasiness, under a sense of the fatigue they are about to undergo; they let them graze by the road-side, with their burthens on their backs, on weeds and thistles, and sometimes they feed them with balls made up of barley meal and chaff, into a paste, with which they often mix the cotton seed; but the camel is the least feeder of any beast considering his bulk. It is very happy also that they can live without water two or three days together, there being scarce any to be met with in those deserts the caravans are forced to cross. They shed all their hair every spring, and are perfectly naked. Of the camel's hair, abundance of fine stuffs are made, as we shall shew in speaking of manufactures; these creatures are very tame and tractable, except when the lustful fit is upon them, which lasts thirty or forty days, and then they are very unruly, which makes their drivers increase their burthens at that time, to keep them under. When once the male has covered the female, he grows sluggish, and does not care for stirring out of the stable: they go with young eleven months, and some say twelve.

Oxen, buffaloes, asses and mules, are also used indifferently for carrying of passengers, or burthens, and their land being plowed by buffaloes and oxen, these beasts are very seldom killed for food, though some Persian governors, in the south of Persia, have extorted considerable sums out of the Indian Banians, who reside thereabouts, under pretence they would order them to be butchered, if the Banians did not redeem their lives by a considerable present. The asses of Persia are much larger and swifter than ours, and will perform a journey very well.

But the finest beasts are their horses, these are beautiful creatures, and no where better managed than in Persia. They have fine forehands, and are exactly well proportioned, light and sprightly, but only fit for the saddle, or at least, not used for any other purpose; they are never gelt, and wear their tails at their full length; but though they are lovely creatures to look on, they are neither so swift as the Arabian, nor so hardy as the Tartar horses, and the Shah therefore has always a stable of the Arabian breed. Horses are very dear in Persia, some of them being sold for two or three hundred pounds, and seldom any that are good for less than fifty. It is not so much the scarcity of them, as the selling such numbers to India and Turkey, which enhances the price.

They have mules also that carry very well, and are valued, some of them at thirty or forty pounds a-piece, and some asses at not much less, after they have been taught to pace. The ordinary food for horses is barley and chopt straw; they have no mangers in their stables, but give their horses their corn in bags. In the spring they cut green grass for their horses, but never make any into hay to be eaten dry; sometimes they

they feed their horses with balls made of barley-meal, as in India; instead of litter their own dung is dried, and beaten to powder, and laid a foot deep for them to lie on; and if any of it be wetted, it is dried in the sun the next day. Their horses' hoofs are much sounder and harder than ours, and they are shod with thin plates, as the oxen are, on account of their travelling over the stony mountains. They daub their horses legs in winter with a yellow herb, called Hannah, and sometimes anoint their bodies with it as high as their breast, to keep out the cold as it is said; but it seems to be rather by way of ornament, for in some places it is done all the year round.

The Shah has large stables of horses dispersed throughout the kingdom, almost in every city, for the public service. A horse is seldom denied to any man that demands one, if he will keep him, but then such persons are accountable to the government for them, when they shall be called out into the field; but they have the liberty of riding them in the mean time. These troopers' horses are sometimes quartered upon people, who would gladly be excused from the trouble and charge of keeping them, and if any horse dies in their hands, oath must be made, that it did not die for want of corn, or looking after. Their horses are subject to many distempers, sometimes their legs swell, and a humour rises on their breast, which proceeds from eating too much barley; and in this case, they clap a hot iron to the swelling, or lance it, and keep the fore open, by running a willow twig through it, but a hot iron applied to the part is the most general remedy for lame or distempered horses.

Of sheep and goats there are great plenty in Persia; the natives seldom eat any other meat, their sheep are large and remarkable for their fat tails, which weigh eight or ten pounds, and some it is said are above twenty pounds in weight; they are remarkable also in some parts of Persia for having more horns than ours. Some have six or seven horns standing straight out of their forehead, so that when their rams engage, there is usually a great deal of blood spilled in the battle. The Persian goats are not only valuable for their flesh, but the fine wool they yield, of which great quantities are annually exported, more especially from Carmania. Hogs there are scarce to be met with, for as the Mahometans, who are the governing part of the country, abhor this animal, their Christian subjects do not endeavour to increase the breed, unless towards Georgia and Armenia, where the Christians are numerous.

Wild beasts there are not many, either in the middle or the southern part of Persia. Deer they have some, and antelopes, which are much of the same nature, except that they are spotted, and have finer limbs. In Gilan and Curdistan, the woody parts of the country, wild beasts abound, such as lions, tygers, leopards, wild hogs, jackals, &c. And in Media and Armenia, there are abundance of deers, wild goats, hares, and rabbits, and there are some found on the mountains almost all over the country, but not many.

Insects they are not much troubled with in the heart of Persia, which is very dry, unless it be with swarms of locusts, which visit them sometimes in such numbers, that they look like a cloud, and perfectly obscure the sun, and wherever they light destroy the fruits of the earth; but there are certain birds which generally visit the country about the same time, and eat up the locusts, and so prevent the ruin of the husbandmen. That part of the country which lies upon the Caspian or Hyrcanian Sea, is full of serpents, toads, scorpions, and other venomous insects, which in summer-time die, many of them for want of water, and infect the air, rendering that part of the country very unhealthy at that season.

Scorpions particularly there are of an immoderate size, and their sting is mortal, if proper remedies be not immediately applied, and at best a person stung by one of them,

is in such torture, that he becomes raving mad for some time. Musquitoes or gnats are very troublesome in the flat country, near the Caspian Sea; and there is a white fly no bigger than a flea in Persia, which makes no noise, but its sting is like the prick of a pin. Here is also the millepedes, almost like a caterpillar, and whose bite is as pernicious as the sting of a scorpion; the Persians call them hezarpai, or a thousand feet.

10. There are the same sorts of tame and wild fowl in Persia as in Europe; as geese, hens, ducks, partridges, snipes, &c.; but more of them in the north than in the south part of the country. Turkeys have been carried to Ispahan, but they do not thrive. The breed of pigeons they take all imaginable care to increase and propagate, on account of their dung, with which they raise their melons. Their dove-houses are five times as large as ours, of a round figure, and handsomely built of brick; of these, it is said, there are not less than three thousand in the city of Ispahan only. The dung is always sold for four-pence the bushel, or twelve pounds weight, and the government, it seems, lay a small tax upon it. Their partridges are reckoned the largest and best tasted that are to be met with.

The pelican, which the Persians call tacob, or the water-drawer, is as remarkable as any of their fowls, for the body of it is said to be as large as a sheep, its head at the same time wonderful small, but a large bill of sixteen or eighteen inches long, as big as a man's arm, and under the bill there is a large bag, travellers tell us, which will hold a pail of water; they build their nests in the deserts, where there is no water, and consequently no inhabitants, for their security, and frequently go two days' journey for water for their young ones; but then they bring enough in the receptacle above mentioned to last for some time, if we may give entire credit to these accounts.

There is another extraordinary bird mentioned by travellers, in the province of Chorasan, which has such an appetite towards the water of a certain spring in that country, and such sagacity in discovering it, that they will follow any person that carries it in a bottle several hundreds of miles. As to eagles, hawks, falcons, and other birds of prey, there is no country where they have more, or where they are better instructed, than in Persia. The Shah has eight hundred or a thousand of them, and there is no man of any figure without his hawks and his falconers; and their hawks are taught not only to fly at birds but at hares, deer, and all manner of wild beasts, and by fixing themselves on the head of the animal, and beating him with their wings, he is so terrified and distracted, that the dogs and huntsmen which follow have very little difficulty in taking him; and the Persians, it is said, breed up the very crows to fly at game.

There are the same kinds of singing birds in Persia as with us, such as the linnet, the chaffinch, the nightingale, the lark, &c.; and some birds there are which are taught to speak, but no parrots or parroquets on this side India. However, there are several party-coloured birds to be seen in Persia, with a plumage of blue, green, and yellow, beautifully mixed. Of sparrows there are such numbers, that they are very troublesome to the husbandmen, who are forced to place their servants in the fields all day long when the harvest approaches, to keep them from their corn.

In the heart of Persia there are scarce any fish to be met with, the few rivulets they have hardly supplying the country with water for necessary uses, and in the summer time they are almost all dried up; even the river Zenderhood, to which the government, at a prodigious expence, have joined other streams for the supply of the city of Ispahan, is perfectly lost in the sandy deserts about twenty leagues from thence; and it may be doubted whether there be one stream which rises in the middle of the kingdom that ever reaches the sea in the summer; though in the spring, when the snow melts on the mountains, they make a considerable figure. In the Caspian Sea and the Persian Gulph there are great plenty of sea-fish of all kinds almost, and the rivers Kur and

Arras, which fall into the Caspian, have plenty of river-fish, but they lie at two great a distance from Ispahan to supply that city ; so that fish is very rarely eaten there.

11. We are to speak next of the metals and minerals in this country ; and to proceed methodically, we ought to begin with those of gold and silver, if any were now wrought in Persia, but there are not ; for, notwithstanding what old writers relate of the rich mines in Bactriana, and that almost all the Persian authors agree, that there are mines of this metal in Chorasan, yet from the neighbourhood of the Tartars they have been long neglected ; and it is the same with respect to the silver mines in other places, though from the accounts lately given by Tavernier, one would suspect that the Persians are but indifferently skilled in the art of mining, and that of refining of metals ; they have, however, good mines of iron, steel, copper, and lead. The iron and steel mines are in Hircania, Media, and the provinces of Erak and Chorasan ; their steel is so full of sulphur, that if the slings are thrown into the fire, they will give a report like gunpowder ; it has a fine grain, but is as brittle as glass, and the Persian artificers, who do not understand how to give it a due temper, cannot for that reason make wheels or springs, or any minute pieces of workmanship. Their copper mines are most of them near Seris, in the mountains of Mazanderan ; they mix it with Swedish and Japan copper, and the proportion is one part foreign to twenty of their own metal.

The lead mines are, most of them, near the city of Yezd, and in these are found the greatest quantity of silver. Sulphur and saltpetre are dug in the mountain Damaverd, which divides Hircania from the province of Erak. Antimony is found in Carmania, but it is a bastard sort. Emery is had near Niris ; vitriol and mercury they have none, and their tin is imported from abroad. There are two kinds of salt in Persia, the one upon the surface of the ground, the other dug out of the rock : there are plains of ten or twelve leagues over quite covered with salt, as others are with sulphur and alum. The salt is so hard in some parts of Carmania, that the poor people make use of it instead of stone to build their cottages.

Their marble is either white, black, or red, and some veined with white and red ; it is dug near Hamadan, and in Chufistan some of it will break into large flakes or tables like slate, but the best comes from Tauris, which is almost as transparent as crystal. This kind is white, mixed with green. In the country about Tauris also is found the mineral azure, but this is not so good as that which comes from Tartary, losing its colour by degrees. In the provinces of Fars and Shirvan there is found abundance of bole armoniac, and so rich and fat a marl, that the country people use it instead of soap. There are some mines of isinglass in the same country. In several parts of Persia we meet with naphtha, both white and black ; it is used in painting and varnish, and sometimes in physic, and there is an oil extracted from it which is applied to several uses. The most famous springs of Naphtha are in the neighbourhood of the town of Baku, which furnish vast quantities ; and there are also upwards of thirty springs about Shamashchy, both in the province of Shirwan. The Persians use it as oil for their lamps, and in making fire-works, of which they are extremely fond, and in which they are great proficient.

But the most valuable product of the Persian mines is the turquoise, concerning which there have been so many mistakes made, that notwithstanding we find ourselves pressed for room, we cannot avoid treating somewhat largely upon this subject. In the first place, it is asserted that it derives its name from Turkey, which is true enough when rightly understood, but absolutely false according to the common acceptation ; for there neither is or never was any of these stones found in the dominions of the Turks, but in the country of Turcomania, which was indeed the seat of that nation, though for any thing I know, this has never been observed by the writers upon this subject. These stones are distinguished into oriental and occidental. The oriental turquoises come from

Persia, and from Persia only; and these are distinguished into those of the old and those of the new rock; the former are taken out of the mines of Nicapour and Carasson, and, as Sir John Chardin justly observes, differ greatly from other stones that bear the same name. They are hard, firm, of a beautiful blue, inclining a little to a green, take a fine polish, and are never observed to lose their colour. The Shah endeavours to preserve these entirely for himself; and though after chusing the largest and the finest, he permits the smaller turquoises to be sold, yet foreign merchants are not contented with that manner of dealing, but have struck out a better. The officers belonging to the mines, and their servants, frequently deceive the Shah, and instead of sending him the finest and largest, vend those for their own profit, but always to Europeans, that they may be less liable to discovery; and by this means very fine turquoises find their way into these parts of the world. The new rock is at five miles distant from the old, and the stones are softer, less firm, veiny, of a green, inclining to blue, and are apt in process of time, to lose their colour. The occidental turquoises are found in Bohemia, France, and other countries, but they are not valued, and have generally the same faults with those taken from the new rock.

Dr. Cromwell Mortimer, in the last transactions of the Royal Society, for the months of January and February 1747, has given us a much better account of these stones than I ever met with before; and distinguishes them very justly into true and false turquoises; the former, he says, is a true mineral substance, impregnated with copper ore, which is highly probable, for there is no country in the world that has more copper mines than Persia; the latter is an ivory or boney substance, tinged also with some metallic juice, and probably that of copper, which is a discovery worthy of notice, as it frees this subject from abundance of difficulties, under which it has hitherto laboured.

12. After having taken a view of the country, and of its produce, we will speak next of the habitations erected upon it, and this will naturally lead us to the principal cities that yet remain to be described; but without taking a previous view of what with them passes for magnificent buildings, such descriptions would be in a manner unintelligible. The houses of persons of quality here are generally built in the middle of a fine garden, and make little or no appearance to the street, for there you see nothing but a dead wall, with a great gate in the middle of the wall, and perhaps a screen or wall within the gate, to prevent people looking in; so fond are they of privacy and retirement. Another thing that the Persians differ from us in is, that they seldom have more than one floor, which is laid out in this manner; in the front of the house stands a little piazza, or cloister, open before, where they sit and transact their ordinary affairs; beyond this is a large hall, eighteen or twenty feet high, which is used at great entertainments, or on any solemn occasions: on the farther side of the house is another piazza, with a basin or fountain of water before it, beyond which runs a walk of fine trees, as there does also from the street to the house: at each corner of the hall is a parlour or lodging room (for it serves for both purposes); between those parlours on the sides, there are doors out of a hall into an open square space, as large as the rooms at the corners; there are also several doors out of the hall into the piazza, before and behind the house; so that in the hot season they can set open nine or ten doors at once in the great hall, and if there be any air stirring, they will have the benefit of it.

In some palaces there is a handsome basin, and a fountain playing in the middle of the hall, which contributes still more to the coolness of the place. The walls of their houses are built sometimes of burnt bricks, but more commonly of bricks dried in the sun. The walls are of considerable thickness, and the roof of the great hall is arched, and five or six feet higher than the other rooms about it. The roofs of the buildings on

every side of the hall are flat, and there is a pair of stairs up to the top, where the Persians walk in the cool of the day, and sometimes carry up a mattress, and lie there all night, there being balusters all round the top of the building. As for the kitchens and other offices, they are at a distance on the right or left, and it is observable, that all their rooms, except the hall, stand separate, and there is no passage out of one into another, but only from the hall; chimneys there are some, but usually, instead of a chimney, there is a round hole, about four or five feet broad, and a foot and a half deep, in the middle of the room, in which a charcoal fire is made, and the place covered with a thick board or table, about a foot high, so close that no smoke can get out, and over that table is thrown a large carpet, under which they put their legs in cold weather, and sit round, there being a passage for the smoke by pipes laid under the floor. The doors of their houses are narrow, and seldom turn upon hinges as ours do, but there is a round piece left at the top and bottom of the door which is let into the frame above and below, on which they turn, and the very locks and bolts are frequently made of wood.

As to their furniture, it consists only in carpets spread on the floor, with cushions and pillows to lean on, and at night there is a mattress brought to sleep on, and a quilt or two to cover them, but very seldom any sheets are used. As to their servants, they lie about in any passage upon mats, and take up very little room. The floors of the rooms are either paved or made of a hard cement, on which they lay a coarse cloth, and over that a carpet: the sides of some of their rooms are lined with fine tiles about a yard high, and the rest of them well painted, or hung with pictures.

13. Ispahan, or as it is pronounced, Spahawn, is situated in thirty-two degrees forty minutes north latitude, and in the fiftieth degree of longitude, reckoning from the meridian of London. It stands in a fine plain, almost surrounded with mountains, which lie about two or three leagues from it, and the form is pretty near oval. The river Zenderhood runs by it at about a mile distance, but there are several channels and pipes above the town, which convey the water from it into canals and basons, for the service of the court and city. The town is without walls, and about ten or twelve miles in circumference. Those who extend it ten leagues take in the town of Julpha, and several others. There were formerly twelve gates to the town, but four of them are now closed up, the others are always open; as for the walls, which some travellers mention, it is probable there was a mud wall formerly, but there is no part of the wall visible at present. There is an old castle, it is true, without artillery, which runs to ruin, but is no more tenable than the town.

The streets of Ispahan are for the most part narrow and crooked, and either exceeding dirty or dusty, for scarce any of them are paved, and though there are no coaches or carts, yet all people of fashion riding through them with great trains of servants, renders the passage not very pleasant. There are, however, some very fine squares in the town, particularly the royal square or meidan, into which there opens two of the palace gates. On the sides of this square, which is one-third of a mile in length, and more than half as much in breadth, are buildings with shops on both sides, where every particular trade has a quarter assigned, and there is a second story where the mechanics have their working-shops. There seems to be little difference between these exchanges and ours, but that those of Ispahan have no windows, but great openings at proper distances to let in the light, and people ride through them as they do along the streets.

In the middle of the square there is a market for horses and cattle, and all manner of goods and provisions are exposed to sale, though the great Shah Abbas, who built the square, designed it for manly exercises, and particularly those of horsemanship, and handling

handling the bow and lance, at which no people are more dextrous than the Persians. On that side of the square next the palace there is a fine row of trees planted, and a handsome basin of water, and some great brass guns, which were taken from the Portuguese at Ormus, serve to make a show.

There stands a great mosque at the south end of the square, and another mosque on the east side over against the great gate of the palace; several streets in Isfahan are covered and arched over, which makes them pretty dark, and this seems to be peculiar to the Persian towns. Another thing they seem to be particular in is, that their houses and shops are never in the same places, and it is a common thing for a tradesman to go half a mile in the morning to the bazar, or market-place, where his shop is, and in the night-time they lock up their valuable goods in chests and counters, and the rest they leave packed up, sometimes in the open square, and it is very rare any thing is lost; so careful are the watch appointed to guard their market-places, or so very little given to thieving are the people in this part of the world, and no doubt the speedy and exemplary punishments inflicted upon pilferers is one great means to deter them from it.

As to foreign merchants, they lodge their goods in the public caravanerais about the city, which serve them also instead of inns for lodging and diet; but there is this difference between an inn and a caravanerai, that every person finds his own bedding and cookery in the caravanerai, whereas in our inns we have not that trouble. There are two things, however, that render a caravanerai preferable to an inn; one is, that a person is not subject to the extortions of an innkeeper, but buys his provisions at the best hand; and the other, that let the merchant take up ever so many rooms, he shall not be disturbed in them, and pays but a trifle for his warehouse or lodgings; and upon the road he pays nothing. There are not, it seems, less than fifteen hundred of these public caravanerais in Isfahan, which have been erected by charitable people for the use of strangers; most of them are built after one model, and differ only in the dimensions. There is a handsome portal at the entrance, on each side of which are shops, from whence you enter into a square, about which there is a cloister or piazza, and within are lodging-rooms and warehouses for goods: there is also stabling and conveniences for horses and other beasts on the outside, or they may be brought into the square and fastened there, as is frequently done upon the road, more especially where there is danger of robbers.

As to taverns, there are none at Isfahan, their religion prohibiting wine. However, some of the Persians will drink pretty plentifully in private. There are very handsome coffee-houses in the principal parts of the town, where people meet and talk politics, though they have no printed papers in them, and there we meet with some amusements peculiar to the country, as the harangues of their poets, historians, and priests, who hold forth and get a crowd about them; and it seems they expect a small present from their audience for their amusements and instructions.

14. The buildings of the palace, with the gardens belonging to it, take up above a league in compass. The two gates which come up to the royal meidan or square, are, one of them called alicapi, and the other, doulet cuna; over one of them is a gallery where the Shah used to sit and see martial exercises performed on horseback. No part of the palace where the court resides comes up to the royal square; but having entered the principal gate, there is a hall or court on the left hand, where the vizier and other judges administer justice on certain days; and on the right are rooms where offenders are allowed to take sanctuary. From hence to the hall, where the Shah usually gives audience, is a handsome walk: it is a long room, well painted and gilded, and supported by forty pillars; it is divided into three parts, one a step higher than the other,

on which the great officers stand according to their rank. As to hereditary nobility, there is no such thing in Persia. On the third ascent is the royal throne, raised about a foot and a half above the floor, and about eight feet square, on which is spread a rich carpet; here the Shah sits on it cross-legged upon solemn occasions, having a brocade cushion under him, and another at his back.

As to the rest of the apartments of the palace, and particularly the haram, or women's apartment, neither foreigners or natives can give an exact description of them, none being permitted to enter but the eunuchs; but in general we are told, that they consist in separate pleasure-houses dispersed about the gardens, much of the same form with the houses first described, and that their great beauty consists in the fine walks, fountains, and cascades about them. Beyond the gardens the Shah has a large park, walled in, where the ladies hunt, and take their pleasure with the Prince. In this city are above one hundred and fifty mosques or temples, covered with domes or cupolas, which appearing through the trees that are planted almost over the town, in the streets and gardens, afford a noble prospect; but the common buildings are so low, that they are hardly discerned by one who takes a view of the town on the outside.

All Christians being prohibited to enter their mosques, or even to come within their courts, under severe penalties, it is not easy to meet with a particular description of them. There is a gate which leads to the great mosque covered with silver plates. Through this tower you proceed to a court with a piazza or cloister on each side, where the priests lodge who belong to the mosque. Opposite to the great gate are three large doors which open into it. The five isles the mosque is composed of are beautified with gold and azure. In the middle is the cupola, supported by four great square pillars; the isles on the sides are lower than that in the middle, and borne upon thick columns of free-stone; two great windows towards the top of the middle isle give light to the whole mosque; on the left hand towards the middle stands a kind of pulpit, with stone steps to go up to it; the bricks and tiles on the outside of the building are painted with various colours, after the manner of Persia, and the floor of the mosque is covered with carpets, all people putting off their shoes as they enter it; there are no seats or pews as in the Christian temples, or any kind of imagery or pictures. The outside is stone, and the walls lined fifteen feet high with white polished marble; and in the middle of the square, before the mosque, is a large basin, where they wash themselves before they enter the temple. The mosques have, most of them, cupolas, with steeples or towers, whither the mollahs go up to summon the people to their devotions, according to the Mahometan mode, making no use of bells.

15. The numerous hummums, or bagnios, in this city is another subject of travellers' admiration; some of these are square buildings, but most of them globular. The stone of which they are built is usually white and well polished; the tops are covered with tiles painted blue; the insides are divided into many cells or chambers, some for pleasure and others for sweating, and the floors are laid with black and white marble. The Persians bathe almost every day, looking upon it to be extremely conducive to health, an effectual remedy for cold or aches, and many other distempers. But what is admired as much by foreigners as any thing about Ispahan, is the charbag, being a walk above a hundred yards wide, and extending a mile in length, from the city to the river Zenderhood; on each side are planted double rows of trees, and in the middle runs a canal, not continued upon a level, but at every furlong's distance the water falls into a large basin and forms a cascade, and the sides both of the canal and basins are lined with hewnstone, broad enough for several men to walk abreast upon them. On each side of this walk are the royal gardens, and those of the great men, with pleasure-houses,

houses, at small distances, and altogether form as agreeable a prospect as can be imagined.

At the end of this walk is a bridge over the river Zenderhood, which leads to the town of Julpha; there are also two other bridges, one on the right and the other to the left, by which the neighbouring villages have a communication with the city, and which most of our travellers are pleased to call its suburbs, though they are distant a mile from Isfahan, and on the other side the river. These bridges are taken notice of for the oddness of the architecture, for it seems on each side, both above and below, are arched passages, through which people ride and walk from one end of the bridge to the other, as in the covered streets of the city; and at little distances there are openings to admit the light. The arches of these bridges are not very high, there being no vessels to pass under them, for this river is not navigable any more than the rest of the Persian streams. It is true, in the spring, on the melting of the snows on the mountains, it makes a pretty good appearance, but at the latter end of the summer the channel is exceeding narrow and shallow, inasmuch that there is not water enough for the gardens which belong to the city; to supply the want whereof they have abundance of wells about Isfahan, of very good water for all domestic uses.

16. The town, or rather the borough, of Julpha, stands on the south side of the river Zenderhood; and though there are many who look upon it as a suburb of Isfahan, yet it certainly deserves to be considered by itself, as being a very large and a very considerable town, the buildings of which are more regular, and to the full as magnificent as those of Isfahan. It is generally reckoned two miles in length, and about a mile in breadth, and is, beyond comparison, taking all circumstances together, the finest place in Persia; for, with respect to houses, trade, manufactures and industry, there is nothing comes near it; and as to beautiful walks of trees, cooling shades, delightful fountains, pleasant gardens, and magnificent summer-houses, they are every where to be met with. The principal inhabitants are the Armenians, and besides these there are Georgians, Circassians, Mingrelians, and other Christians, but no Mahometans who dwell in it. The foundation of this place and the rise of the Armenians, who are now as considerable merchants as any in the world, are events that deserve our notice.

It was the famous Shah Abbas who first took notice of the candour, affability, diligence, penetration, and integrity of the Armenians, in the management of their little concerns in their native country, where they were liable to the incursions of the Persians and the Turks. He was not only an ambitious and powerful but a very wise and prudent prince; he was desirous of introducing trade into his dominions, where, till his reign, it was hardly known; and no less desirous of inspiring his subjects with the same views, who were little acquainted therewith. In order to accomplish these great and laudable designs, he thought it proper to establish a staple commodity, by way of foundation, and for that purpose fixed upon silk. He then transported twenty or thirty Armenians into the province of Gilan, where they acquitted themselves so well, that in a very short space of time vast quantities of silk were made there. Encouraged by this happy beginning, he demolished the town of Old Julpha in Armenia, as has been shewn in the former section, and transported the inhabitants into the neighbourhood of Isfahan, where, by his royal munificence, and under his powerful protection, they built the place of which we are now speaking, and by his direction undertook to distribute all the silk that was not wrought up by Persian manufacturers, through Asia and Europe, a reasonable price being first fixed, which at their return they were obliged to pay, all the profit being left to themselves; when it was necessary, the Shah advanced

vanced them money for carrying on their commerce, but by degrees, and as they grew wealthy, the government no longer took any share in their trade.

In this manner, from the right notions of one man, and from his just views for the benefit of his subjects, arose all the trade of the Armenians, who are now become a nation of merchants, and carry on the most extensive dealings of any people in the world; for besides their establishments here, and in all the great cities of Persia, they spread over the whole East, carry on a prodigious trade in Russia, and have factors of their own nation in most of the great trading cities in Europe. In short, they are become as noted in this respect as the Jews; but what redounds eternally to their reputation, their application to trade, and their dealings as brokers has not in the least lessened their character for candour or probity; they are diligent, affable and discreet, but content with a moderate profit; serve those that employ them faithfully; are grateful to their benefactors; love each other as brethren, and are extremely useful to all the countries in which they are settled. This digression in favour of such a sort of men, and in order to explain the prudence and public spirit of Shah Abbas their patron, and such of his successors as chose to tread in his steps, we thought might be agreeable to the reader, though it carried us a little out of our road, to which we shall now return, in order to continue the description we have promised of the principal cities in Persia, before those confusions began that have produced such fatal alterations.

17. The city of Shiraz, or Sheraz, as we pronounce it, lies about two hundred miles to the southward of Isfahan, in twenty-nine degrees fifty minutes of north latitude, and is usually reckoned the second city of the kingdom. It is the capital of the province of Fars, or the ancient Persia; some will have the name derived from Cyrus the Great, there being a tradition that he was buried there; others say it is derived from Sherab, which in the Persian tongue signifies a grape, because that fruit abounds in this place; and others from the word Sheer, which signifies milk; but as it is not very material from whence the name is derived, so I believe it is impossible to determine at this day. The town is seated in a pleasant fertile valley, about twenty miles in length, and six in breadth, and has a rivulet running through it, which in the spring has the appearance of a large river, and sometimes increases to such a torrent as to bear down the houses in its way, but in the summer is almost dry. There are no walls about the place, nor does it contain above four thousand houses at present: the compass of it is reckoned to be about seven miles, but then it is to be considered that much the greatest part of this space is garden.

The public buildings taken notice of are the viceroy's palace, the mosques, bagnios, the vaulted streets and caravanferais, which being of the same model as those of Isfahan, do not need a particular description here; only it is observable, that they let most of their buildings run to ruin, as in other towns of Persia; every generation chusing to build new houses, rather than use those of their ancestors. It is remarked also, that there is no place where the Mahometan superstition prevails more than here, there being a mosque or temple to every twenty houses almost, their domes covered with blue varnished tiles, make a pretty appearance among the trees; here is also a college where the liberal arts are studied, of which the fame is great for breeding many persons of renowned learning.

The streets of Sheraz are for the most part narrow and dusty, but there are some broad ones with canals and basons faced with stone: but what Sheraz is most remarkable for, is the fine gardens and vineyards about it. The cypress-trees, of which their walks are chiefly composed, are the tallest and largest that are any where to be found,  
and

and grow in a pyramidal form ; intermixed with these are several broad spreading trees, and all manner of fruits, as pomegranates, oranges, lemons, cherries, pears, apricots, dates, &c. None of these are planted against the walls, as with us, but stand in the alleys, and sometimes irregularly, as in a wilderness. They have also abundance of sweet flowers of various colours, but not planted in that regular order as in the gardens of Europe. Their vineyards and wines are preferable to any in Persia, and the canals, cascades, fountains, and pleasure-houses in their gardens, are not at all inferior to those of Ispahan. The Shah's garden here is no less than two thousand paces square, and surrounded with a wall fourteen feet high ; but of late years the gardens, as well as the buildings of Sheraz, have been pretty much neglected.

18. Thirty miles to the north-east of Sheraz are found the noblest ruins of an ancient palace or temple, that are now to be seen on the face of the earth ; even Rome itself, as it is said, has nothing comparable to these venerable remains of antiquity ; the place at this day is called Chilmaner, or forty pillars. Mr. Herbert says, it was built upon a mountain of dark-coloured marble, and the steps hewed out of the solid rock ; but others who have viewed it more narrowly since observe, that the steps are composed of large stones, fifteen or sixteen feet in length, and of such a thickness, that six or seven steps are cut out of one stone, the whole being so artificially joined, that they appear to be but one piece, which might easily occasion Mr. Herbert to mistake. It is seated at the north-east end of that spacious plain where Persepolis once stood, and generally held to be part of the palace of Darius, who was conquered by Alexander the Great. The front of this palace stood towards the west, and was about five hundred paces in length, the whole taking up near threescore acres of ground. The ascent to it is by ninety-five steps, thirty feet in length, and twenty inches broad, but not more than three inches deep, so that a horse may easily go up or down them. The staircase divides as you ascend, one branch winding to the right, and the other to the left, each having a wall on one side, and a marble balustrade on the other ; afterwards both branches turn again, and end at a large square landing-place, from whence you go into a portico of white marble, twenty feet wide. On it are carved in bas-relievo two beasts as big as elephants, but their bodies are like horses, and their feet and tails like oxen.

Ten feet farther stand two fluted columns of whitish stone, about sixty feet high, besides their capitals and bases, and as thick as three men can fathom ; a little farther stand two other pilasters, carved like the first, only that the beasts on the latter have wings and men's heads. Beyond this portal or hall is such another double staircase, leading to the upper rooms, twenty-five feet broad, but incomparably more beautiful than the former ; for on its walls are carved in bas-relief, a kind of triumph, consisting of a great train of people in distinct companies, carrying some banners, and others offerings, and after all comes a chariot drawn by several horses, with a little altar upon it, from whence the flames of fire seem to ascend. On the other side are carved wild beasts fighting, and among others, a lion and a bull are cut with great exactness, and so hard is the stone, that to this day the most curious part of the workmanship is preserved. On the top of the second staircase is a square place, which has been surrounded with columns, whereof seventeen only are now standing, but there are a hundred pedestals ; those that are left are of red and white marble fluted, some of them sixty, and others seventy feet high, and twelve of them near three fathoms round. These, some antiquaries imagine, supported the temple of the Sun.

On the same floor near those columns is a place fifty feet square, enclosed with walls six or seven feet thick, of a much finer marble than any that hath been yet mentioned,

and so wonderfully carved, that it would take up several days to view all the figures ; which way soever a man turns himself in this second floor, there appears figures cut in bas and half relieve. Here you see men fighting with lions, and in another place a man holding a unicorn by the horn ; in a third, you see the figures of giants, and in a fourth, a Prince giving audience to his people or ambassadors ; and numberless other scenes. Here are also abundance of inscriptions, in lasting characters, which have been transcribed and brought into Europe, but none of them understood at this day by the learned, any more than they are by the people of the country : this glorious palace, or temple, with the whole city of Persepolis, the noblest and wealthiest then in the world, was burnt to the ground by Alexander the Great, about the year of the world 3724, at the persuasion of Lais the Athenian harlot, as is said, in revenge for the towns the Persian Emperors had destroyed in Greece.

19. In the former section, and in this, almost all the great cities have been described as they stood in time past, and as they are represented to us by such as had seen them ; yet these accounts bear but very little relation to those places at this day ; for in the course of the civil wars and confusions with which this empire has been overwhelmed, there is hardly any one of these cities that has escaped. Tauris has been plundered over and over ; Schiras burnt to the ground ; and even Spahawn has suffered not a little. The port of Gamberon, or Bander Abassi, has been always considered since the time of Shah Abbas, as one of the richest jewels of the Persian diadem ; and, notwithstanding the badness of the air, and some inconveniences that attended the port, it was always a place of great trade, and might have been a place of much greater trade, if the succeeding monarchs of Persia had been princes of the like spirit, and had conceived as just notions of commerce as he did.

By their fault it was, that the greatest part of the Persian trade came to be carried on by land through Turkey, which was neither agreeable to the interests of the Persians, nor requisite for transporting their commodities to Europe, for which other means might have been employed. But when Shah Nadir had assumed the empire, and by his amazing successes had acquired so great a power, that he thought himself in no kind of danger from his neighbours, he began to entertain notions of commerce, which, like all his other notions, were of a stamp peculiar to himself, and which do not seem, from any of the accounts that we have met with, to have been at all understood in Europe. He saw plainly, that the Turks were prodigiously enriched by the carrying on of the Persian trade for silk through their country, and this he was resolved to prevent at any rate. It was with this view, that he formed a project, which we have more than once mentioned, of forcing a passage to the Black Sea, and thereby opening a direct trade with Europe, which, with all his power, he could never effect. He then turned his thoughts towards the Caspian ; and having recovered the province of Gilan from the Russians, and provided effectually against any impressions they could make upon his territories by land, he resolved to carry on the trade of Persia that way, by the assistance of the Armenians, and to restore the credit of that nation, which had been very much sunk in Persia, by the vast losses that had been sustained by their establishment at Julpha, which, in the course of the civil wars, has been almost totally ruined.

But besides these schemes he had another, the grounds of which it would take up too much room to explain ; and, therefore, I shall content myself with barely saying, that from certain motives, that appeared to him reasonable, he determined to remove the capital of Persia, and instead of fixing, as his predecessors had done, the imperial residence at Isfahan, he resolved to transfer it northward, and so place the seat of his

empire in the province of Chorasan, to which perhaps he might in some measure be determined by his fondness for his native country. He fixed there upon the town of Mesched, which had been formerly the capital of the province. It is to be observed, that the word Metschid signifies, both in the Persian and Turkish languages, a house or temple consecrated to the service of God, and it is from thence that we have framed our word Mosque. The name of this city therefore implies a great mosque, and it was so called from one of the finest in that part of the world, erected over the tomb of the Iman Riza, a great saint; which rendered it a place frequented by pilgrims, who out of charity erected there several public structures of great magnificence. It was besides famous for its manufactures of all sorts, such as gold and silver brocades, tapestry, rich silks, and woollen stuff, as beautiful and as dear as silks; there was besides a manufacture of earthenware, which was looked upon as the best in Asia, on this side China; so that an age ago this city for mosques, public baths, caravanserais, bazars, and other public structures, was not in the least inferior to any city in Persia; but the Ubeck Tartars had so totally destroyed it, that it made but a very indifferent figure when the Shah Nadir made choice of it for the seat of his empire.

The city of Mesched is situated in the latitude of thirty-five degrees twenty minutes north upon a small stream that falls into the river Kurgan, which separates the province of Chorasan from Astarabat; and it may be very truly affirmed, that a happier situation there is not in the world. The air is extremely mild and temperate, the soil about it wonderfully fruitful, and while it continues the capital of the empire, there is no doubt that the Tartars will be kept at a sufficient distance. While Shah Nadir was employed in his expedition against the Mogul, his eldest son Riza Kuli Mirza resided there with the title and authority of Shah of Persia; by his care the city was rebuilt and restored to its ancient lustre, and such privileges granted to the inhabitants, as not only came up to but exceeded those that former Shahs had granted to the people of Ispahan. This young Prince was not contented with barely attending to the civil government of the empire; he was desirous of displaying also his military capacity, which induced him to attack the Khan of Balkh, the sovereign of the southern part of Great Bucharia; which country, together with its capital, he reduced, and thereby gained not only an accession of territory, but one of the greatest and best cities in those parts, Balkh having been, for several ages, the center of the commerce carried on by land to and from the Indies.

By this establishment, and these conquests, the face of affairs in Persia is absolutely changed, and this is a thing that has not hitherto been sufficiently considered. It is possible, and, indeed, it is probable, that the southern provinces of the Persian empire will suffer extremely by this alteration; and it is not altogether unlikely, that if a civil war arises from the death of the late Shah, a new principality may be erected in the southern parts, of which Spahawn, or some other great city, may become the capital; but still Mesched will, in all probability, remain the seat of the Persian empire, and the monarchs who govern there will extend their conquests northwards, through countries formerly indeed dependent upon the Persians, but which have been for many ages in the hands of the Tartars; and if this should be the case, we must consider ourselves extremely happy in having set on foot a trade through Russia into Persia by the Caspian Sea; by which the most lucrative part of the commerce of that empire will fall into our hands, and may be justly esteemed the fruits of our great naval power, and the effects of sending our squadrons into the Baltic, which gave the court of Peterburg such an impression of our power to assist or distress them, as it is our interest to take care that time should never efface.

20. We promised to say somewhat of the ancient and present state of the country and people of Persia, considered in a comparative light, and we will endeavour to execute this as succinctly as possible. The learned Dr. Hyde wrote an admirable treatise in Latin, of the religion of the ancient Persians; a work equally curious and useful, and which, notwithstanding, was so ill received by the public, that the Doctor boiled his teakettle with the greatest part of the impression, which has made it so scarce, that from its natural price of ten shillings, or less, it is now sold for two guineas; and even at that price will not be esteemed dear by such as can judge of its real value. It is from this learned book that we are informed of what we should otherwise never have known, that the ancient Persians, on whom the Greeks bestowed the name of Barbarians, were in reality the best governed, the politest, and the most civilized nation upon the face of the earth. Their religion was far more incorrupt than those of Egypt, Greece, or Rome, for they worshipped only one God; and though they were over-run with superstition, they never degenerated into atheism or idolatry. The common people were, from principle, extremely industrious; they cultivated their country with the utmost care, inasmuch that those districts that are now sandy deserts were then perfect gardens; and many rich and populous cities were seated in places that at this day are waste and howling wildernesses. Yet there even still remain clear and indisputable proofs of the truth of what this learned gentleman has asserted, and these are of two kinds; First, The ruins and remains of this ancient magnificence, which even the iron teeth of Time have not been able to destroy, as appears from what the reader has been told of Persepolis; and next, from the temper and disposition of that remnant of the ancient Persians, Gubers, Gaurs, or fire-worshippers, that are still left in this country and in India, and who are, beyond all controversy, the most quiet, industrious, and most inoffensive nation, if we may yet style them so, on the face of the globe. The seat of their present habitations is the wildest and worst part of the province of Kerman, and yet even there the small districts they possess, appear a kind of paradise in comparison of the country about; and by them those woollen stuffs are wrought, which the modern Persians, from a true principle of luxury, think too good for any body's wear but their own, and therefore never suffer them to be carried out of their dominions.

As for these people, it is no wonder that they have brought the same discredit upon the large and fruitful provinces they inhabit, that the Turks have done upon the land of Canaan; and, indeed, it is the genius of the Mahometan religion to deface all marks of former improvements, as well as to receive no benefit from such examples. The wars, by which this empire has been continually wasted since it fell into the hands of its present possessors, has contributed not a little to thin it of people; so that now there are not above a twentieth part of the people in Persia that there were at the time that Alexander invaded it. Besides this, there are several nations scattered up and down it, that are rather vassals than subjects to the Shahs, and live after the manner of the Tartars in their tents. The want of a settled nobility, and the little security that the people in general have for their fortunes, is another great obstacle to the cultivating their lands, and the improvement of their cities. We may add to this, the revolutions and civil wars which have been so frequent in Persia; as also the incursions of the Tartars and other barbarous nations, from which they are hardly ever free. As to the laziness and luxury of the Persians, though it is in one sense a cause of the wide difference between the past and present state of their empire, yet considered in another light, it is the source of what little commerce they have; for as they are not willing to work themselves,

themselves, they are very ready to let other nations dwell amongst them; and provided they reap the fruits of their industry, treat them fairly and civilly enough, without any mixture of that haughty, insolent and unbridled temper which is so hateful and so intolerable among the Turks. Besides, as they spend without the least consideration all they get, this occasions a quick circulation of money, so that the Armenians, Indians, and other foreigners that live amongst them, pick up a tolerable livelihood, and are not imposed upon and oppressed as in the territories of the Grand Signior.

It is the want of people that makes a great part of Persia lie waste and barren; and the natural fertility of the country is another cause of this, for even the few parts that are now cultivated produce much more than is necessary for the subsistence of its inhabitants; and it is from thence that their trade and their riches arise; for since there are no mines now wrought in Persia, what gold and silver they have comes into that country by the purchase of their silks, and other rich commodities; whence the reader will easily discern how powerful and how happy the people might be under a settled government, that paid some tolerable respect to the welfare of its subjects; but after all, this is hardly to be hoped for while in the hands of the Mahometans, who, on the one hand, are very little inclined to any kind of industry themselves, and, on the other, are very apt to be jealous of their Christian subjects thriving, though they are the better for it. While the Russians were masters of Gilan, which was but for a very short space, the inhabitants were so sensible of the change, that there was nothing they dreaded so much as returning again under the dominion of their old masters; and when this actually happened, great numbers of them quitted their habitations, and retired into the neighbouring parts of Georgia, Dagestan and Armenia, that they might avoid falling under the yoke of Thamas Kuli Kan, notwithstanding that was as light, at least in time of peace, as any of the former Shahs.

21. It is to very little purpose that we increase the stock of our knowledge by reading, unless we enable ourselves to make some use of it by reflection; as a trader does not thrive by having his warehouses stocked with goods, but by his knowing where and how to carry them to market. We see plainly from the description of the Persian empire, at the beginning of this section, that in point of territory the Shah's of Persia are very little inferior to any of the great monarchs in the universe; but we know experimentally, that for all this the princes of this country, from the time of Shah Abbas, have made but a very indifferent figure, and are not like to make a better in time to come. This shews us the terrible effects of arbitrary power, a thing altogether insupportable; but from the wisdom of some great princes, who by dissembling and letting it down, preserve it. Shah Nadir had this in his will, but never in his power; he had acquired his authority by being at the head of an army, and he found it impossible to sustain it any other way than by remaining at the head of it; for he neither durst disband his troops, nor could he trust them any longer than they were employed; this was the true reason of his Indian expedition, and this must be the case till such time as the army by which he attained his sovereignty is in some measure worn out, and then, perhaps, the feebleness of the state may draw upon it foreign invasions.

If either the extent or the quality of countries could make princes easy or happy, the sovereigns of Persia might be so without making slaves of their subjects or disturbing their neighbours. We may from hence also discover the value of right principles with regard to industry and commerce, which always include due respect to liberty and property, without which the former can never subsist, and the latter can never be attained. If we could with any probability suppose that a well-constituted government could take place, and be thoroughly established in Persia, it is very evident, that in the space of a century,

century, not only the affairs, but the very face of the country would be changed; their great cities would be repeopled, the trade through Persia to India and Tartary would be revived, their silk-works and manufactures would be restored, and multitudes of people would flock into all their provinces for the sake of that plenty which, in such a situation of things, they would be sure to enjoy. But as this supposition is on the one hand improbable, so, on the other, it is very evident that for this very reason the Persian monarchy must, for a long series of years, continue broken and weak; for it is by commerce only that the people of that country can become formidable; for while, on the one side, they want a naval power to maintain the sovereignty of the Caspian Sea, to which they pretend, and, on the other hand, to have no fortresses of great strength to secure their frontiers against the Usbeck Tartars on the north, and the Turks on the west, they will always be in danger from both those neighbours.

These things are so plain that they cannot be denied or doubted. The single inference I would draw from this is, that so far as human foresight reaches there seems to be a disposition in Providence to overturn the Mahometan powers every where; for if we compare the present state of things with the past, we cannot help seeing that they are much in the same situation that the Greeks were at the time their empire began to decline; and though it may be some centuries before their total destruction comes on, yet we must shut our eyes against evidence if we are not convinced that it is coming. We must indeed allow that there are some visionary people here in Europe who apprehended mighty things from the Shah Nadir, and believed that he would overwhelm the Turkish empire; but there was no kind of reason for this, except the known weakness of that empire; and if it were not for this, we might with more reason expect that the Turks, at this juncture, should make some impression upon Persia, which however I am persuaded will not happen. But if the feuds of Christian princes were once laid asleep, there is no improbability in the conjecture, that the Russians might make themselves masters, at least, of some of the provinces of this empire which lie nearest to the Caspian Sea; and, whenever it shall happen, it may prove a beginning to much greater revolutions, since there are multitudes of Christians in the adjacent countries, who are either of the Greek religion or very little removed from it; and if their spirits should once revive, the weakness of the Mahometans, both here and elsewhere, would be quickly seen. I know very well how little heed the present generation will give to remarks of this nature; but I flatter myself, that how weak or how impertinent soever they may be now esteemed, experience will justify them to posterity.

OF THE  
DISPOSITION AND TEMPER OF THE PERSIANS,

Their Persons, Habits, Manner of Living, their Artificers and Mechanics, the Respect paid to Merchants, the Method in which their Inland Trade is carried on, the past and present State of the English Commerce, and other Particulars; together with some curious Observations on the Nature of the Silk Trade, and a Computation of the annual Balance in favour of Persia.

*Collected as well from Private Memoirs, as from Accounts that have been published.*

1. *An Introductory Account of the Subject of this Section, the Difficulty of Drawing National Characters, the likeliest Way of coming at the Truth, the general Temper, Disposition and Genius of the modern Persians. — 2. Of their Persons, Dress, great Value of their Turbans, and of the Magnificence and Profusion into which all Ranks of People are apt to run in that Country, in every Thing that regards Appearance and Equipage. — 3. Of the Women's Habits, their Painting, their Head-dresses usually adorned with Feathers, frequently set out with Jewels, and more especially with Pearls, which were esteemed the best in the World, so long as the Persians were possessed of the Island of Baharen. — 4. The manner of living in Persia, the Method of eating and drinking, their Customs at their Meals, the commonness of Cooks-Shops and Ordinaries amongst them, and of the open and general Hospitality in Persia. — 5. A View of their Entertainments, the Ceremonies and Civilities that pass upon such Occasions, their laudable Temperance and great Sobriety. and of the Manner in which, by the Use of Opium, they supply their Want of strong Liquors. — 6. The Manner of Travelling in Persia, the Nature of Caravans, how they supply the Want of Wheel-Carriages, of their Foot-Posts, and of the wonderful Swiftness of their Sbatirs or Running-Footmen. — 7. Of their Artificers and Mechanics of all Sorts, the Neatness of some and the Inexpertness of other Workmen, and of the Nature of their Companies, and the Rules by which they are governed. — 8. Of the Silken, Woollen, and Mohair Manufactures that are carried on in this Empire, the Management of their Domestic Traffic, the great Use of Brokers; the Manner in which their Foreign Trade is carried on, and the Reasons that hinder Mahometans from becoming Merchants; with some political Remarks upon that Subject. — 9. The Nature of the English Trade in Persia, the Measures, Weights, Money, generally used in that Country, and the Alterations that have happened by the Removal of the Capital from Ispahan to Mesched. — 10. A succinct View of the several Routes by which Foreign Commodities are introduced into Persia, with a clear View of the Advantages arising from the new Trade to that Empire, through Russia. — 11. A short Representation of the Value of Silk, considered as the Staple Commodity of Persia, and of the Advantages that would result to this Nation by the joint Endeavours of the Russian, Levant, and East India Companies, to import Persian and China Silks on the cheapest Terms possible.*

1. **A**FTER taking a view of the country of Persia, and its product of all kinds, it is very natural for us to come next to the inhabitants, for whose sake the other description was held necessary, and made intirely with a view to render this more clear and

and intelligible. It must indeed be owned, that there is something very difficult and hazardous in attempting to characterise a whole nation, and nothing is more common than instances even of great authors falling into mistakes on this head; yet as the thing is necessary, to it is also very feasible; nations certainly have their characters as well as private men, and these are frequently hit, though to be sure sometimes they are mistaken.

The means of hitting them, is to observe carefully the points in which all travellers agree, for these, without doubt, are founded in truth and nature; when a sufficient number of these are fixed, they will serve to guide you in the rest, for the humours of men, though of several sorts, and vastly different from each other, yet have a connection among themselves, that is to say, one humour affords with and joins easily with another, while there are some humours that never come together, or are found in the same breasts. That there really is such a thing as national characters appears from hence, that the inhabitants of the same country, through a great diversity of ages, and described by authors of various dispositions, keep pretty nearly the same character; of this the description of the people of Paris, by the Emperor Julian, is a remarkable instance, and others might be mentioned, if that before us were not as good a one as any of the rest; for whoever considers attentively what is said of the temper, genius and customs of the Persians, independent of their religion and government, by the Greek and Latin writers, and compares these with the writings of modern travellers, will be amazed to see what a conformity there is between them, and be from thence convinced that national characters are nothing less than imaginary. But to come to the point, and to that description which will justify this observation, at the same time that it carries on the thread of our discourse, and performs the proper business of this section.

The Persians are men of bright parts, and abundance of vivacity, fond of glory, and known to excel their neighbours of India in point of courage, insomuch that the Mogul prefers them to the greatest posts both in his court and army; and as they were observed anciently to be of all men the most civil and obliging, they retain the same disposition to this day, especially towards foreigners, who admire their hospitality and benevolence; they are far from being guilty of that brutish behaviour towards Christians as the Turks are; what they seem to be most justly and universally charged with, is vanity and profusion in their cloaths, their equipages and number of servants; as to voluptuousness in eating and drinking, this does not appear to be their vice, at least we are much more guilty of it in Europe; for the greatest part of their food is rice, fruits, and garden stuff; they have not any great variety of flesh, neither have they many ways of dressing it; pils seems to be the standing dish, even among those of the best quality. And as for strong liquors, though they drink them now and then by stealth, drunkenness is very far from being common; liquor is never forced, and every man may retire from an entertainment without ceremony when he sees fit, without a breach of good manners.

No people have a greater genius for poetry, insomuch that there is not a festival or entertainment made but a poet is introduced and desired to oblige the company with his compositions; and these gentlemen are often found with a crowd about them in coffee-houses, and other places of public resort. The Persians are by some looked upon to be very covetous; but by this they must mean covetous in getting, for as to hoarding up money they are generally absolved. They only get that they may spend, and when they have furnished themselves with an equipage, house and gardens suitable to their mind, they rather lay out their money in building caravanserais, mosques, and on other public occasions, than let it lie by them, insomuch that some travellers observe that there

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are no people in the world that take less thought for to-morrow. A man who happens to have eight or ten thousand pounds fall to him, shall in a few weeks lay it out in purchasing wives and slaves, clothing and furniture, without considering where he shall meet a supply, and in two or three months after you will see him disposing of them again for subsistence. These people, it is observed, have a great command of their passions; they are not easily moved, and when they are, it proceeds very seldom to blows. The quarrel generally ends in ill language, and perhaps some hearty curses; and to sum up all, they call one another Jews or Christians. They are of a very insinuating address, and a most obliging behaviour; few European nations are more polite.

2. The Persians are generally of a good stature, well shaped, clean limbed, and of agreeable features, and, in Georgia and the northern provinces, of an admirable complexion; towards the south they are a little upon the olive. However, the great men having had their wives and concubines chiefly from Georgia and Circassia, for a hundred years past, their complexions are very much mended even in the southern provinces. Their eyes and their hair are generally black, and they wear only one lock on the crown of their heads, like other Mahometans, by which they expect Mahomet will lift them up to Paradise.

As to their beards, the Shah and the great officers of state, and soldiery, wear only long whiskers on the upper lip, which, joined to a tuft of hair on the upper part of their cheeks, grow to a very enormous size, insomuch that some of them, it is said, are near half a foot long. Their mollahs and religious people wear their beards long, only clipping them into form, and the common people clip their beards pretty short, but none of the Persians suffer any hair to grow upon their bodies. They wear large turbans on their heads, some white, and others striped with red or other colours, and the great men have flowers of gold and silver woven or marked on the cloth. They have also a scull-cap under their turban, and all together does not weigh less than seven or eight pounds, sometimes a great deal more. Next to their skins they wear a shirt of coloured silk or calico, generally blue, which they seldom or never wash; this shirt has an open bosom, but neither neck nor wristbands, and is made close to the arm; they have also a pair of breeches, or rather drawers, close before, they reach half down their legs; their stockings are made of woollen cloth, but not at all shaped to the leg; over the shirt they wear a waistcoat, and upon these a coat with close sleeves, and buttons and loops before, tied with a sash; this is wide at bottom, and hangs a little below their knees; besides this, they put on another coat frequently, without sleeves, the uppermost coat being the shortest, and in the winter time over all they have another loose coat lined with furs: instead of shoes they have piqued slippers, turned up at the toes, and made of Turkey leather, which are neither tied nor buckled, and when they ride they have boots of yellow leather; their bridle,, saddles and housings are immoderately fine, being almost covered with gold; the housing is so large that it almost hides the hinder part of the horse, and whether on foot or on horseback they wear a broad sword, and a crice or poniard. Their ladies have also a dagger at their sides, especially those of high rank.

3. The garb of the women is not very different from that of the men, except it be that the women neither wear turbans on their heads, nor sashes about their waists, and their coats or vests reach almost down to their heels. If ever they go into the streets, which women of quality seldom do, they have a white veil which covers them from head to foot. The girls wear a stiffened cap upon their heads, turned up like a

hunting-cap, with a heron's feather in it, their hair being made up in tresses, and falling down their backs to a very great length, and the quality have pearls and jewels interwoven and mixed with their hair. The married women comb their hair back, and having bound it about with a broad ribbon, or rich tiara, set with jewels, which looks like a coronet, let the rest of their hair fall gracefully down their shoulders, than which there cannot be a more becoming dress. As for gloves, neither men nor women ever wear them, but their arms and fingers are usually full of rings and bracelets enriched with jewels.

As black hair is the most common, so it is in most esteem, and the thickest and broadest eye-brows are thought the finest; the women, if their eye-brows be not black, will colour them, and commonly paint their faces; they rub their hands and feet with an orange-coloured pomatum. Some will have feathers stand upright in their tiara, and others have a string of pearls or precious stones fastened to it, which hangs down between their eye-brows; they wear also jewels in their ears, and rows of pearls fall down their temples as low as the neck, and in some provinces bordering on India, they have jewels in their nostrils, which to the Europeans do not seem very becoming, for hanging down to the mouth it makes them look as if they had hare-lips, but the ladies of Isfahan never wear these nose-jewels. Their necklaces are either gold or pearl; they fall upon the bosom, and there always hangs a little golden box to them, filled with most reviving perfumes.

As their clothes are of the richest flowered and brocaded silks, it appears that their dress is no inconsiderable article in Persia, where people of mean fortunes endeavour to vie with the quality, and will have fine clothes though they want food. An ordinary turban cannot be purchased under ten pounds, and they frequently give twice as much; and they must have variety of them, lest they should be known by their clothes. Their fashes also are brocaded, and cost from twenty to a hundred crowns, and over this they have frequently another of camel's hair, of which the workmanship is so curious that it seldom costs less. Those who wear fables, which they will not be without if they can purchase them, seldom pay less than a hundred pounds for a close bodied coat; all this, with the rich furniture and equipage they have when they ride out, amounts to a vast sum; and this, as it well may, keeps them exceeding poor. The common mode of living is thus:

4. Early in the morning they usually drink a dish of coffee. About eleven they go to dinner, when they eat melons, sweetmeats, fruit, cheese, curds or milk, but their principal meal is in the evening, when you may depend on a dish of pilo, which is boiled rice well buttered, and seasoned with a fowl, a piece of mutton or kid served up with it: they have an excellent way of boiling their rice all over the East, the water is perfectly dried away, by that time the rice is enough, after which they season it with spices, and mix saffron or turmeric with it, giving it a yellow, or what other colour they think fit; but there is very little variety either in their food or way of dressing it; if they have a large joint, it is baked instead of being roasted, but their usual way is to cut their flesh into little slices, and spitting or skewering them together, roast them over a charcoal fire, and whether they boil or roast, it is always done to rags, or it would be impossible to pull the meat to pieces with their hands, as they do without knives or forks. Pork is never eaten here any more than veal, nor do they eat hares or other animals prohibited to the Jews, beef but seldom; they do not deal much in venison, fish or wild fowl, they dress only plain dishes, being strangers to hashes, ragouts and other compounds, and seldom have any other sauce than a slice of lemon or some pickles. Bread

they have baked in thin cakes the moment they use it, but eat much more rice. They use no beaten pepper, only whole, and not abundance of salt in their seasoning, nor is there any brought to table: meat is never salted before it is dressed. They usually kill their meat and fowls the same day they use them, and set by nothing to be eaten cold.

They sit down cross-legged at their meals, and a cloth is spread upon the carpet. Then one of the persons who has the provision before him, distributes rice and flesh to the company. They use no spoons, except for soup and liquids, but take up their rice by handfuls. They seldom sit above half an hour at table. They wash both before and after their meals, making use of their handkerchiefs instead of a towel. The common people of Ispahan seldom dress their victuals at home, but when they have shut up their shops of an evening, go straight to the cooks, of which there are great numbers in that city, and buy *pilo* for their families. The cooks have kettles or coppers fixed in brick-work in their shops, and stoves, over which they dress most of their meat, making scarce any use of chimnies. It is remarkable of the Persians, that they are so far from shutting their doors at their meals, that they invite every one to eat with them who happens to come to their houses.

5. When a person makes an entertainment, it is usually a supper, notwithstanding which the guests generally come at nine or ten in the morning, and spend the whole time at the place to which they are invited. They discourse, they smoke, eat sweetmeats, and pass away the time with a thousand amusements; sometimes they hear poems repeated in honour of their prince, sometimes the singing women are introduced, who sing, and dance, and play and show antic tricks to divert the company; and if any one of the guests are disposed to withdraw with any of these dancing-girls, they are shewn into a private room, and when they return nobody takes any notice of it. When supper is served up, the son, or some relation of the master of the house, takes the honours of the feast upon him, and helps the guests to their meat.

They generally provide variety of sherbets on these occasions, their usual drink being nothing but fair water, and even this, it seems, they drink with ice; it is the employment therefore of abundance of people about Ispahan, in the winter-season, to heap up vast quantities of ice together, and keep it in repositories under ground all the summer, when they sell it to great advantage. Wine is made in several provinces of Persia; but the Armenians and other Christians drink the greatest share of it. The officers will indeed sometimes indulge themselves in this liquor, and other people drink it as they pretend for their health, but that is not common; much the greatest part of it is either transported to the neighbouring countries, or drank by the Christians who are dispersed through the Persian dominions.

But those who abstain from wine out of conscience, because it is prohibited by law, raise their spirits with opium, bang, poppy-seed, and other intoxicating ingredients. The Persians, like other eastern nations, take pills of opium, which some of them gradually increase to such a dose as would destroy half a dozen Europeans. Within an hour after they have taken the pill it begins to operate, and a thousand pleasant scenes present themselves to their imagination; they laugh and sing, and say abundance of humorous things like men intoxicated with wine; but after the effect of it is gone off, they find their spirits exhausted, and grow pensive and melancholy till they repeat the dose again; and some make it so necessary to them that they cannot live without it. There is also a decoction of the seed of poppies, sold in most cities of Persia, and in these houses you will see people looking and talking as men do when they are drunk: as long as

they keep to the letter of the law, and abstain from wine, it is no matter how much they disorder themselves, they think they shall never be accountable for that.

6. There are no wheel-carriages in this country, but all people travel upon camels, horses, mules or asses. The women, who are to be concealed as much as possible, are put into a square wooden machine, of which they hang one on each side of a camel; they are about three feet deep, and just large enough for one to sit down in, and over head are three or four hoops like those which support the tilt of a waggon, with a cloth thrown over them. Their asses are much larger and nimbler than ours, and will trot ten miles at a pretty good rate, but they are very obstinate, and frequently throw their riders. People usually travel in this country with the caravan, consisting of four or five hundred camels, besides other beasts, and there is no place where they travel with greater security and less expence, there being caravanferais at proper distances, where they have their lodging gratis, and purchase provision at the best hand; and though the roads are frequently steep and mountainous, yet such care is taken in laying bridges and causeways, and to level and enlarge the ways, that a traveller seldom meets with any difficulties but what are easily surmounted.

Here are no general posts, but if any person has letters to send, he dispatches a shatir or footman with them on purpose, who will travel a thousand miles in eighteen or twenty days, and not ask more than twenty pence or two shillings a day for his trouble: they carry with them a bottle of water, and a little bag of provision, which serves them thirty or forty hours: they generally leave the high road, and cross over the country the nearest way. There are a great many families which make this their only employment, and breed their children up to it, obliging them to run from their infancy.

The Shah and all the great men have several of these shatirs or footmen in their retinue, but before a man can be admitted one of the imperial footmen, he must give a very extraordinary proof that he does not want heels or breath; for he must run from the great gate of the palace, called Aly Capi, to a place a league and a half from the city, twelve times in one day, and every time bring an arrow along with him, which is delivered him by those who stand at the end of the race, to shew that he has run the whole course; and this he performs, between sun-rise and sun-set, in thirteen or fourteen hours at most, being no less than a hundred and eight miles. It is always some favourite servant of the Shah's who is admitted to this honour. On the day of trial the elephants and horsemen are drawn up in the royal square, with the music, drums and trumpets sounding, and as if it was a festival. All the great men make presents to the shatir, and several of them ride the course with him to ingratiate themselves with the Shah; and the mob attend him every time he returns with their shouts and acclamations. The chams and viceroys who admit a shatir into their service, make him run the same number of miles, and they are caressed and presented by all their dependents in the same manner the royal shatirs are, though not so largely; for it is a very common thing to see the Shah's shatir presented with above a thousand pounds on such an occasion. This is a very strong mark of the spirit of this nation, and of that disposition they have to display their generosity, sometimes at the expence of justice, but without regard to prudence always.

7. With respect to their artificers, manufacturers and common tradesmen, the regulations that are made in this country are extremely well-contrived, for every company has a head or master, who with a small number of his brethren, form a kind of council, and settle such rules and orders, for the general benefit of such as are engaged in the particular branch of trade he superintends, as to him and them seem requisite. Whoever

intends to set up a trade, goes to the master and registers his name and abode, and no enquiry is made who was his master, or whether he understands the business or not; nor is there any restraint laid upon them that they shall not encroach upon any other profession; for instance, the braziers are at liberty to make silver vessels, as they frequently do, without being in danger of any disturbance from the silversmiths. Neither do they take apprentices for a number of years, but hire their servants, and allow them wages from the first day they entertain them. Every trade almost is bound to work for the Shah whenever he requires it, and those who are not, pay an annual tax to the government for an exemption.

Their armourers make very good broad sword blades, and damask them as well as any European. The barrels of their fire-arms are not amiss, they make them very strong, and as thick at the muzzle as at the breech. Their stocks are but ill contrived, being thin and light at the butt, and not fit for a man's shoulder; and for locks to their guns, or any other locks that have springs, they do not pretend to make them any more than watches or clocks, which they either purchase abroad, or employ European workmen to make for them. Knives, razors, scissars and some other cutlery wares they make very well, and little steel mirrors, which they use instead of looking-glasses; they are almost all convex, and the air is so perfectly dry, that they seldom rust or grow dull. The art of making looking-glasses they do not understand, but have them from Europe. However, they have a manufacture of glass, which serves for windows and bottles. The glass of Shiraz is the best in the country.

As the use of the bow is what the Persians value themselves much upon, there are no where better bows made; the chief materials are wood and horn, with sinews bound about them; they are painted and varnished, and made as fine as possible. The bow-string is of twisted silk, of the bigness of a goose-quill; their quivers of leather, embroidered or worked with silk. This is a trade they are as well versed in as any thing, especially the gold or silver embroidery, either on cloth, silk or leather. They cover their saddles and housings almost with embroidery, and their stitching of the leather is much beyond any thing we do. Their saddles are made after the Morocco model, and the stirrups mighty short; they have a kind of breast-plate to them, and where we use brasses about our furniture, their men of quality have gold. The leather which we call Turkey leather, from its coming to us through that country, is all made in Persia. The shagreen also comes from thence, which is made of the skin of an ass's rump. The tanners dress their coarse skins with lime, and use no bark, but salt and galls instead of it.

The making earthen ware is another manufacture the Persians excel in; it is much beyond the Dutch, and some say almost equal to china ware. The places where it is chiefly made, are, Shiraz, Metfeh, Yefd, and at Kerman: and mending of glass and earthen ware, is a particular trade in Persia; they will drill holes through them, and fasten the pieces together, so that a broken bowl or plate will hold liquids, as well as it did at first. Their gold wire drawers, and thread-twisters are artists also in their way; they will draw a piece weighing a drachm, to the length of three hundred Persian ell. Their lapidaries understand the grinding of soft stones, and cutting them pretty well. Their dying is preferred to any thing of that kind in Europe, which is not ascribed so much to the artist, as to the air, which being dry and clear, gives a liveliness to the colours, and fixes them.

The Persian tailors work very neatly; and as the mens' clothes are made of the richest flowered and brocaded silks, they are fitted exactly to their bodies without the least wrinkle, and their sewing is incomparably beyond that of our workmen, as the  
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fine materials they work on require it should. They work flowers also upon their carpets, cushions and window-curtains, so very nicely, that they look as if they were painted.

With tailors, we must not forget to mention their barbers, who are no less excellent in their way; for they will shave the head almost at half a dozen strokes, and have so light a hand, that you can scarce feel them; they use only cold water, and hold no basin under your chin as with us, but have their water in a cup, about the bigness of a little china dish: after they have shaved a man, they cut the nails of his feet and hands, with a little iron instrument like a bodkin, sharp at the end; then they stretch his arms, rub and chafe his flesh, which is an amusement, that the Europeans as well as the natives are pleased with, in these hot countries. But notwithstanding this, these artists are nothing comparable in their way to those of India, and these again fall as short of the Chinese barbers.

8. We are now to proceed to the more material parts of the Persian commerce, from whence their national riches flow, and by which they draw to themselves the wealth of other countries; for as we before observed, gold and silver are no longer the produce of Persia, but are brought thither in payment for their commodities. Silks are the principal manufactures of the country, such as taffaties, tabbies, satins and silk mixed with cotton or camel and goats-hair, brocades and gold tissue, of the single brocade there a hundred sorts, the double are called *duroy* or two faces, because both sides are equally good; they are the richest that are to be met with any where; and the gold velvet which is wrought in Persia is admirable; all their rich stuffs are very durable; the gold or silver does not wear off or tarnish while the work lasts, but keeps its colour and brightness. The finest looms for these stuffs are at Ispahan, Cashan and Yezd. Those for carpets are chiefly made in the province of Kirman, what are commonly called Turkey carpets are indeed Persian but obtained that name from being brought to us by way of Turkey.

The camel hair stuffs are made in Carmania, it is mighty soft and smooth, and almost as fine as beaver wool, but the stuffs they make with it are not very strong. Camlets and silk, and worsted druggets are made in the same province. Goats-hair stuffs are made in Hyrcania, and near the gulf of Bassora. There is some callico-cloth made in Persia, and they know how to paint and stain it, but it is not comparable to the Indian callicoos. A merchant is a very honourable profession in Persia, and the more so, because there is no such thing as hereditary nobility, which descends from father to son; as to those in great posts, their honour and their profits terminate with the office; and their lives and fortunes are both in perpetual hazards, especially under a weak and cruel Prince. The trader seems more independent than any other subject, and notwithstanding the government be despotic, they are usually encouraged, because they bring in a considerable revenue to the crown; and another thing is, the greatest ministers do not think the business of a merchant beneath them, even the Shah himself, within our remembrance, has had his factors and agents in the neighbouring kingdoms, and exported silks, brocades, carpets, and other rich goods, and his agents at the Mogul's court, and elsewhere, have frequently had the character of ambassadors conferred upon them, when indeed their business was chiefly commerce.

All business of consequence is carried on in Persia by brokers, who are very cunning; after they have agreed and talked over the matter at the sellers-house, they agree about the price upon their fingers, putting their hands under a cloth; the finger's end it seems stand for one, the bent finger for five, and the straight for ten, the hand open for a hundred, and if shut a thousand; and they keep so even a countenance all the while they are transacting the affair, that it is impossible for a stander-by to gather any thing  
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from the circumstances. But notwithstanding the Mahometans are the governing part of the country, they are not the greatest foreign traders. The Armenian Christians, and Banians of India, have much the largest share.

The Mahometan Persians trade from one province of their own country to another, and to India pretty much, but the Armenians manage the whole European trade; one reason whereof is, that the Mahometans do not care to go into Christian countries, because they cannot there observe the customs their religion prescribes, for their law it seems forbid them to eat flesh killed or dressed by a man of a different religion, or drink out of the same cup with him, and even prohibits the touching of persons in some circumstances, whom they look upon to be polluted. Another thing, which is a disadvantage to their trade is, that the taking up money at interest is unlawful though they are at liberty to make what advantage they can in buying and selling. It appears from hence, that from the very nature of their religion, all Mahometan powers stand excluded from commerce, and this is the true secret of the declension of their governments; for as trade produces shipping, as shipping in process of time begets naval power, and as it is a maxim, justified by experience, as well as founded in reason, that naval power will in the end get the better of all other power; it follows that the Mahometans wanting this, can only prey upon each other by land, from whence revolutions in power, but no accession of power can ever arise. Whereas if Christians should turn their arms upon the Mahometans, so as to make conquests, and come into possession of their countries, the case would be altered, their commerce would follow them, and the new erected principalities would in a short space of time acquire a naval power, and so be in a condition to extend their conquests at the expence of their Mahometan neighbours.

9. We are indebted to Mr. Lockyer for the best, indeed for the only tolerable account we have of the method trade is carried on in Persia, and therefore from him we must borrow what is necessary for the reader's information upon that subject. Their great weights are maunds only, and these differ according to the nature of the commodities to be delivered by them. Sugar, copper, tutanag, all sorts of drugs, &c. are sold by the maund fabrees; which in the factory and the custom-house is nearest six pounds and three quarters, avoirdupois; but in the bazar it is not above six pounds and a quarter, which one ought to have regard to in buying out of the shops.

Eatables and all sorts of fruit, as rice, raisins, prunels, almonds, onions, &c. are sold by the maund copara of seven pounds and three quarters in the factory, and from seven pounds and a quarter to seven pounds and a half in the bazar. Fine goods, as, gold, silver, musk, acheon, camphire, bezoar, coral, amber, cloves and cinnamon, oils, dried china, silk, &c. are sold by the miscal, six of which are commonly counted an avoirdupois ounce; its just weight is 2 dw. 23 gr. 24d. ps. troy. The maund shaw is two maund tabrees, used at Ispahan. All bargains in Gambron are made for shahees, and the company keep their accounts in them, reckoning them worth four pence each, though that coin is rarely met with, but in its stead coz and mamoodas are current every where. Horses, camels, houses, &c. are generally sold by the toman, which is two hundred shahees, or fifty abaffes, and they usually reckon their estates that way; such a one, they say, is worth so many tomans, as we say, pounds in England. The hree is used about Ispahan, nor are abaffes to be got without allowing seven or eight per cent. for the difference in exchange, yet returns to Fort St. George, and other parts of India, are commonly made with them. Next to these, zechins are the most profitable; there are several sorts of them, but the Venetian is better than the rest by one and a half or two per cent. at Surat, and several other ports on the Malabar coasts, whither

whither vast quantities are sent every year. When a parcel of Venetian ducats are mixed with others, the whole goes by the name of zechins of Surat; but when they are separated, one sort is called Venetians, and all the others gubbers indifferently.

The English East India Company, as has been observed, do not only receive the sum of three thousand three hundred and thirty-three pounds six shillings and eight-pence of the government of Persia, in lieu of the service the Company did them in taking the island of Ormus from the Portuguese, but they have an exemption also from customs, and whatever ships trade under their protection have the like exemption, only paying the following port charges, viz. two per cent. on the sale of goods to the Company, one per cent. consulage to the agent, one per cent. to the broker. Boat or franky hire for landing goods is thirty mamoodas per 2000 maund tabrees. Hamaigae, or cooly hire at weighing, one coz of every twenty maund tabrees. The Company do not meddle at all with the trade between Persia and India; this they leave altogether to their factors and servants, and to such country ships and private traders as put themselves under their protection, and are content to pay the port duties above-mentioned.

It is to be observed, that the Turkey company having always had an opportunity of sending great quantities into Persia from Aleppo, abated much of the commerce which the agents of the East-India company would otherwise have carried on in that empire. Of late the Russia company have also interfered in this trade, by transporting great quantities of English goods by the Caspian Sea; and it is generally believed, that so long as we maintain an amicable correspondence with the court of Petersburg, this trade will not only go on, but increase, which must be attended with great advantages to the nation. As this appears to be a matter of far greater consequence to us than any thing that has occurred in this section, it is but reasonable that the point should be fully explained, as well for the advantage of the present age, as for the benefit of posterity.

10. In order to set this affair in as clear a light as it is possible, we shall observe, that all foreign commodities are brought into Persia by four great routes; and that by each of these, more or less of British commodities have been, or may be introduced into this country, where there always has been, and, if we are true to our interest, there always must be, a very high demand for them. Of these routes the first is that of Balfora, or Bassora, a great city at the bottom of the Persian Gulf, subject to its own Prince, and a kind of emporium or magazine of Turkish, Persian, and Indian commodities. The goods that are brought hither for the Persian market, come by land by the caravan from Aleppo, in about thirty days, and are transported from thence either to Bandar Abassi, or Ispahan. It is by this caravan that the Turkey company transport English cloths into Persia in exchange for silk, which they purchase at Aleppo, and consequently this trade is either greater or less, according to the good correspondence between the two empires of Turkey and Persia. By this means also we were led into errors about carpets, leather, and other commodities which pass for Turkish, because imported by the Turkey company from Turkey, though really of Persian growth and manufacture.

The next great route is that of Gamberon, or Bandar Abassi, with respect to which we have already given a large account from Mr. Lockyer. Goods are brought hither by sea, but not directly, as many apprehend, from England; on the contrary, they come from some Indian port, and consequently are charged with a very high freight, and with other incident charges, which render them very dear; notwithstanding which, in times of peace, and when things are well settled in Persia, the Shah keeping his court at Ispahan, there was large vent for them, and our agent there lived with all the pomp  
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and splendour of a prince. The reader will easily discern from hence, how great a change must have been wrought in the traffic carried on by this canal, by the disturbances which lasted so many years in Persia, and by the change of the capital of that empire, which is now removed to a prodigious distance from Bandar Abassi; and if he desires any proof of this fact, their calling the English agents from Ispahan and Bandar Abassi may pass for incontestible evidence.

The third route is that through India to Bost, which, as we have shewn in the description of the Persian empire, is the eastern magazine, as Bandar Abassi is the southern, and Bassara is the western for all that enter into Persia. By this means it is very far from being impossible that the East India Company should introduce English goods into this empire; but whether they are actually carried thither by this road, is more than I am able to say; and if they are, I presume it is done by Indian, Armenian, or Jewish merchants.

The fourth or last route is by the Caspian Sea, and the English commodities that are sent this way, must of necessity pass through Russia. For the carrying on this trade, magazines must be erected at Astracan, and from thence the goods are transported into the provinces of Gilan or Astrabat; from which last province the caravans go in a week to Meshed, which is the present capital of Persia.

It may be said that this is going a great way about, and taking a vast compass before our goods arrive at market. To this there are two answers; the first is, that let the inconveniencies that attend this commerce be what they will, they must be borne, for we have before shewn that little or nothing can now be expected from transporting of goods to Bandar Abassi, much less from Aleppo, which lies still at a much greater distance from Meshed; so that we are under the necessity of taking this compass, if we will not entirely lose the Persian commerce, and therefore it is to no purpose to complain, even supposing the objection were well grounded. The second is, that there is not either truth or force in the objection; for goods may be transported from Petersburg from thence, through Russia to Astracan, cross the Caspian to Gilan, and so to Meshed, and the returns made the same way in half the time that they could be made by the way of Gambron.

We may add to this, that we now go to the market and sell our goods, or rather barter them, for Persian silk upon the spot, whereas formerly we went a great way about; and notwithstanding this, the Persian factors went also a great way to get at us, since before we could ship the Persian silk, it must either be carried by land to Aleppo, which was three months' journey, or to Bandar Abassi, which was above two. Besides, it is highly probable, that when our commerce at Meshed is as well fixed as it was at Ispahan, we shall be able to transport English cloths into the remotest parts of Tartary, and thereby reap most of those advantages that were heretofore wished for and expected from the discovery of a north-west passage. It was by this very canal, and in spite of all the inconveniencies with which it has been supposed to be attended, that the Dutch disposed of prodigious quantities of their cloths in Persia, which for that purpose were bought up by the Armenian merchants; and it was by this way also that the French were in hopes of establishing a trade to Persia, as appears by a very curious memoir presented to the French ministry upon that head, the subject of which is inserted in the Dictionary of Commerce, one of the best and most useful works that was ever published: but there is still somewhat behind with which the reader ought to be acquainted, in order to frame a true notion of the value and importance of this trade, about which so many disputes have been of late years raised in this kingdom.

11. We have already enumerated the commodities of Persia, and shall not therefore pretend to meddle with them again; for, in order to give the reader a view of the trade of this empire, it will be sufficient for our present purpose to insist barely upon the silk, of which there are four sorts; the first is, that which in Persia they call shirvan, but which we in Europe call hardafs; the second, is what they call karvary, but we usually style it legee or rather legy, from the little town of Legiam in Gilan, from whence the greatest part of it is brought; the third is in their language called ked-coda-pensend, which is as much as to say, tradesmen's silk; the last is what they and we call sherbaffle, or, as the common people style it, Turkey silk, from the mistake which has been so often mentioned.

Of all these kind of silks, the provinces of Georgia, Gilan, Mezanderan, Shirwan, Chorafan and Kirman, produce annually, about twenty-two thousand bales, each of about two hundred and fourscore pounds weight. Of these it is computed, that not above two thousand bales are wrought up in all the manufactures of Persia, from the coarsest carpets, to the richest brocades. At this rate, there are between five and six millions of pounds of silk yearly carried out of Persia, and as it is worth about ten shillings a pound on the spot, the reader will easily apprehend, that raw silk is a kind of gold mine to the Persians, since it furnishes them with between two and three millions annually, above one-half of which is received in ready money.

In the next place it is to be shewn, how the bringing in vast quantities of silk turns to the advantage of this nation. In respect to our silk manufactures, what we bring of this sort serves only for the shoote, for the warp of all our raw silks is, as we have elsewhere told the reader, organzine or Italian silk, which is prodigiously dear. If therefore we can abate the price of this, we may the better afford to pay for that; or if we can obtain the quantities we want, in exchange for our manufactures, this will prove a very great saving; and whatever can be saved in this way, will enable us to work so much the cheaper.

It has been suggested, that it might be attended with inconveniencies for our Turkey and Russia Companies to interfere with each other in this trade, which I confess, surpasses my comprehension; and I am so far from believing that any bad consequences will result from thence, that I think it may be demonstrated, this is the only, or at least the most practicable and best, method of making companies useful, by engaging them to vie with each other in exporting British commodities and manufactures, and provided this can be done, it is of no real consequence to the nation who does it. But there is another thing that, joined to this, would be of still greater consequence, and that is, the East-India Companies, exerting themselves in procuring of silk from China, which would supply the place of the Piedmontese or organzine silk; and thus by the united efforts of these three companies, it is very possible that twenty or thirty per cent. might be saved in the prime cost of silk to this nation; and of what prodigious benefit such a saving would prove in our manufactures, and how much it would contribute to enable us to work cheaper than our neighbours, I leave every sensible and studious reader to judge.

I know very well, that in order to bring such a project as this to bear, there must be some application made to parliament for an alteration in the duties; and I am persuaded that no great difficulty would be found in obtaining this, if the reasonableness of the thing was fairly shewn, and as it might be, fully made out. Our great misfortune is, that commerce is not sufficiently explained or understood, the reason of which I take to be, that none concern themselves about the theory, but those who are engaged

in the practice; and as these must be always interested, it will very rarely happen that they can be impartial judges. It is from this motive that I have so often turned my pen to this subject, with a view, if possible, to excite a more general attention to what is certainly in itself the most considerable and important object of all political considerations.

AN ACCOUNT  
OF THE  
GOVERNMENT AND CONSTITUTION OF PERSIA,

THE NATURE OF THE SHAH'S POWER, THE DISTRIBUTION OF CIVIL, ECCLESIASTICAL AND MILITARY OFFICES, THE INTERIOR POLICY OF THE EMPIRE, THE REGULAR FORCES KEPT UP THERE, BOTH HORSE AND FOOT, AND THE NATURE AND AMOUNT OF THE PUBLIC REVENUES.

THE WHOLE DIGESTED INTO ORDER FROM THE BEST AUTHORITIES.

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1. *An Introductory Account of the Reason and Subject of this Section, in which the Constitution of arbitrary Monarchies is explained, and applied to the present Purpose. — 2. Of the Power of the Persian Monarch, how far absolute and terrible; and how, notwithstanding, mild and equal enough, with respect to the Bulk of the People. — 3. Of the Constitution of the Persian Court, the principal Officers therein, their Ranks and Subordination, and the Duties of their respective Offices. — 4. Of the Ecclesiastical Constitution in Persia, and the Difference between the Head of the Mahometan Church there, and in Turkey. — 5. Of the Government of the Provinces, the several Checks contrived for the Safety of the Prince, and the Preservation of his Subjects. — 6. Of the Regular Troops or old Standing Army of the Persian Empire, how composed, under what Discipline, and the Methods by which it was subsisted. — 7. Of the new Standing Army introduced by the Shabs, intirely dependent upon them, how modeled and provided for, and corrupted and rendered usefess. — 8. Of the Art Military among the Persians, their Manner of making War, acting offensively, defensively, and particularly their Method for securing themselves against Invasions. — 9. Some further Observations on the military Affairs of this Empire, on the Advantages enjoyed by, and the Disadvantages under which the Persians labour, from the Regulations established amongst them in this respect. — 10. Of the State of Property in this Empire, whence the Imperial Revenues arise, how levied, and their Amount. — 11. Observations and Remarks on several Particulars delivered in the Course of this Section.*

1. **A**S at this juncture the Persian empire, by the murder of the Shah Nadir, is in such confusion, that it may be in some measure considered as dissolved and no longer a government at all; so it might seem excusable, if we had passed by this section altogether; yet considering that even in absolute monarchies, revolutions are but convulsive motions, and that as soon as they cease the body politic recovers its natural constitution, we could not but think it very requisite, for the reader's information, that a view should be given of the form of the Persian government, and this for three reasons: first, because we are very apt to confound all absolute monarchies one with another, and to suppose that there neither is, nor well can be, any difference between them; whereas, in truth, the form of such governments may, and actually do vary, as much as any other of the milder forms, as the reader will see by this instance. Secondly, of all the absolute monarchies in the east, the constitution of the Persians

was very justly held to be the best; and therefore it deserves, of all others, to be represented to the view of the reader, who from hence will learn by what modification the arbitrary power of a sovereign may be rendered in some measure beneficial to his subjects. Thirdly, because, in all human probability, the British nation may hereafter have a closer communication with and enter into a more extended trade amongst the inhabitants of Persia than in times past; so that it is highly requisite we should enter, at least, briefly, into a subject that may to us or our posterity become of extraordinary importance.

It is by no means fit that so large and so regular a collection as this should be governed by temporary views, or that we should take the liberty, because this country is at present unsettled, to slip over its government, which we have a moral certainty will be re-established, perhaps before this very collection is completed. Besides all this, there are a great variety of articles which naturally fall within the compass of this section, that tend to give us a fuller and more perfect notion of the state of this empire and its inhabitants, than can be obtained by the perusal of any single book of travels, in which the state of the country is represented, as it stood at the time the author visited it: but notwithstanding that, the force of these considerations have determined us to insert this section; we shall not forget the obligation we are under to keep things within their due bounds, and shall therefore labour to deliver, as succinctly as it is possible, without prejudice to their perspicuity, the several articles that we think ourselves obliged to handle for the reader's instruction and entertainment, and in order to render our account of Persia consistent with the general plan of this work.

2. The Shah of Persia is an absolute monarch, and has the lives and estates of his subjects entirely at his disposal. There is no prince in the world more implicitly obeyed; let his orders be ever so unjust, or given at a time when he is so little master of his reason that he knows not what he says or does, nothing can save the greatest subject if he determines to deprive him of his life or his estate; neither zeal for his person, merit, or past services, will avail in the least. If he be in a humour to ruin them, it is done by a word of his mouth, or by a sign, and executed in an instant, without any form of law or evidence of facts. The common people, who are at a distance from the court, have much the better of the quality in this respect; there are very seldom instances of any oppression or severe judgments executed upon these, but they seem to enjoy as much security as in any country in the world; and perhaps the magistrates are the more inclined to govern equitably, in regard they know nothing can screen them from the resentment of their Sovereign, if they are guilty of any sinister practices. The Persians, out of conscience, it is said, obey all the commands of their Prince without reserve, and believe that his orders ought to be obeyed against the very laws of nature, insomuch, that if the son be commanded to be his father's executioner, or the father the son's, it must be complied with: but if he command any thing in prejudice of their religion, they are not obliged to him, but ought to suffer any thing rather than violate the law of God.

Yet nothing makes the Persian government appear so tyrannical, as the custom of executing the governors of provinces, and great officers of state, without giving them an opportunity of making their defence, or being informed of the crime they are charged with. It is usual for the Shah two or three times in a year to send every governor the calaat, or royal vest, and these are sent by such persons as the court intends a favour to; for the cham or governor to whom they are sent, always makes a considerable present to the messenger.

When he comes within two or three miles of the place where the governor resides, the messenger sends him word to come and receive the calaat, but instead of a fine coat,

the governor is sometimes presented with a halter, and is dispatched without any farther ceremony.

This makes the governors very circumspect in their conduct, and they are always under dismal apprehensions when they hear the calaat is arrived, knowing how common it is to have their best actions misrepresented to their Prince. The Persians say in defence of this practice, that the court seldom proceeds with that severity but in extraordinary cases, where the fact is notorious, and there is danger of rebellion, if they should cite the person accused to answer; that if it be otherwise, they always give him an opportunity of answering his charge.

As for those about the court, whom the Shah looks upon as slaves he has purchased, he does not think himself obliged to observe these formalities, but dooms them to be punished, or put to death, as he sees fit. The Shah of Persia has no council of state, as in the European governments, but he acts as he is advised by his prime minister and great officers; that which most perplexes the ministry, is the cabals that are carried on by the women in the haram; the resolutions that are taken here frequently thwart their best laid schemes, and the ministers do not only run the risk of having their counsels rejected, but they very often turn to their own destruction, if they are not suitable to the inclinations of the ladies most in favour. This is not an evil peculiar to Persia, but a kind of curse, throughout all eastern courts; and perhaps some in the west are not altogether free from it.

3. The royal family of Persia are, generally speaking, more unhappy than the Princes of the Ottoman blood, for though they are not put to death so frequently as the former, yet they usually have their eyes put out, and live in that miserable condition many years. They have the Tartar title of Mirza added to their names, which is equivalent to our title of Highness, and is never given but to those of the imperial line. The first minister in the empire is the atamadoulet, a word which signifies the support of the empire. In petitions, or when they speak to him, they style him the Grand Vizier, or Vizier Azem. No business of consequence is transacted in the state but by the direction of this minister, nor any grant or act of state of the Shah's held to be valid, till countersealed by him.

The reason whereof is said to be, that their Shahs being bred up in the women's apartment, and perfectly ignorant in affairs of state, it is necessary, for the safety of the people, and the preservation of the government, that their orders should be considered by some wise minister before they are put in execution. The grand viziers in Turkey, it is observed, seldom die a natural death; on the other hand, the prime minister of Persia, if it be thought fit to discharge him, is usually permitted to retire, and end his days in peace with his family. The second post in the government is that of the divan beghis or bey. This great magistrate is the last resort in all causes, civil and criminal, unless where the Shah in person sits in judgment. The divan bey can command any cause to be removed to his tribunal, from any court in the kingdom; and during the late reigns it has not been known that their Shahs have ever sat in a court of justice, or concerned themselves in examining the decrees of the divan beghi.

In the third rank come the generals, and first the generalissimo, when there is one. The next place is the general of the courtchis, which are a body of thirty thousand horse, of Turk or Tartar original. The third is the general of musketeers, a body which serve on horseback, but fight on foot like our dragoons. The fourth is the general of the coulars, or royal slaves, as they are called; and the last the master of the ordnance. After the generals, the vacanavish, or secretary of state, possesses the next post. This officer registers the public acts, and has the care of the records; he also appoints a deputy

deputy in every province of the empire, who transmits all affairs of consequence to him to be laid before the ministry. The last great officer is the mirab, or lord of the water. Every province has its particular mirab, who takes care to distribute the waters of the rivers and aqueducts in such proportion, that every part of the country may have an equal share.

These are all the principal officers of state. Those of the household are first the nazir, who is both lord treasurer and steward, and it is with this gentleman that all ambassadors and foreigners transact their affairs, but there is a comptroller, and several other officers, which are a check upon him, as he is on the prime minister, and those two have a very great influence in the court of Persia. But to prevent the Shah's treasury being misapplied, no sums are paid out of the treasury, but the order passes under the seals of the prime minister, the nazir, the divan bey, and two other officers of the revenue. The next is the ichicagasi bassa, who commands all that attend in the outward palace, and the guards.

When the Shah goes out, this lord marches before him with a great staff, covered with gold and precious stones; he does not sit, as several officers do of inferior quality, but stands always ready to obey His Imperial Majesty's orders, and see them executed. And after him is the great huntsman, who has not less than a thousand huntsmen and falconers under him. After this officer the principal physician and principal astrologer take place, which are posts of great honour and profit.

4. As to ecclesiastical officers in this empire, the grand pontiff is usually styled the fedre in Persia; they also give him the titles of prince, head of the true church, substitute of Mahomet, and lieutenant of the twelve imans, or caliphs, who succeeded their patriarch Haly. The churchmen and bigotted part of the Persians hold, that the dominion of the laity is in usurpation, and that the government belongs of right to the high priest; but that of the majority is, that the regal power exercised by their Princes is derived from God, and that the high priest and his brethren ought not to meddle with politics, yet the fedre and his substitutes are the ordinary judges in all civil as well as ecclesiastical causes; lawyer and divine are terms of the same signification in Persia, their ecclesiastical and civil laws being indeed the same. The temporal judges have no written laws to go by, but their decrees are founded upon ancient custom, or the equity of the case, and the judges in their temporal courts are usually men of the sword. The fedre is the supreme judge in the ecclesiastical courts, and takes place in all public assemblies next to the atamadoulet, or prime minister.

The second ecclesiastical judge is the ancient of the law, whom the Persians style cheik islam; his jurisdiction is little inferior to the fedre's, and the people seldom appeal from one of these courts to the other, but to the divan beghi, who is the supreme judge in all causes, ecclesiastical as well as temporal. The cadî is the third ecclesiastical judge in Persia; he takes cognizance of the same causes with the two former, but his authority is confined to some particular town or district. The mufti is the fourth, who has not that authority here as in Turkey, for he cannot controul or reverse the proceedings of inferior courts, but is revered, however, as a person well skilled in the ecclesiastical laws, and his opinion frequently demanded by the other judicatures, who, notwithstanding, act as they think fit. These judges do not sit all in one court, but have each their respective tribunal, and the people apply indifferently to the one or other, as they are inclined.

5. There is in every province of this empire a chan and a vizier; the vizier has the government of all those towns and villages which are the King's demesne lands, or which belong to the crown in propriety, and the chan of the province in general. This word

chan, or caun, as we pronounce it, and cham, signify the same thing, namely, a puissant or mighty prince; and this is the title of all the Tartar Princes in Asia; and the Persian provinces being of the extent of kingdoms, and formerly distinct sovereignties, the Persian court have thought fit to give their governors the titles of Sovereign Princes; and the Shah of Persia is frequently styled now, as his predecessors of old, King of Kings. Indeed the chans, in their respective provinces, live almost in as much state as their sovereigns, having exactly the same kind of officers as are in the Shah's court, with the same titles, there being scarce any difference but in numbers and pensions. The chan commands the militia of the province, and assigns lands for their maintenance; he reviews them at certain times, and sees that they are fit for service, their arms and horses in good order, and that they all perform their exercises well; but every soldier is permitted to live in his own house in time of peace.

The chans, or governors of provinces, have their posts for life, and if they behave well, their children after them. There are two degrees of these chans, the greatest is called beglerbeg, or lord of lords; the other is styled coulembeg, or lord of slaves. The governors of the frontier provinces are for the most part beglerbeks, as the chan of Armenia, from whom the chans of Churs, Marega, and other districts, in time of war, receive their orders, and are obliged to march under his standard. Sometimes these inferior governments are made independent of the chan of the province. In every province there are three officers put in by the government, who are independent of the chan, namely, the Janitelim, his lieutenant, the vizier, or receiver-general of the Shah's revenues, who hath also the management of the lands belonging to the crown, and the government of all places where the crown lands lie; and the vacanavish, or secretary, whose business is to take an account of all transactions of moment in the province, and transmit them to court.

One principal design of placing these officers about the chan, is to observe his conduct, and oppose him if he should undertake any thing against the state. Besides these, the governors of cities and castles, who are called darogas, are put in directly by the Shah, and have their lieutenants and vacanavish also independent of them; and the same person who is governor of the city is never made governor of the fortress which belongs to it. The ministers of state, and generals of armies, have also their lieutenants and comptrollers to superintend their conduct, with secret orders how to act on certain emergencies; but it is observed, that unless in matters where the safety of the state is concerned, those officers have a very good understanding, and agree so well together, that the Shah is no less cheated and deceived than if the management was in one hand. Besides, the daroga or governor, the vizier, and vacanavish, there are also in every town the *cadi*, or civil judge, before whom all ordinary causes are heard; the head officer among the trading people, the provost or sheriff; and every particular trade has a warden or master. There is an officer also who has a watch, and is principally concerned in keeping the peace in every great town in the night time.

The governor of every town is the judge in the last resort in criminal and civil cases too, if he pleases to interpose, and may inflict any pains on offenders short of death. Capital punishments are very rare in Persia, and the sentence is, in most cases, passed by the Shah himself. The usual punishment is a fine, which always goes to the Shah, or rather to the governor of the province, who generally brings the crown indebted to him in his accounts. When a governor or vizier is sent into any province, he has his instructions in writing; wherein are contained the extent of his government, of the revenues, and the manner in which he is to treat the people; and instructions, in like manner, are given to every officer of state when he enters on his post. On the other hand,

hand, when a governor or other officer returns from his command, which he never does but by express order of the court, he waits without at the gate of the palace, and gives notice by some of his friends of his arrival, and that he begs to throw himself at His Imperial Majesty's feet; whereupon orders are usually given for his admittance; but sometimes, if the person has misbehaved in his post, instead of an answer in the ordinary style, orders are issued to take off his head.

6. The Persians are naturally a brave people, but the sloth and inactivity of their Princes had of late rendered them not so formidable as they used to be. In the last century, under Abbas the Great, they made considerable conquests on the side of Turkey, as well as India, though their troops were always much inferior in number to the armies either of the Grand Signior or Great Mogul; but they sunk in our time so much below what they were in that reign, that every little Tartar and Arabian Prince insulted their frontiers, and robbed them of some part of their territories, before the late Shah Nadir assumed the government.

The forces of Persia are divided into the troops of the state and the Shah's. The troops of the state are entertained by the governors of the respective provinces, and paid out of certain lands appropriated for that purpose, and are divided into militia and regular troops. The regular troops are called courtchis; they were originally of Tartary, a stout hardy race of people who lived in tents. These are the soldiers which are properly called Cooselbashes, or Red-heads, so styled when they came to the assistance of Cheic Sefi, the founder of the late Imperial family; for which service he allowed them the honour of wearing red caps or turbans, of a particular form, like that he wore himself. These cooselbashes remained in their tents, as well in time of peace as war; and employed themselves in feeding, buying and selling of cattle, from whence they were called courtchis, or shepherds.

The service they did to Cheic Sefi, and their zeal for the religion of the Imans, procured them great respect, and they possessed the chief posts both in the court and army; and from these the Persian soldiery, and afterwards all the Persians in general, obtained the appellation of cooselbashes, a name formidable to the Indians, Turks, and Tartars in the last age; and it was by this generation that the Turkish language was introduced into the court of Persia, and the northern parts of that kingdom, where they speak it much more than the Persian. The cooselbashes held the first rank in the kingdom till the reign of Abbas the Great, who endeavoured to suppress them upon account of the unreasonable influence he observed they had in all affairs of state, deposing and setting up what princes they thought fit, like the Turkish janizaries. He was so jealous of his own son, on account of the respect he had observed they paid him, that he caused him to be put to death, and dispersed the cooselbashes in small detachments through all the provinces of the empire. These troops serve on horseback, carrying a bow and arrows, a sword, poniard, and lance, with a hatchet at the saddle-skirts; and for defensive arms have a shield and helmet; they are commanded always by their own officers, and their general is called Coughibathi, or commander of the courtchis.

Both the courtchis and militia have their pay out of the lands of the state of the respective provinces, and enjoy it as their inheritance, from father to son, if they do not refuse to bear arms: they are obliged to march to the place of rendezvous on twelve hours' notice, and every year pass in review before a commissary sent from court, or before the governor of the province.

7. The troops of the Shah are two bodies, which Abbas the Great instituted. One consists of twelve thousand men, and are called the musketeers, because instead of bows and arrows they carry muskets, and though they march on horseback, yet like our dragoons

dragoons they fight on foot. Shah Abbas used to oppose them to the Turkish janizaries, of whom he had observed the enemy made great advantage in their engagements with him. Before this time neither foot-soldier or fire-arms were ever heard of in Persia, and their neighbours the Tartars have no foot among them to this day. The other body consisted of ten thousand horse; these were called coulars, and carried fire-arms also instead of bows. They were called coulars or slaves, to signify their devotion to their sovereign; or as some say, because they come from those countries from whence the Persians had their slaves, as Georgia, Circassia, &c. Part of them are sent as presents to the Shah when they are young; and the rest are descended from the people of those countries, who are settled in Persia. They almost all profess the Mahometan religion, though descended from Christian parents. Abbas the Great had a particular affection for this body, and used to call them his horse janizaries. They are tall and well-made fellows, in whose courage and fidelity the Shah has a particular confidence; for as they scarce know the country or relations from whence they sprang, and can have no other views, than to recommend themselves to their master by their services, they are entirely devoted to the Crown, and obey every order without hesitation; and from among these, the court usually prefers men to the highest posts; so that considering the number of Georgian women which are married into Persia, and the posts the men who derive themselves from thence possess, the Persian court may, one half of them, probably be of Georgian extraction.

It is observed, that in Persia, as well as India, the word slave is an honourable title, and preferable to that of subject: nay, a certain French author tells us, that the word Koulam Shah, or King's slave, is equal to that of Marquis in France; because all that have that denomination are sure to be preferred to some post if they behave well. Besides these there are two other small bodies, the one called Sophis or Sephis, instituted for a guard to the King's person by Cheik Sefi; these are not above two hundred men, and wear the Sophi's cap on their heads, and for their arms have a sabre, a poniard, and an axe, which they carry on their shoulders. The second, called the Ziezari, or the six hundred, who are all of the size of grenadiers, stout young fellows, instituted by Abbas the Second for a guard to his person, anno 1654. The monarchs of Persia before that time had no guards in the palace, or when they went abroad, for the sephis only served to make a show at festivals and on public occasions; they wear long red caps of the form of a sugar-loaf, and their arms are a musket, sabre, and poniard, which are adorned with silver, and exceeding fine; they are under the command of the general of the musketeers, and a small party of them do duty at the palace gates.

All the the troops of Persia are comprehended under these two names of courtchis and coulars, that is, shepherds or slaves, by which they understand the soldiers of the old or new establishment. The Shah finds all the troops with horses, arms, and accoutrements; but every man provides himself with clothes according to his fancy, the soldiers having no particular livery, any more than the servants of the King's household, or of any great man. There was in the reign of Abbas the Great a body of twelve thousand men, that belonged to the artillery, but they were discharged in the reign of Abbas the Second, and the Persians had no artillery, unless some useless guns in the front of the palace at Ispahan, and in some other great towns, which are more for show than service, till they were new disciplined of late years by Shah Nadir.

8. Their armies were never large, considering the extent of the empire: Abbas the Great, who made such considerable conquests, had never more than a hundred and twenty thousand men in his service in all the provinces; and the soldiers have been so

ill paid in the late reigns, that they have deserted, and gone into foreign service, or applied themselves to other employments, which the courtiers winked at, putting their pay in their pockets, and never filling up their places. The Persian troops not being troubled with artillery or baggage, make prodigious swift marches, and fall upon an enemy frequently in his camp or quarters, with incredible fury, when he least suspects such a visit. At other times they cut off his provisions, and turn the waters from their usual course; and having sufficiently harassed him in a long march through a desert country, when he is fatigued and dispirited, fall upon him. When an enemy makes head against them they will fly till they have drawn him into some disadvantageous ground, and then return to the charge again.

In their retreat, as has been observed, they shoot more arrows than when they advance; as history acquaints us was the practice of the ancient Parthians. The Persians never throw up any intrenchments about their camps, their fortification is some mountain or difficult pass; but in sieges they intrench, and usually take a place by undermining it; and, it is thought, that no people understand mining and subterraneous works better than the Persians. It was thus they took Erivan, the capital of Armenia, from the Turks the last time. This city, in a very short space, found almost every part of it undermined; but as the Persians do not trouble themselves with artillery, so neither have they any bread-waggons or sutlers amongst them, and yet their camp is generally as well supplied as a camp need to be, the country people continually following them with provisions. Indeed, as rice and fruit is almost all they want, it can be no difficult matter to supply such small bodies as take the field in Persia, especially as they are perpetually in motion, and seldom stay long in a camp.

When they are apprehensive of an invasion, their constant method is to withdraw all the people on the frontiers, and destroy the country in such a manner as the enemy may find nothing to subsist on, not leaving so much as a spire of grass, or a tree upon the ground; but they give the husbandmen time to secure their grain, fruits, and forage, by burying them, with most part of their utensils, in deep pits, which they will do in such a manner that it is almost impossible to discover them; and as the earth is very dry, they receive no manner of damage. The army having thus destroyed the country for eight days' journey together, they encamp near it in separate bodies, and as they see occasion, fall upon the enemy and distress him in his march; sometimes they fall upon one quarter of his camp and sometimes on another, in the night-time; and if they cannot by this means put a stop to his march, they retire farther into the country, driving the people still before them, and destroying every thing as before; and by these means they have defeated the greatest Turkish armies.

When the enemy are retired every man returns to his lands again. As for the houses, those of the common people are no great loss, they are soon run up with clay or such materials as they find upon the place. The Persians are said to found their conduct upon this dilemma; either the enemy will invade us with great numbers, or but few; if he brings great numbers, considering the extent of desert ground he must march over, it is impossible he should subsist; if their numbers are but small, we shall harass them in their march till they come to nothing, without running the hazard of a battle.

9. The Persians are excellent marksmen, as well with their fire-arms, as their bows and arrows. Their colours are made of rich silks, in much the same manner as our horse standards; for a device they write some passage of the Alcoran, or part of their confession of faith, and sometimes have a lion, with the sun rising over his back, wrought in them. The great standard-bearer, whom they call *Alemdar Bassa*, is one of their

principal military officers. The management of the soldiers' pay is much commended, because they do not suffer it to pass through their officers' hands, but every man receives it of the farmers of such lands as are appropriated for that purpose; the officer's pay is very good; the general of the musketeers, and the general of the coulars, have each of them above three thousand pounds a year; and as the lands assigned for the payment of it are valued mighty low, it is thought to amount to four times as much.

In time of peace they usually keep a body of six or seven thousand men in Chaldea towards Babylon, to prevent the incursions of the roving Arabs. The governor of Armenia has about five thousand men under his command, and the governor of Georgia a like number. In Chorasan they have usually eight thousand men to bridle the Usbeck Tartars, and such another body in the province of Candahar, towards India, and these troops being the out-guards of the empire, and almost in constant action, were esteemed pretty good; but as for the rest, who are cantoned in the inland country, they enjoyed so long a peace, that even travellers observe, they had not the air of soldiers.

In those parts of the country where they have sea for a boundary, they keep scarce any troops, inasmuch, that in Gilan and Mazanderan, which lie on the Caspian Sea, the Cossacs have landed small parties, and plundered the country for several days together; and here the Muscovites very lately fixed themselves with very little opposition, though it be one of the richest and most fertile countries in the empire. The Persian generals are perplexed with nothing so much as the stupid conduct of the court, in attending to the predictions of their astrologers. These men are ever averse to war, because they are obliged to take the field with the Prince, and therefore seldom fail to pronounce it unlucky to enter into one on any consideration whatever; and if ever they are brought to approve of a war, they must prognosticate the lucky minute when to encamp, and when to march, &c. So that the generals lose the great advantages which might be made sometimes, by waiting till they consult the stars. The favourite women, and the eunuchs are no less averse to war than the astrologers; for in losing their Prince they lose their all, and, therefore, they constantly fall in with the astrologers, to divert their lord from every enterprize which carries a face of danger.

All this must be understood of the old line of which Thamas the son of Hussein, deposed by Mer-Weys, and afterwards restored, deposed again, and at last put to death by Thamas Kuli Kan, or with his privity, who thereupon assumed the title of Shah Nadir, was the last. It is a thing surprising that, considering the great extent of coast which they have upon the Persian Gulph and the ocean on the south, and the number of their provinces bordering upon the Caspian Sea, they should never think in earnest, or to speak with the greater propriety, should never think at all of raising a naval force, which if they had done, would have rendered them secure at home and respected abroad.

The only reason that can be assigned for this is, their neglect of trade, which defect in their constitution, if the ingenious reader will attentively consider, he will without difficulty discover, that it is the sole source of the frequent troubles, rebellions, and revolutions, which have so often brought the Persian government to the brink of ruin. This will be the more obvious to the reader, when we come to state the nature of property among the Persians, from whence it will appear, that the landed interest in that country is tolerably secured; but as the like provision is not made for the monied interest, people do not turn themselves sufficiently to those methods of subsistence that would make the government easy, and themselves happy.

10. The lands of Persia are either such as are cultivated, or such as are uncultivated, and uninhabited, of which the latter are ten to one more than the former. The lands in  
occupation

occupation are of four kinds; the lands of the state, the Shah's demefne lands, the lands of the church, and lastly, those belonging to private men. The lands of the state contain much the greater part of what is cultivated, and are in the possession of the governors of the respective provinces, who out of them take their own revenue, and assign the rest for the payment of their officers, and the troops they are obliged to maintain; for every soldier has his pay assigned him upon some village or farm, in the same manner as in Sweden. The demefne lands are the Shah's particular estate, out of which are paid the officers of the household, and the troops he maintains over and above those which are maintained at the charge of the respective provinces, and the residue are given among the courtiers and favourites; or managed by the viziers and intendants, who remit the produce of them into the treasury.

The lands which belong to the church, are the donation of Princes or private men, and are accounted sacred, so that they are never taxed or confiscated for any crime whatever; and after one year's possession, the title of them cannot be called in question, on any account whatever. The lands of private men are held of the crown for the term of ninety-nine years, paying an inconsiderable quit-rent; and at the expiration of the term of ninety-nine years, they are allowed to renew their lease for the same number of years, on advancing one year's income. As to the cultivated lands, if any person desires to build upon them, or to convert any part of them into ploughed fields or gardens, the King's officers procure him a grant for ninety-nine years, under a small rent, which terms are renewed as other private estates; so that all ranks of men derive their estates immediately from the crown, and by this method have a perpetuity, on payment of their fines and accustomed rents.

The officers of the Shah, as well as private owners, let out their lands to husbandmen, upon condition of receiving a third part of the produce usually, but the rent is more or less according to the particular agreements of the parties; and the grain in Persia being subject to be destroyed by hail, drought, locusts, and other insects, the tenants never fail to insist on an abatement in these cases. When the destruction is very great, the husbandmen take the withered branches of trees, and the damaged ears of corn, and resort to the Shah's officers, complaining of the season, and their inability to pay their usual rent, if they have received never so little hurt; their complaints are very loud, and they frequently make an advantage of the misfortune.

Private landlords are less subject to be imposed upon in these cases, having the lands under their inspection; but then their tenants are not so much oppressed, and subject to such hardships as the tenants of the crown. The Shah's officers frequently pretend they have no authority to make abatements; and thereupon whole villages go up to court, and deliver their petitions to the Shah in person, insomuch that there is seldom less than seven or eight thousand people attending at Ispahan on these occasions. The court usually sends orders hereupon to the provinces to make such allowance as the nature of the case requires, or depute commissaries to enquire into the truth of the complaint, but in either case the crown is usually defrauded; for the countrymen so well understand the force of bribes, that they commonly shake a purse, and procure a favourable representation of the case from the officers sent to check them.

The Shah and private owners have the like profits of the husbandmen's cattle, as they have of their corn, as the third fleece, and the third part of the breed; and of fruit, the crown has still a greater share, there being not that charge of manuring and cultivating fruit-trees as there is of the grounds which produce grain.

The governors of provinces receive the same profits out of the lands of the state, towards the payment of the officers, and troops of the province, as the Shah does out

of his own lands, and every province besides makes large presents from time to time to the court, of the best the country affords, whether silk, grain, fruits, cattle, or whatever is in esteem among them; and these are sent up in such quantities, as are sufficient to supply the Shah's household, and therefore may be accounted a considerable part of the revenue. The Shah has also the seventh fleece, and the seventh of the breed of the cattle, in those lands which are not appropriated to his use; and this is a great addition to his revenue, for the shepherds of Persia, like the ancient patriarchs, possess vast flocks and herds, on which they continually attend, living in tents, and removing from one place to another, as they can meet with pasture for them; for those lands which are not the property of particular persons, are at liberty for all men to graze upon, though the the Shah's; and this payment of the seventh beast seems to be an acknowledgment of his property in them. These wealthy shepherds the people of the east call Saranetchin, from whence we have the word Saracen, that is to say, an inhabitant of the fields; for they live in tents, far from towns, two or three hundred together, and sometimes you see a thousand or two encamped in one place; they perfectly cover the plains with their flocks and herds, that sometimes you may be two or three hours in passing through them; and the Shah has an officer called Ichomban Bafhi, or chief of the shepherds, residing in every province, who takes the seventh of the cattle for the Shah's use, viz. of sheep, asses, mules, camels, and goats; as to horses, it seems the Shah is entitled to every third colt; of silk and cotton also, it is said the Shah has a third part over the whole kingdom.

Minerals and precious stones belong to the Shah only, and he has two per cent. of all money. The money that is raised by the waters is another considerable part of the revenue, for every person pays for their being let into his fields or gardens; nothing will grow in that parched country without it. A tribute is also paid to the crown by all people who are not of the religion of the country, whether natives or foreigners, and this amounts to a ducat a head; and there is a tax of ten-pence on every shop of the handicraft trades, and twenty pence on the rest. The customs and port duties are another branch of the revenue, but these do not amount to much here, for they have no considerable port except Gambron. As for the merchandize carried into Persia or out of it by land, they only pay a small sum for a camel's load, and proportionably for every mule or ox, without examining what the packs contain. But that part of the revenue which is merely casual, exceeds all the rest, viz. what arises by the confiscated estates, and the presents which are made by the great lords, governors of provinces, &c. and particularly those which are made on New-year's Day. They present the Shah with wrought silks, horses, asses, beautiful boys and girls, gold, silver, precious stones, perfumes, and every thing which is rich and curious, and may serve for use, ornament, or the pleasures of life; and as there are several handicraft trades which pay no duties to the crown, as carpenters, masons, and some others, these are obliged to work for the Shah when he requires it, without pay; whatever buildings or palaces the Shah erects or repairs, he has only the materials to find, the warden or chief of the trade is obliged to send a certain number of workmen, which saves the treasury a great deal of money, and therefore the labour of those people may well be esteemed part of the revenue. The maintenance of ambassadors, and the providing them with carriages, is done also at the charge of the country, and costs the Shah nothing. When he has a mind to reward any person for any signal piece of service, this is done also at the expence of another; he sends him perhaps to one of the chans or great courtiers, with the calaat or royal vest, for which the chan makes the messenger a present usually of ten times the value or more, according to the post he is in. The Shah sometimes expresses the

very sum he expects should be paid, which is commonly exceeded out of respect, and as a proof the person values the Prince's favour. But notwithstanding the impositions above-mentioned, the people do not seem to be oppressed or impoverished; even the tradesmen and husbandmen appear to be in easy circumstances, and few of them but have rings on their fingers and arms. One great advantage to the subject is, that scarce any of the duties are farmed, and in times of scarcity the court is very indulgent and ready to make abatement of their rents and taxes in proportion to the occasion. As to poll or personal taxes there are none in Persia, unless that which is levied upon those of a different religion; nor are necessary provisions of any kind taxed.

What the revenue of the crown may amount to in the whole is very uncertain, depending so much as it does upon casualties; those who have attempted to compute it say, that one year with another the revenue amounts to four millions of our money; which, considering their troops are most of them paid out of the lands of the state, that are not reckoned into this account, is very considerable; but as the splendour and magnificence of the Persian court is much beyond any thing we have in Europe, possibly very little of it may remain in the treasury at the year's end. The court, whether it remains at Ispahan, Meshed, or any other capital, or removes from one province to another, as it used to do during the summer, if we consider the women, the eunuchs, and other officers and servants, seldom consist of less than ten thousand persons which belong to the household, not including the troops, or the great men and their dependents, which it must require an immense sum to maintain. The officers of the revenue send every year up to court the state of their province, and what every town and village produces, examined and attested by the principal inhabitants of the respective places, which are looked upon as so many debentures; and these given in payment to those who are entitled to pensions or salaries from the crown. In like manner every governor pays all the officers and soldiers of his province, with assignations on the lands belonging to the province; there is very little money disbursed on those occasions, and where the pay is small, as that of the common soldiers and inferior servants, one man is deputed from the troop or company to receive the wages of the rest, and the residue, after all demands are satisfied, is remitted into the imperial treasury.

It may not be amiss to add a few words concerning the seals under which acts of state are passed in Persia; they have five seals, which are used in five several branches of business, one in all such affairs as concern the demesne lands. A second for commissions, letters patent, &c. The third only in military affairs. The fourth about the revenue; and the fifth in things relating to the household. There are no arms engraven upon them, but on one there are the names of the twelve imans or patriarchs; on the others, a scrap of the Alcoran, or some pious expression, shewing their dependence on God, and his prophet Mahomet. The form of one of the seals is round, two others are square, and the other two are of an irregular form. The largest are about the bigness of a crown-piece, and the others about half that bigness. They are made of turquoises, rubies, emeralds, or some other precious stones. The principal seal the Shah always wears about his neck, and on every Friday all instruments which require these seals are carried to the palace, and sealed in the Shah's presence. The impression is made on the paper with a kind of thick ink, and not on wax as with us; the same usage prevails in most of the eastern courts

11. The generality of the world will agree, from this view of the Persian policy, that there is no reason, so long as their government continues in a settled condition, to look upon the whole nation as slaves and beasts of burthen. It is very certain that there are great errors in this, as well as in all the constitutions founded in the Khoran,  
and

and it must be so, for that book itself is a mere system of tyranny; and which is worst of all, it is pretended that this system came from God. It is upon this principle that the absolute power of their princes is built: for as to all the qualifications besides, they are brought in from the remains of the old Persian government, which by their apparent wisdom, and natural rectitude, have continued in use through all invasions, and in spite of all changes of government. Thus the governors, treasurers, and secretaries of provinces are precisely mentioned, both by sacred writers, and by the Greek historians, as well as modern travellers. The profound respect borne to the Shah is the remains of that reverence paid to their emperors of old, of which the heathen writers are full, which Alexander would have transferred to himself, and for which chiefly the Romans looked upon the Parthians as a barbarous nation.

But above all, the new-years gifts are the strongest testimonies of the difficulty there is in extirpating ancient customs among any set of people. This was the practice in the most early times, and the Persian emperors with all their pride were then very humble to and familiar with their people. They ate and drank with them in public; they gave audience to all who desired it, and as they received presents even from the meanest, so they received every man's petition, and granted almost every man his request.

There are many other things in which the modern Persians resemble very much their remotest ancestors, but in nothing more than in their natural inclination to and wonderful genius for poetry. This is so universal, that every man, and indeed every rich and powerful man, keeps a poet in his house, to whom occasionally they give themes, and it is wonderful how well and how suddenly they execute them. These sort of people also frequent coffee-houses, and other public places, where, for the amusement of idle people, they repeat their performances with infinite spirit, and with inimitable grace. It is certain that the Persians are very nice in their rhyme, but somewhat loose in their numbers, that is to say, they regard cadence more than quantity. Yet no nation in the world has more of that enthusiasm, which is the essence of poetry, the very sound of their verses sufficiently distinguishes the subject, even to the ears of those who are little acquainted with their language; so that foreigners are never at a loss to know whether their poems are merry or melancholy, humourous or grave, intended to instruct, or calculated only to divert.

In short, almost all their learning consists in poetry, for their proverbs are in rhyme, so are their fables, and they have histories in verse of a great length, which, though sufficiently crowded with fable, are seldom or never without a ground of truth. It is true that their modern writers, many of them, make use of prose, but even this is intermixed with verse, and they are also very apt to quote verses in conversation, which they are observed to do with great propriety. But it is worth our notice, that no kind of writing is here so much in fashion as satyr, which is mostly national, and falls, generally speaking, upon their neighbours. As for example, they represent the Turks as brutes and barbarians; and whenever they have a mind to represent a blockhead, they are sure to paint him in a Turkish dress. The great indolence, effeminacy and luxury of the Indians, are likewise common topics of raillery, and so are the faults and follies of the Tatars; the pride and self-sufficiency of the Georgians; the cunning and self-interestedness of the Russians, and the covetousness of the Europeans are frequently exposed by their wits.

They are far from being ignorant of music as a science; they learn by rule, and they play by note, though in a manner so different from ours, that it is a long time before it becomes pleasant to a stranger's ear. There is no such thing as singing in parts,  
but

but they sing one after another, and they generally sing to some stringed instruments, like the lute or viol : their men sing better than the women, but there are not many of them that practise it, singing being looked upon as a scandalous employment in Persia, as well as dancing. People of condition will not suffer children to learn either the one or the other, but it is left almost entirely to the common wenches and prostitutes, as it is indeed all over the East. It is reckoned an indecency in people of any reputation to sing, and it would render a man contemptible who should attempt it in company. The Persians call their singing-women, *Caine*, intimating that they derive their skill from the daughters of Cain, who they pretend were the first inventors of singing and music in the East.

They have a great number of instruments both of string and wind music, some in shape like our hautboys and flutes, others like the viol, harp, virginals, kettle-drums and trumpets ; but surely their trumpet is the most monstrous instrument for size and sound that can be met with ; it is commonly seven or eight feet long, and proportionably wide at the great end, and as much as a man can hold up ; these and their drums in a manner drown all other sounds, though the lesser instruments, as has been observed, have no great harmony in them : and indeed their music, as it is called, serves chiefly instead of clocks, to let people know the time of day or night, founding constantly at certain hours, for bells they have none ; and when the Shah or any great man goes out of his palace, you have always notice of it by these drums and trumpets, who stand over the palace gate, or in some balcony or gallery, and play upon such occasions, being heard at a vast distance. In some places the music and dancing girls make part of a great man's equipage, and run before him when he goes abroad.

It is observable that the strings of their instruments are never made of gut, the touching of any thing belonging to a dead animal, especially the entrails, being held a pollution ; they make them therefore of twisted silk or brass wire, and it is not only indecent, as has been observed, for people of condition to play upon a musical instrument, but it seems also to be prohibited by their religion, and therefore their ecclesiastics and devotees will not so much as be present at such entertainments.

Astronomy is studied in Persia purely for the sake of astrology, which last they term the revelation of the stars. The people of the East look upon astrology as the key to futurity, and they have an insatiable curiosity for prying into things to come. This seems to be the principal end of their studies, and they look upon a person to be stupid and ignorant to the last degree who speaks slightly of this science. The astrologers of Persia, at least the most celebrated, are all natives of the province of Charafan or Bactria, and the most noted among them of the town of Genabed. The Shah never entertains an astrologer who is not of that town. The reason that the astronomers here have more skill in their art than elsewhere, it is said, is because the air is drier and purer, by which means they have a better opportunity to observe the motions of the stars. If we consider the number of astrologers that are found in Persia, the rank they hold, and the large pensions they receive from the crown, we may easily guess at the confidence that people put in them ; they are paid by the government no less than four hundred thousand pounds per annum.

To the post of chief astrologer to his Imperial Majesty there is annexed a pension of ten thousand pounds per annum, and to the second astrologer five thousand pounds per annum, and to the rest according to their skill. They have also in presents annually two hundred thousand pounds, and yet they are sometimes arbitrarily punished, and put to death for the most trivial offences, and even for actions the most innocent in themselves, according to the caprice of their prince. Sir John Chardin relates, that in

the reign of Sefi, when the Shah and all the great men were assembled to see some criminals of state cut in pieces, and the chief of the astrologers was there among the rest; the Shah viewing attentively the countenances of his courtiers, observed that the principal astrologer shut his eyes at every stroke of the sabre, as not able to behold so horrible a slaughter; he thereupon called to the governor of a prince who sat near him, and bid him put out the eyes of that dog who sat at his left hand, since he did not use them, which was executed in an instant on the unhappy astrologer, which part of his destiny the stars never revealed to him.

There are constantly a certain number of astrologers in waiting at the royal palace, and always some of the chief of them about the Shah's person, except when he is in the haram with his women, who advertise him of the lucky or unlucky moments. Every one of them carries an astrolabe hanging at his girdle, in a neat little case not bigger than the hollow of one's hand; they are consulted not only in affairs of importance, but frequently upon the least trifles; for instance, if His Imperial Majesty shall go abroad; if it be an auspicious hour to enter the haram; if it be a proper time to eat, or to give audience, &c. When these questions are asked, the astrologer immediately takes out his astrolabe, observes the situation of the stars, and by the assistance of his tables makes his astrological conclusions, to which they give entire faith as to an oracle, offending against which would be dangerous.

Their astronomers observe pretty justly the eclipses of the sun and moon, and often foretel the very moment wherein those luminaries will be obscured; but there are instances of their being mistaken half an hour, and especially in eclipses of the sun; but they differ from us in nothing more than in the calculation of the vernal equinox, there being sometimes an hour's difference between them and the Europeans. Comets, they apprehend, always portend some great calamity, but generally suppose their malign influences are directed against some other empire than their own. They had neither celestial globes, or charts, or telescopes to observe the constellations, till the Europeans imported them; they have since indeed endeavoured to imitate their celestial globes, and had only some representations of the constellations before in a book, called *The Schemes of Abdal Rhamen*. It is observable, however, that the figures were much the same as on our globes; the longitudes and latitudes of the stars are also marked, but a little different from ours. The Persians generally make forty-eight constellations, and the names of them, for the most part, are the same we give them; but some of them are different. The only instruments they use in any of their operations, are the astrolabe and Jacob's staff; and as it is with these alone they take the elevation of the pole, it cannot be supposed that their latitudes are very exact; their astrolabes, it is true, are very curiously made, and commonly by those who use them.

The Persian almanack is called *takumi*; it is properly a mixture of astronomy and judicial astrology, containing an account of the conjunctions, oppositions, aspects, longitudes, latitudes, and, in short, the whole disposition of the heavens. It contains also prognostics of the most notable events, as war, famine, plenty, diseases, and other accidents of human life, with the lucky or unlucky times for transacting all manner of affairs, directing the people to regulate their conduct accordingly. The festivals also are marked, as in our almanacs, but whereas we divide the year into four parts, they make only two, winter and summer. What is most observable is, that though there are great numbers of these almanac-makers, and though they frequently disagree even in their astronomical calculations, as well as their predictions, they are nevertheless looked upon as infallible; a thing scarce to be credited, if we had not some examples of the same kind nearer home.

Their prognostications are generally taken from the moon, their artists believing that this sublunary world, as it is called, is much more influenced by this planet than by the sun. And these astrologers, like other oracles, endeavour constantly to deliver themselves in dubious and equivocal expressions, which may bear various meanings; so that if their predictions prove true in any sense, or but in part, they are sure to meet with applause, though they should fail in some circumstances. They seem to regard the earth more than the heavens, and to be governed by the consideration of probable circumstances rather than the constellations, and their predictions on that account are frequently found true. For instance, their almanacks are always published in the spring, when the winter is passed, and according to the weather they then had it is no difficult matter to foretel, whether they shall have good or bad crops in the summer, especially in a climate where it does not vary as in Europe; and from the same premises they will be able to pass a tolerable judgment on the health or sickness of the ensuing seasons. But above all, as the astrologers are always about the court, and have so great a share in the administration of affairs, and such credit with all the world, they may be supposed to make very shrewd guesses in relation to politics. They cannot but observe the humours and dispositions of the Prince and his favourites, the likelihood there is that one will be restored, and another disgraced. Nay, they know very well what an influence themselves have in these cases, insomuch that there very rarely happens a considerable alteration in the state but it is brought about, and is, indeed, the effect of some of their own predictions.

But astrology is not the only foible of this kind, for they have various other sorts of divination, which have grown into use by degrees, under the several changes of their government. It is true, that for the most part their astrologers practise these, but not exclusively, for there are others who practise them likewise, more especially geomancy, which is the favourite method of divining throughout all the east. Charms and amulets against diseases and enchantments are another part of their superstition; you will not find a Persian without his amulet, and some of them almost loaded with them, they put them also about the necks of their domestic animals; these amulets have certain inscriptions on paper, and sometimes on precious stones, and these inscriptions they wear in little bags about them; they contain some passages of the Alcoran, or sentences of their saints or prophets, applicable to the disease or enchantment they would avert: the Persians also are extravagantly superstitious in relation to days and times. They depend in these cases as much on the diviners and astrologers, as a child upon its nurse; for instance, when the Shah is upon a journey the astrologers will make him rise at midnight, and begin his march in the worst weather that can happen, and perhaps out of the high road, to avoid the unfortunate hour, or his evil stars, as from ignorance or knavery they most impudently call them.

We must not, however, imagine, notwithstanding these follies are very general, that there is not some kind of real and useful learning amongst this great nation. Moral philosophy is in high credit with them, and is not only taught but practised; they have many excellent and judicious books upon this subject, in which the vicissitudes of human life, and the folly of placing happiness in sensual enjoyments, are very fully and very finely stated. As for the ordinary parts of education, and such as may fit youth for common business, they have as many conveniences as other people. There are abundance of schools in every town, where, besides the Persian, is taught the Arabic, which is their learned language; the Alcoran, and their other sacred writings, are all in this language; and the Alcoran is looked upon as the standard of good language both for grammar and rhetoric. People of condition chuse to have private tutors for

their children, rather than send them to these public schools; and no nation, it is said, is more intent on the education of children, and breeding them up to manly exercises than the Persians. Their schools are called *Mekteb*, which signifies an entrance; this being, say they, the gate by which the lads enter into the sciences.

There are, as has been said, many in every town, and the expence of schooling is very small. They learn the Persian and Arabian languages, with writing and accounts, which when they are arrived at some perfection in, they are removed to some college, or *Medres*, as they call them, which signifies a place where their doctrines or principles of their religion are taught. Their colleges are all endowed, and some of them very richly; the largest have fifty or sixty apartments, and to each of them belong two chambers. In those colleges that are best endowed, every scholar has about two shillings a day allowed him, which he lays out as he thinks fit, for they do not common together.

There are some colleges where the students have no more than a penny a day, and yet interest is made to get into one of these on account of having a lodging gratis, and some other casual advantages. Many here are, who get in without any design to study, and live and grow old in those houses, and are allowed to have their wives and children with them, whose principal design seems to be in ease and idleness. There are abundance of colleges in the great towns of Persia, and some in the villages. The Persians lay out the greatest part of their charities in public foundations. In the first place, they usually build a *caravanferai* for the lodging of travellers gratis; afterwards a *bagnio*, a coffee-house, a bazar, or market-place, and they purchase also a garden, and these they let out, and apply the revenues arising from them towards the building and endowing of a college. The founder and his heirs have the appointment of the head and governors of the society; and if the founder's estate happens to be forfeited to the crown, the Shah has the nomination. In *Ispahan* there are fifty-seven colleges, most of them of royal foundation, or which have devolved to the crown; there are professors who teach the sciences in every college, to whom the scholars make an annual allowance for their trouble; but as there are several who read lectures gratis, the scholars frequently resort to these, and forsake their proper tutors.

Those students who are men of parts and learning, may have a salary in any great man's house for instructing his children; for these never send their children either to schools or colleges, but have them educated in their own house. The head of the house admits or excludes whom he sees fit, and pays the students their pensions monthly, so that they shew him abundance of respect. Besides their colleges, there are in every town those who teach the liberal arts gratis, and these are frequently great officers who have been discarded, or have voluntarily retired from court. These frequently allow their disciples books and paper, and entertain them at their own expence certain days in the week, and sometimes clothe their pupils and give them money, and by this means they endeavour to recover their reputation with the people; for nothing gives a gentleman such a reputation in Persia, as the instructing great numbers of scholars at their own expence, and their being patrons of learning and learned men. These are circumstances that must effectually prove, that the Europeans have no right to treat the Persians as a rude and barbarous people.

As the customs and manners, so the reading and learning of all nations must differ, and the wider and more remote these differences are, the readier the vulgar on both sides seem to be in deriding and contemning each other; but as this humour proceeds from the same principle in both cases, viz. that of presuming themselves to be the standard by which the wisdom and civility, the learning and politeness of all other nations are to be de-

terminated ; and as this is a point not to be defended, it ought to be given up as no better than a popular error in both. It has been already observed, that a great part of the modern constitution of Persia is derived from the ancient form of government that prevailed under their old Emperors, that is, the series of Princes, who governed that which is so well known to the learned world, by the title of the second general empire, allowing the Assyrian to be the first. It is, therefore, well worthy our notice, that constitutions judiciously settled, are of so permanent a nature, and have such an interior strength and solidity, as not only to resist the power of time, but even of repeated invasions, to which it is certain, that no country in the world has been more subject than this of which we are speaking. We may from hence discern, that though nations waste away, and are lost, as well as all the monuments of their power and greatness, yet the effects of their wisdom remain, and the conquerors themselves are content to receive and submit, for their own sakes, and from a conviction of their excellence, to the laws of the conquered.

We know that this has been heretofore observed of the Egyptians ; we know that in much later times it has been confessed in reference to the Chinese, but I do not remember to have seen this remark made before as to the Persians. Yet I arrogate nothing to myself upon this head ; for whoever reads Dr. Hyde's learned book, and compares it with the modern accounts of Persia, must discover it at first sight. At this day the whole plan of the Persian constitution, except the ecclesiastical part of it, which is changed by the introduction of Mahometanism, is very near the same that it was three thousand years ago ; and yet the Perses, who are the remains of the ancient people of Persia, to whom that constitution belonged, are now reduced to so inconsiderable a remnant, that it is doubted whether there may be ten thousand souls left in Persia of this race. Those that are left, indeed, preserve their primitive customs, and are authentic witnesses of the truths reported of them by the most learned writers. It is, indeed, true, that there is another small colony of these people in the Indies, and it may not be amiss to put the reader in mind of a conjecture, mentioned in Commodore Roggewin's voyage, that some islands, discovered by him in the South Seas, are actually peopled by the relicts of these ancient Persians.

I had myself an opportunity of conversing for several years with a very sensible physician, who went that voyage, to whom I was indebted for many of the particulars published therein ; and who is dead since they were published. Of this gentleman I very carefully enquired what the reasons were which induced him and his companions to advance that notion, which at first sight is none of the most probable. He told me the causes were chiefly three ; First, that their complexions, in the sentiments of those who had seen some of the Gubers in Persia, very much resembled them, and were very unlike either the inhabitants of Afric, or of India ; for whereas the former are of a black, and the latter of a reddish or iron colour ; these were of a light olive, and yet their aspects differed absolutely from the Chinese and Tartars. The second cause he assigned, was their worshipping the sun and fire ; turning towards the east when they prayed, and using a low or whispering voice, all of which are suitable enough to the Gubers, or Gaur, as the Turks call them. The third was the innocency of their manners, the quiet and peaceable life they lead, the pains they took in cultivating their lands, and their great industry in several ingenious manufactures. I shall not take upon me to determine what credit is due to these conjectures, but shall content myself with observing, that they are worth remembering ; and considering perhaps, our posterity may have an opportunity by conversing with these people, to enter into them more minutely.

One thing more I recollect that passed upon this subject, and it was this that ingenious gentleman observed to me, that though we had various travels through and accounts of Persia, yet we had no general or correct history of it, by which a curious person might see in a little time, what changes had happened therein, from the earliest ages down to the present, which he thought might be of very great use, even though it were digested into a very narrow compass. Upon mature deliberation, I saw the truth and expediency of this in the strongest light, and that nothing disabled us so much in this part of the world from forming a right judgment of affairs in those parts, as the not having distinct and correct views of the successions of their Princes.

## OBSERVATIONS

MADE ON

*A TOUR FROM BENGAL TO PERSIA,*

IN THE YEARS 1786-7.

WITH A SHORT ACCOUNT OF THE REMAINS OF THE CELEBRATED PALACE OF PERSEPOLIS, AND OTHER INTERESTING EVENTS.

By *WILLIAM FRANCKLIN,*

ENSIGN ON THE HON. COMPANY'S BENGAL ESTABLISHMENT, LATELY RETURNED FROM PERSIA.

ON the 27th of February 1786, I embarked on board the ship *Yarmouth*, Captain Greenly commander, for Bombay, in my way to Persia, having obtained a furlough from the Council, for three years.

On the 7th of March we left the pilot. — 22d March we made the land, about 12 o'clock P. M. — ran past our port in the night about twelve miles: — 23d, all day nearly becalmed; anchored at six in the evening: — 24th, at day-light, made sail; at seven, saw the flag-staff at Point de Galle; at twelve, went on shore.

*Point de Galle.*] Point de Galle is a small fort, situated on the south-west side of the island of Ceylon, belonging to the Dutch East India Company, and has a commandant and a small military force; the commandant is subject to the orders of the governor of Columbo, the chief residency on the same island; the inhabitants, excepting the Dutch, are a mixture of Malabars and native Portuguese; but great numbers of the latter, especially of the lower class of people. There is a tolerable tavern here, the only one in the place; the living very cheap. Here is little trade at this place, excepting on account of the Dutch Company. Topazes, amethysts, and other precious stones, are found on the island of Ceylon, and brought here for sale; but it is dangerous to purchase them, when set, without being skilled in those commodities; the people who sell them being very expert in making the false stones appear like true ones, by colouring them at the bottom. No kind of spice, nutmegs, or any other rarities for which this island is so celebrated, are to be met with at this place; nor did we, on our approach to the island, perceive any of those odoriferous gales described by travellers, as exhaling from the cinnamon and other spices with which this island abounds. The harbour is circular; at the entrance of it lie many rocks, just above the surface of the water, which make it very dangerous for strange ships to go in, without a pilot; the waves beat with amazing violence against the fortifications. Along, and almost all around the harbour, are the country houses of the inhabitants, which have a pleasing effect to the eye; the road to these, by land, is through a grove of cocoa-nut trees, which forms an agreeable shade. However, this place must be very unhealthy, as very high hills lie close behind the houses, and exhale noxious vapours both morning and evening, which make it very precarious to the inhabitants in point of health; they are in general sickly, but particularly Europeans. I observed, in the course of a few hours' stay on shore, several people whose legs were swelled in a most extraordinary

extraordinary manner; this the natives account for, from the badness of the water, and the vapours which arise from the adjoining hills. I have heard that the inhabitants of Malacca are liable to the same disease, and from similar causes.

Fish is to be had here in great plenty; poultry of all kinds is very scarce; the fruits are chiefly plantains, pine-apples, and pumple noses; the cocoa-nuts are also in great plenty and very good; the bread is tolerable, but the butter execrable, it being little better than train oil; and indeed this is the case in all the Dutch settlements, and most other foreign ones, the French and English excepted. We slept on shore that night; and, not being able to sell any part of the cargo, the next morning went on board, and failed immediately. On the 29th saw the land a little to the eastward of Cape Comorin, and the 31st of March came to anchor in the roads of Anjengo, where we found the Company's ship the Duke of Montrose, waiting for a cargo of pepper. On the 1st of April went on shore at day-light, and returned on board in the evening.

*Anjengo.*] Anjengo is a small fort and English residency, the first that you arrive at upon the Malabar coast from Cape Comorin: the inhabitants are Malabars and native Portuguese, mixed. It is reported to be one of the first places in India for intelligence, and the English have received great service from it in that respect during the late war; it would be still more advantageous if the road to Europe by way of Suez was open, but that has been for some time shut up, on account of some unhappy differences. At Anjengo there is a post to several parts of India; this is but lately established. On the 2d of April, failed; 6th, saw a ship at anchor in Cocheen roads, which we could not enter, being driven off by the most violent gale of wind I ever experienced; it lasted six-and-thirty hours without cessation, the sea running mountains high. Fortunately, the ship received no damage, excepting the loss of the main yard, which was broken in two. On the 8th we found ourselves, by observation, to the northward of our port: on the 9th, came to anchor in Cocheen roads, and went on shore immediately.

*Cocheen.*] Cocheen is a large settlement belonging to the Dutch East India Company. It is very populous, and a place of great trade; the inhabitants are a mixture of a variety of Eastern nations, being composed of Malabars, Armenians, Persians, Arabians, Jews, Indians, and native Portuguese. The Jews occupy a whole village, a little to the westward of the town; they live separate from the rest of the inhabitants: I went into several of their houses, and could not help observing, in this people, a striking peculiarity of features, different from any I had ever seen; a resemblance seemed to run through the whole, as if they were all of one family: they seldom or ever marry out of their own tribe, by which the likeness is preserved, from father to son, for a long time. I am told there is the same similarity of features to be observed amongst the Jews of Amsterdam in Holland, and other parts of Europe. This certainly serves to distinguish them more as an original people than any other. They have a good synagogue here, and are less oppressed, and have more liberty, than in most other parts of the East. The rajah of Cocheen resides here, but lives in an indifferent state, being so much oppressed by the Nabob Tippoo on the one hand, and the Dutch on the other, as to have little or nothing left for himself. He is a Gentoo. Cocheen, in former times, was a place of considerable celebrity, and was one of the places pitched upon by the first Portuguese settlers in the East, after the discovery of the passage round the Cape of Good Hope by Vasco de Gama; but that people have now very little left of the vast wealth and power they formerly enjoyed; a revolution of three centuries has reduced them below mediocrity in the general scale of European adventurers. The fort is a very large one, and very well fortified on the land

- side;

side; towards the sea not so well, but it is secured by a very dangerous bar, which will not admit of ships coming nearer the shore than three or four miles. There are some regular Dutch troops in the garrison, and a few native militia; there was also here part of a French regiment, which the Dutch borrowed during the late war. Provisions of every kind are to be had here in the greatest plenty. The 10th failed; on the 15th, we came to anchor in Tellicherry roads; 16th, having received a very polite invitation from my friend and school-fellow Mr. Ince, I went on shore, and spent several very pleasant days with him.

*Tellicherry.*] Among other places I saw in and about Tellicherry, I had a view of the fortifications, or rather of the regular lines drawn round Tellicherry, for the defence of the place against the Nabob Hyder Ali, during the late war. These lines are exceedingly strong; they take in a space of about three miles and a half in circumference, and are well defended by batteries and redoubts; a river runs parallel to the western angle, which breaking off from thence runs among the hills: here the English troops sustained a severe siege for several years, against the army of Hyder, under the command of Sadik Khan; however, on the arrival of Major Abingdon with a reinforcement from the Bombay settlement, the garrison made a most spirited and successful rally, in which having defeated the enemy and killed great numbers of them, they at length compelled them to raise the siege; obtaining, at the same time, a considerable booty of horses, tents, and elephants. The general of the enemy was dangerously wounded and taken prisoner, and died a few days after, of that and a broken heart, at Tellicherry. I am informed that if he had lived and returned to the presence, he would have been cashiered, as the Nabob Hyder had set his heart on the reduction of the place. He lies buried close to the fort of Tellicherry; a tomb has been erected to him, in which lamps are continually burning, which many Mussulmen visit out of respect to the memory of the deceased. The lines in some parts appear rather out of order, as they have not been thoroughly repaired since the siege of the place, and I am inclined to think a great number of troops would be requisite for their defence against a resolute enemy, owing to their great extent; they are now repairing throughout, as the government entertain an idea of the importance of the place, which is certainly considerable, in case of a war with Hyder, as by his being in possession of it he might greatly injure the other settlements of the English on the Malabar Coast.

The garrison of Tellicherry consists generally, in time of peace, of one battalion of sepoy, a company of artillery, and sometimes a company of European infantry; they are also able to raise about three thousand native militia. The view of the country round Tellicherry is very pleasant, consisting of irregular hills and vallies. The boundaries of the English are terminated by the opposite side of the river, and at a very little distance is a strong fortress of the Nabob Hyder; if the lines were once to be forced, the place would soon fall, the fort of Tellicherry itself having no kind of defence. Tellicherry is esteemed by all who reside there, to be one of the healthiest places in India, Europeans seldom dying there; it is also much resorted to by convalescents: the sea produces plenty of very fine oysters, and provisions of all kinds are to be had in abundance.

I observed, in the Company's garden, the pepper vine, which grows in a curious manner, and something similar to the grape; the pepper on it, when fit to gather, appears in small bunches; it is in size something larger than the head of a small pea; the pepper, however, for the Company's ships' cargoes, is brought from some distance in the country. Tellicherry also produces the coffee tree.

On the 28th, in the evening, we failed; and on the 29th we anchored in the roads of Goa, off the Fort Alguarda.

*Goa.*] Goa is a large city, and was once populous; it is the capital of the Portuguese settlements on this side the Cape of Good Hope; it is the residence of a Captain General sent from Portugal, who lives in great splendour. The city stands upon the banks of a river of the same name, about twelve miles distant from the entrance of the harbour: the view up this river is truly delightful, the banks on either side are adorned with churches, and country seats of the Portuguese, interspersed with groves and vallies; the river has several pleasing openings as it winds along, its banks are low, but the hills behind rise to an amazing height, and add grandeur to the spectacle, greatly tending also to beautify the prospect. The city of Goa itself is adorned with many fine churches, magnificently decorated; and has several handsome convents. The church of Saint Augustine is a noble structure, and is adorned in the inside by many fine pictures; it stands on the top of a hill, from whence you have an extensive view of the city and adjacent country: it is a circumstance that has always been observed, and very justly, that the Portuguese have ever chosen the spots for their convents and churches in the most delightful situations. I have observed it in the Brazils, and the inhabitants of Goa have by no means failed in attention to this point, all their public buildings being well situated. The body of this church is spacious, and the grand altar-piece finished in the most elegant style. The building of the choir is of Gothic architecture, and therefore of antiquity. This church has a convent adjoining to it, in which live a set of religious monks, of the order of St. Augustine: some of the brothers of this convent have given popes and cardinals to the Roman See, as appears by their portraits which are hung up in a neat chapel dedicated to St. Augustine, the patron of the order. Adjoining to this church is a convent of religious women, who have taken the veil, and are therefore prohibited from all kind of intercourse with the world: these chiefly consist of the daughters and nieces of the Portuguese inhabitants of the place; and a sum of money is generally given with them, on their entrance into the convent. A little lower, on the declivity of the hill, stands another church, dedicated to the Bon Jesus, in which is the chapel of Saint Francisco de Xaviere, whose tomb it contains: this chapel is a most superb and magnificent place; the tomb of the saint is entirely of fine black marble, brought from Lisbon; on the four sides of it the principal actions of the life of the Saint are most elegantly carved in basso relievo; these represent his converting the different nations to the Catholic faith: the figures are done to the life, and most admirably executed: it extends to the top in a pyramidal form, which terminates with a coronet of mother-of-pearl. On the sides of this chapel are excellent paintings, done by Italian masters; the subjects chiefly from scripture. This tomb, and the chapel appertaining to it, must have cost an immense sum of money; the Portuguese justly esteem it the greatest rarity in the place. In the valley below is another convent for young ladies who have not taken the veil; out of this convent the Portuguese and others who go there may marry: some of the ladies have small portions, others none. As far as I could learn, the ceremony observed on taking out one of these ladies is as follows: When a gentleman, after visiting often at the grate, shall have chosen one to whom he wishes to pay his addresses, an exchange of rings between the parties is first made; after which the lover is permitted to visit his mistress in the convent, in the presence of one of the matrons; then if he still holds his purpose, he is obliged to make a solemn promise of marriage, in the presence of the archbishop of the place; which being done, he may

take her away whenever he pleases : after which the archbishop marries them. It is, however, to be observed, that the lover, whoever he is, must first make profession of the Roman Catholic persuasion, otherwise no connection would be allowed. I saw three of the young ladies, who were really fine girls, and could not help making some reflections on their unhappy situation ; shut up in a wretched convent, where they must pine away their youth, unless capricious chance should befriend them in the appearance of a husband : and being deprived of the company of men, for whom they were formed to grace society and create affection, they must, if capable of reflection, think themselves most unhappy.

The Captain-General of Goa is also Commander in Chief of all the Portuguese forces in the East Indies. They have here two regiments of European infantry, three legions of sepoy, three troops of native light horse, and a militia ; in all, about five thousand men. Goa is at present on the decline, and in little or no estimation with the country powers ; indeed their bigotry and superstitious attachment to their faith is so general, that the inhabitants, formerly populous, are now reduced to a few thinly inhabited villages ; the chief part of whom have been baptized ; for they will not suffer any Mussulman or Gentoo to live within the precincts of the city ; and these few are unable to carry on the husbandry or manufactures of the country. The court of Portugal is obliged to send out annually a very large sum of money, to defray the current expences of the government ; which money is generally swallowed up by the convents and soldiery. If other measures are not pursued, Goa must, in a very few years, sink to nothing : though it is evident that the internal decay of the government has been occasioned by the oppression and bigotry of the priests, and the expulsion of so many useful hands ; yet the court of Portugal cannot be prevailed upon to alter its measures, although the flourishing situation of the English and other European settlements (and of which one cause is certainly the mild and tolerant principles adhered to in points of religion, provided it interferes not with the affairs of government) is continually before their eyes. The Nabob Tippu has lately shewn an inclination to attack them, but was suddenly called off by the Marratas : the Portuguese much fear he will return ; and should he, there is little doubt but that the place will surrender to him. The glorious times of Albuquerque are now no more ; power and wealth have long since taken their flight from the discoverers of the East ! There was formerly an inquisition at this place, but it is now abolished ; the building still remains, and by its black outside appears a fit emblem of the cruel and bloody transactions that passed within its walls ! Provisions are to be had at this place in great plenty and perfection ; the Captain-General lives in great state ; he is a well-bred man, and fond of the company of the English, whom he treats with great hospitality.—24th, sailed ; May 13th saw the lighthouse at Bombay, about nine in the morning.

*Bombay.*] The island of Bombay is in the possession of the English East India Company ; it is situated on the Coast of Conkan, in Lat. 19 North, and Long. 72. 38. East ; it was granted, as part of the marriage portion with the Infanta of Portugal, to Charles II. The harbour is capable of containing three hundred sail of ships with the greatest safety : there is also a most excellent dock, in which ships of his Majesty's squadron, and others, are repaired, refitted, and completely equipped for sea. They build also here all sorts of vessels ; and the workmen in the yard are very ingenious and dexterous, not yielding to our best ship-wrights in England. This island is very beautiful, and as populous for its size as any in the world ; merchants and others coming to settle here from the different parts of the Deckan, Malabar, and Coromandel ; as well as the Guzerat-country : amongst those of the latter place, are many Persian families ;

families; these are descended from the remains of the ancient Gubres, or worshippers of fire: most of the country merchants, as well as the menial servants of the island, are of this faith. They are very rich, and have in their hands the management of all mercantile affairs. Their religion, as far as I could gain any information, is much corrupted from the ancient worship; they acknowledge that several Hindoo forms and ceremonies have crept in amongst them, probably in compliance to the natives, in order to conciliate their affections. I have heard it observed, however, that the Hindoo religion does, in itself, bear some analogy to the ancient Persian worship: it seems their sacred book, the Zend, which is said to have been written by their celebrated prophet Zerdusht (called by us Zoroaster), is at present only a copy of a few centuries; which must, of course, invalidate its authenticity; as that prophet, according to the Persian historians, lived more than three thousand years ago; and indeed it is an indisputable fact, that what religious books were in being at the time of the Grecian conquests of that country, were carefully collected and burnt, by the express orders of Alexander, and were totally destroyed at the subsequent conquests of that country by the Saracens: at which period also happened the introduction of the Mahomedan religion. By these means their religion and language underwent a total change, the very traces of both which have long since disappeared, as is evident by the many fruitless efforts made to decypher those inscriptions still discernible on the walls of Persepolis, bearing not the least analogy to any character now existing. Hence it may be inferred, that what is now given as the ancient character and language of this celebrated people, is no more than an invention of a later date, and there remains not a probability that their real Zend will ever be known. The island of Bombay is about eight miles in length, and twenty in circumference: the most remarkable natural curiosity the island produces is a small fish; this fish, according to the description of a gentleman who has seen it, and from whom I received my information, is in form somewhat like a muscle, about four inches long, and has upon the top of its back, and near the head, a small valve, on the opening of which you discover a liquor of a strong purple colour, which, when dropped on a piece of cloth, retains the hue. It is found chiefly in the months of September and October; and it is observed the female fish has not this valve, which distinguishes the sexes. It is not improbable to suppose that this fish is of the same nature as the ancient Murex or shell fish, by which the Romans attained the art of dyeing to such perfection; and is similar to that found formerly on the coasts of Tyre. The Company's forces at this Presidency consist of eight battalions of sepoy, a regiment of European infantry, and a corps of European artillery and engineers. During the late long and very severe war, the Bombay troops have distinguished themselves in a peculiar manner, and the campaign of Bedanore, and the sieges of Tellicherry and Mangalore, will long remain testimonials of high military abilities, as well as of their bravery and patience under severe duty. The breed of sheep on this island is very indifferent, and all the necessaries of life are much dearer than in any other part of India. A work on this island is worthy of observation; it is a causeway on the southern part, about a mile in length, and forty feet in breadth, eight of which on each side are of solid stone; the remainder in the centre is filled up with earth, a cement of clay, and other materials; the whole forming such a body as will endure for many ages. This work keeps up the communication with the other parts of the island during the season of the Monsoon, which would otherwise overflow it, and cause infinite damage.

Dec. 13th, after being detained seven months at this island, for want of a passage, I at length embarked on board an Arabian ship, bound for Busfura, in company with  
 Captain

Captain Mitchell and Lieuts. James and Curry, of the Madras military establishment, who were on their way to Europe over land. We had on board an exact epitome of Asia, being a collection of Armenians, Persians, Arabians, Ethiopians, Jews, Greeks, and Indians, who created as much confusion of tongues as at the building of the tower of Babel. On the 24th, in the evening, we saw Cape Rosalgate; and on the 1st of January, 1787, came to anchor in the harbour of Muscat. The entrance into this harbour is truly picturesque; it has a bold shore, with a range of high mountains extending about sixty miles in length from Cape Rosalgate (which is opposite the Scindian Gulph), to Muscat, and forms a very grand natural prospect: the ruggedness of the rocks marking very characteristically the country of Arabia. The inner harbour is guarded by two forts, very indifferently situated. Muscat itself is a place of considerable trade, as well with the Arabian and Persian Gulphs, as with Surat, Bombay, and the Coasts of Malabar and Coromandel. The town, as is usual in most Eastern countries, is badly built, and the streets very narrow; they have, however, a good and well furnished bazar, roofed at the top; the streets cross each other at right angles, and to each is allotted its particular merchandise for sale. Muscat lies in lat.  $23^{\circ} 15' N$ . opposite to the Gulph of Ormuz, and is governed by an Imaum, or independent prince, over the province of Oman, of which Muscat is the capital. This province of Oman is a part of Yemen, or Arabia Felix; the Imaum resides at a distance of two days journey inland, where he lives in splendour; his Vakeel Sheick Khulfaun received us with great civility. The whole country round this place is one continued solid rock, without a blade of grass, or any kind of verdure to be seen; but this barrenness the natives affirm to be amply recompensed by the fertility and beauty of the inland country; as indeed it ought to be. The reflection of the sun from these rocks must necessarily cause intense and almost insupportable heats, which during the summer season are so great, that all the natives, who are able, retire inland as soon as they commence; this, added to the fatal effects of the small-pox, for which they have no cure, being ignorant of the application of medicine, causes the people in general to be afflicted with disorders in their eyes; so much so, that you scarcely meet one person out of three, who has not visibly suffered from either of the causes above mentioned. Several Gentoo merchants reside here, for the convenience of trade; also a broker on the behalf of the English East India Company; but the government will not admit (though often urged to it) of any European factory being established. The police in Muscat is excellent. On the 25th of January, Captain James Mitchell, our fellow-passenger, died, to the great grief of us all: we interred him the same day, on shore, at Muscat; a Dutch ship lying in the harbour, commanded by Captain Stewart, saluted the corpse on going on shore with nine guns, as did also an English frigate, there at the same time. His funeral was as decently conducted as circumstances would admit, and every attention possible was paid to his remains. On the 26th we sailed for Bussora. On the 4th of February, we also lost Lieutenant Thomas James, another of our companions; whose body we committed to the deep. Shortly after, Mr. Curry and myself, who were the only two remaining, fell sick of violent fevers, which lasted near a month, and reduced us so much, that we had reason to expect the same fate. On the 28th of February, arrived at Abu Shehr. Lieutenant Curry and myself went on shore, where we were received by Mr. Galley, the Company's resident at that place.

*Abu Shehr.*] Abu Shehr is a small sea-port town on the coast of Persia, and is under the government of a Sheick, who is tributary to Shirauz. The English East India Company have a factory here, but I believe little business is carried on, owing to the ruinous state of Persia; caravans come frequently to this place from Shirauz; and

bring the commodities of that city, which are exported to different parts of India. On the 9th of March, my good friend, Lieutenant Curry, quitted me, and proceeded to Bussora: our parting was painful to us, as we had lately experienced many trying scenes together, which cemented our friendship; but our separate destinations made it necessary. An opportunity offering shortly afterwards of proceeding to Shirauz, I eagerly embraced it, although not yet quite recovered from my fever, and accordingly determined to set out with a *cafila* or caravan, just then on the point of departure.

Set out for *Shirauz*.] On the 15th of March, I left Abu Shehr: our *cafila* consisted of about thirty mules, and twenty or thirty horses; these and camels being the only mode of travelling made use of in this country. Our first day's march was about four *fursengs*, or sixteen English miles; the road at setting out lay over a barren plain, but the latter part of the way coming to some verdure, we halted at a place called *Chechanduck*. The Persian *furseng* is the *παρυσανγυ* *Parafanga* of the Greeks, and is equal in measurement to nearly four English miles. The 16th, we travelled four *fursengs*, the most part in the night, and arrived about eight o'clock in the morning, near *Berazgoon*, a considerable and populous village, surrounded by a brick wall, and flanked with turrets, under the dominion, and dependent of *Shirauz*. Halted that day and the next, for the purpose of shoeing the horses and mules belonging to the *cafila*, preparatory to our ascending the mountains, which we were now approaching. 18th. Moved at four in the morning, and about eight encamped near the village of *Dowlakie*, distance three *fursengs*. 19th. Moved at four in the morning, and a little after six entered the narrow pass which is the road to the four mountains, and is exceedingly difficult, from the great number of loose stones. At nine encamped at some distance on the other side of the village of *Dowlakie*, at the foot of the first mountain. We reckoned this day's journey three *fursengs*. The heat of these three last days was excessive; but they told me it would soon be changed to a piercing cold. 20th. Marched at four in the morning, and began to ascend the first mountain, which is very high, and the road almost impassable, from the vast number of large loose stones that had fallen down on each side in the way: near two miles of the latter part of the ascent is almost perpendicular, and so very narrow as only to admit of one person or beast of burden passing at a time: the scene was truly disagreeable and even dangerous, from the steep precipices, and frequent slipping and falling of the horses and mules; our only means of safety on one side depending on a small parapet wall, about three feet high; on the other the mountain towering up into the clouds strikes the beholder with an awful dread; a broad and rapid river runs at the bottom, which by its roaring adds to the terrific grandeur of the scene. Having at length attained the summit, we were surprised by the appearance of a level extensive plain; whereas, after climbing such a height, we might naturally have expected a descent. This plain is about four *fursengs*, or sixteen miles, in extent; it is situated between the mountains, and abounds in game, particularly the red-legged partridge, which we saw in great abundance. A little after nine we encamped at the village of *Khisht*; we here began to experience a sensible alteration in the weather. At *Dowlakie*, in the valley below, we were almost scorched to death with heat; whereas the air on the top of this mountain, and the plain of *Khisht*, is very sharp and piercing, distance three *fursengs*. 21st. Being the Persian festival of the *Nooroze*, or New Year's Day, we halted. In the ancient times of Persia this day used to be celebrated with great joy and festivity throughout the empire, and has since been kept as such under the Mahomedan government. The people of the *cafila* made themselves as merry as their circumstances would admit of; and although in general the food of these people is no

more than a few dates and butter-milk, yet on this occasion the Cheharwadar, or master of the cafila, sent to the neighbouring village, and procured some mutton, which he gave to his men, and partook with them of a comfortable pilau. 22d. Moved at four in the morning; about six ascended the second mountain, which is still higher than the former, but the road not so dangerous: we arrived, about nine, at the village of Comarige: at this place the Rah Dar, or toll-gatherer, demanded one toman (about thirteen rupees), as a toll, although the custom for every passenger, whether European, Jew, or Armenian, is only one piastre, which is equal to one rupee. He alleged that I was a Feringy (Christian), and therefore ought to pay more: as I had no resource, I should have been obliged to comply, had not the master of the cafila opposed the imposition, and threatened to complain on our arrival at Shirauz; on which the toll-gatherer desisted. This day we travelled three fursengs. 23d. Moved at four in the morning; about nine arrived at the city of Kazeroon, distance five fursengs. 24th. Proceeded at five, and at half past eight arrived at the foot of the third mountain, situated on the confine of the plain, where the city of Kazeroon is built; distance three fursengs. 25th. Moved at four in the morning, and began to ascend the third mountain, which although not so high and steep as the two former, yet is sufficiently so to make the ascent uneasy and difficult; a great part of the road on one side is made of masons' work entirely, the materials hewn out of the mountain: it has a parapet wall of about three feet high, like the former: its ascent is winding. About eight o'clock we arrived in a most delightful valley, by an easy and gentle descent; entirely covered with a species of the oak and birch, which being situated between two high mountains, is extremely pleasant; the air began now to be piercing cold, and we perceived the snow lying very thick on the mountain before us, which we were to pass the next day; proceeded on through the valley, and encamped about nine o'clock at the foot of the fourth and last mountain, in our journey to Shirauz; distance travelled this day three fursengs. 26th. Marched at two in the morning, and began to ascend the mountain, which the Persians call the Peera Zun, or the old woman, by way of distinction. This is higher than all the former, and near twelve miles in length; we were near five hours in gaining the summit, when a prospect opened to our sight, scarcely to be equalled in beauty, nor can imagination well conceive a more delightful one; although we beheld it whilst the ruggedness of winter was not yet well worn off, still the great quantity of wood on its side denoted it to be a most delightful place for a summer residence; the view from the top is most strikingly romantic, the three preceding mountains seeming beneath your feet; the summit is covered with snow, and in many places where the rain had fallen, was ice of considerable thickness. Below, on each side, we beheld the vallies all opening to the beauties of spring, well watered by running streams, the great lake on the plain of Kazeroon appearing in its full extent. I cannot but confess, that the fatigues of the former part of the way were amply made up by the delightfulness of this prospect, the sharp clear air giving an increase of cheerfulness and hilarity to my spirits. By a steep descent we gained the plain below in about half an hour, and at nine o'clock encamped near the village of Desterjin. This day we travelled four fursengs and a half. 27th. Moved at four in the morning; at a little after eight, arrived at the village of Khoon Zineoon: near this village runs a very pleasant river, which extends to Shirauz. Mr. Niebuhr has laid this down as the Rodheuna, probably from the people who gave him his information, calling it Rood Khoona, as that name in Persian implies a stream, or river; the natives of the place mentioning it by the appellation of Rood Khoona Zineoon, or the river of Zineoon. 28th. Moved off at four, and at half-past nine arrived at a caravanserai in ruins, near the village of Chinar

Rehadar.

Rehadar. This day we travelled four fursengs. 29th. Moved a little after five, and at nine arrived in safety, by the blessing of God, at the city of Shirauz, the place of my destination, four fursengs.

*Shirauz.*] Shirauz, the capital of Farfistàn, or Persia Proper, is situated in a valley of great extent and surprising fertility; this valley is twenty-six miles in length, and twelve in breadth, and is surrounded on all sides by very high mountains: it lies, according to Mr. Niebuhr, in  $29^{\circ} 30' 31''$ , about a hundred and ninety-six miles to the North-east of Abu Shehr. The purity of the air of this place has at all times been celebrated, and with great justice. The city in circumference is one furseng and sixty measured paces; the fortifications, considering the country, are tolerably good; a wall extends quite round the city, five-and-twenty feet high, and ten thick, with round towers at the distance of eighty paces from each other. Shirauz has a most excellent dry ditch around it, the work of the late Vakeel Kerim Khan; it is sixty feet in depth, and twenty in breadth, and would alone, exclusive of the other works, enable the city to hold out a long time against any power in Persia, where artillery is but little known, and less used. The city of Shirauz has six gates, of which the following are the names: 1st. Derwaza Bâg Shâh; 2d. Derwaza Shah Meerza Hamza; 3d. Derwaza Sadi, so called from its leading to the tomb of that celebrated poet; 4th. Derwaza Cuslub Khâna, adjoining to the flesh-market; 5th. Derwaza Shadaïe; 6th. Derwaza Kazeroon, leading to that city. Each of these gates has an appointed guard allotted to it, of one hundred men; and four Khans or officers, who every morning and evening attend at the citadel in order to pay their compliments to the Khan, or in his absence to the Beglerbeg. It is the duty of these guards to prevent all persons departing from the city who have not permission so to do; and if any person, obnoxious to government, escapes, the officer's head answers for it. I was frequently stopped by them in going out, before I obtained an order from the government to have free egress and regress whenever I pleased. The gates of the city are shut at sunset, and opened at sunrise, during which periods no person is permitted to pass in or out.

Within the city, at the upper end, nearest to the gate of Bâg Shâh, stands the Citadel, which is built of burnt brick, and is a square of eighty yards circumference, flanked with round towers, and encompassed with a dry fosse of the same breadth and depth as that of the city; this is called by the Persians the Ark, and is also the work of Kerim Khan; here Jaâfar Khan, the present possessor of Shirauz, resides; it also serves occasionally as a state prison. At the door of the Ark is a painting, done in very lively colours, representing the combat between the celebrated Persian hero Rostum, and Deeb Sifeed, or the White Demon. The story is taken from Ferdoussi's Shah Nama, and the figures are at full length, but ill proportioned. Opposite to the citadel, in a large handsome square, is a gallery where the Khan's music, consisting of trumpets, kettle drums, and other instruments, plays regularly at sunrise and sunset. When the Khan is in camp, or on a journey, these are always placed in a tent near him: one side of this square leads to the Dewân Khân, or chamber of audience, and the other opens into a street which leads up to the great mosque. The Dewân Khâna is a very handsome building, situated at the upper end of a large garden, to which you are conducted through an avenue, planted on each side with the Persian Chinar tree, a species of the fycamore. This chamber is a large building, of an oblong form, with an open front; the inside, about one-third up the wall, is lined with white marble from Tauris, and the ceiling and other parts are ornamented with a beautiful gold enamelled work, in imitation of the lapis lazuli: there are several pictures in it;

two of which, representing the late Vakeel Kerim Khan, and his eldest son Abul Futtah Khan, are tolerably well executed; and I was told by the natives that they were good resemblances. In front there are three handsome fountains, with stone basons, which are constantly playing. In the great square before the Citadel is the Tope Khàna, or park of artillery: it consists of several pieces of cannon mounted on bad carriages, most of the guns (which are Spanish and Portuguese, excepting two English twenty-four pounders) are so dreadfully honeycombed, that they would certainly burst on the first discharge.

Shirauz has many good bazars and caravanferais: that distinguished by the appellation of the Vakeel's bazar (so called from its being built by Kerim Khan), is by far the handsomest; it is a long street, extending about a quarter of a mile, built entirely of brick, and roofed something in the style of the piazzas in Covent Garden; it is lofty and well made; on each side are the shops of the tradesmen, merchants, and others, in which are exposed for sale a variety of goods of all kinds: these shops are the property of the Khan, and are rented to the merchants at a very easy monthly rate. Leading out of this bazar is a spacious caravanferai, of an octagon form, built of brick; the entrance through a handsome arched gate-way: in the centre is a place for the baggage and merchandise, and on the sides above and below commodious apartments for the merchants and travellers; these are also rented at a moderate monthly sum. About the centre of the above-mentioned bazar is another spacious caravanferai, of a square form, the front of which is ornamented with a blue and white enamelled work, in order to represent China-ware, and has a pleasing effect to the eye. This building is larger than the former, and is chiefly resorted to by Armenian and other Christian merchants; there are besides separate bazars in Shirauz, for the different companies of artificers, such as goldsmiths, workers of tin, dyers, carpenters, joiners, hatters, and shoemakers: these consist of long streets, built very regularly, and roofed.

The Jews at Shirauz have a quarter of the city allotted to themselves, for which they pay a considerable tax to government, and are obliged to make frequent presents: these people are more odious to the Persians than those of any other faith; and every opportunity is taken to oppress and extort money from them; the very boys in the street being accustomed to beat and insult them, of which treatment they dare not complain. The Indians have a caravanferai allowed them in another quarter of the city, for which they are also under contribution. There is a mint at Shirauz where money is coined in the name of Jaafar Khan, the present possessor, the process of which is very simple, like most in other places of the East, the gold or silver being laid in a dye fitted for the purpose, and struck with a large hammer, which completes the operation. Here also the public Seràfs (or money-changers) set and regulate the exchange of gold and silver.

*Mosques, &c.*] Shirauz is adorned with many fine mosques, particularly that built by the late Kerim Khan, which is a noble one: being very well disguised in my Persian dress, I had an opportunity of entering the building unobserved; it is of a square form; in the centre is a stone reservoir of water, made for performing the necessary ablutions or washings, previous to prayer; on the four sides of the building are arched apartments allotted for devotions, some of the fronts of which are covered with China tiles; but Kerim Khan dying before the work was completed, the remainder has been made up with a blue and white enamelled work of the kind before described. Within the apartments, on the walls, on each side, are engraved various sentences from the Koran, in the Nuskhi character; and at the upper end of the square is a large dome,

with

with a cupola at top, which is the particular place appropriated for the devotion of the Vakeel; this is lined throughout with white marble, ornamented with the curious blue and gold artificial lapis lazuli, and has three large silver lamps suspended from the roof of the dome: here mullahs or priests are constantly employed in reading the Koran. This mosque has very good detached apartments, with places for ablutions and other religious ceremonies: at a little distance, on the outside, the late Vakeel had laid the foundation for a range of very handsome buildings, which he designed to have been occupied by mullahs, dervishes, and other religious men; but, dying before the work was brought to perfection, the troubles in Persia since that period have prevented any other persons from finishing them, and in this imperfect state they remain at present, much to be regretted; as it would have added greatly to the beauty of the whole. In the centre of the city is another mosque, which the Persians call the Musjidi Noò, or the new mosque; but its date is nearly coeval with the city itself, at least since it has been inhabited by Mahomedans: it is a square building of a noble size, and has apartments for prayer on each side; in them are many inscriptions in the old Cufick character, which of themselves denote the antiquity of the place; in the centre of the square is a large terrace, on which the Persians perform their devotions, both morning and evening; this terrace is capable of containing upwards of two hundred persons, and is built of stone, raised two feet and a half high from the ground; there are here two very large cypress trees of an extraordinary height, which the Persians affirm to have stood the amazing length of six hundred years: they are called Aàshuk Maàshùka, or the lover and his mistress, and are held by the people in great veneration. The mosque has a garden adjoining to it, and places necessary for performing ablutions. In another quarter of the city is a square building of a very large size, formerly a college of considerable note, where the arts and sciences were taught; and is the same as that mentioned by Sir John Chardin, who visited this city in the last century. It is now, however, decaying very fast, but there are still mullahs and religious men residing in it; at present it goes by the name of Mudruffa Khan, or the Khan's college; but literature and the sciences have long since been neglected at Shirauz, and the present situation of the country does not seem to promise a speedy revival.

There are places in Shirauz distinguished by the name of Zòdr Khàna, the house of strength or exercise, to which the Persians resort for the sake of exercising themselves. These houses consist of one room, with the floor sunk about two feet below the surface of the earth, and the light and air are admitted to the apartment by means of several small perforated apertures made in the dome. In the centre is a large square terrace of earth, well beaten down, smooth, and even; and on each side are small alcoves raised about two feet above the terrace, where the musicians and spectators are seated. When all the competitors are assembled, which is on every Friday morning by day-break, they immediately strip themselves to the waist; on which each man puts on a pair of thick woollen drawers, and takes in his hands two wooden clubs of about a foot and a half in length, and cut in the shape of a pear; these they rest upon each shoulder, and the music striking up, they move them backwards and forwards with great agility, stamping with their feet at the same time, and straining every nerve, till they produce a very profuse perspiration. After continuing this exercise about half an hour, the master of the house, who is always one of them, and is distinguished by the appellation of Pehlwaùn, or wrestler, makes a signal, upon which they all leave off, quit their clubs, and, joining hands in a circle, begin to move their feet very briskly in union with the music, which is all the while playing a lively tune. Having continued this for a considerable time, they commence wrestling; but before the trial of  
skill

skill in this art begins, the master of the house addresses the company in a particular speech, in part of which he informs the candidates, that as they are all met in good fellowship, so ought they to depart, and that in the contest they are about entering into, they should have no malice or ill-will in their hearts; it being only an honourable emulation, and trial of strength, in which they are going to exert themselves, and not a contentious brawl; he therefore cautions them to proceed in good humour and concord. This speech is loudly applauded by the whole assembly. The wrestlers then turn to their diversion, in which the master of the house is always the challenger; and, being accustomed to the exercise, generally proves conqueror, by throwing each of the company two or three times successively. I have sometimes, however, seen him meet with his equal, especially when beginning to grow fatigued. The spectators pay each a Shahee, in money, equal to three-pence English, for which they are refreshed during the diversion with a calan and coffee. This mode of exercise, I should suppose, must contribute to health, as well as add strength, vigour, and a manly appearance to the frame. It struck me, in its manner of execution, to bear some resemblance to the gymnastic exercises of the ancients.

*The Baths.*] The baths in Persia are very commodious, and well worthy the attention of a stranger; they generally consist of two large apartments, one of which furnishes an accommodation for undressing, the other is the bath; on the sides of the first are benches of stone, raised two feet from the ground, on which are spread mats and carpets, where the bathers sit to undress, and from thence they proceed to the bath through a long narrow passage. The bath is a large room of an octagon form, with a cupola at top, through which the light and air are admitted; on the sides of this room are small platforms of wood raised about a foot from the ground, on which the people who enter to bathe perform their devotions, a ceremony the Persians always previously observe: at the upper end of the room is a large basin or reservoir of water, built of stone, well heated by means of stoves made at the bottom, with iron gratings over them; and adjoining is another reservoir of cold water, of either of which the bather has his choice. When he comes out of the hot bath, which is generally in the space of ten or twelve minutes, the people of the house stand ready to perform the operation of rubbing, and to effect this he is laid at full length on his back, with a pillow to support his head; a brush made of camel's hair is then used, which completely rubs off all the dirt the body has contracted. After rubbing some time, they rinse the whole body with several basins of warm water, and the person is reconducted to the dressing apartment, where he shifts and dresses at leisure, receiving a calan to smoke. The Persians are much more scrupulous than any other Eastern nation in permitting foreigners to go into their baths, which if attempted with their knowledge, they prevent. By means however of a small present, and on account of my living in a Persian family, and going privately at night, I had always free access; although Mr. Jones, a gentleman of the Buffora factory, then residing at Shirauz, going one night, after he was undressed, was informed by the keeper of the house, who understood he was an European, that he must dress himself immediately, and quit the place; alleging in excuse, that if it was known he had admitted a Feringy, he should lose both his custom and reputation, as the bath would thereby be deemed polluted. This is very remarkable, as I am informed that in Turkey it is quite the contrary, foreigners of all denominations being there allowed to use any of the baths whenever their inclinations lead them.

*The Gul Reàzee, or scattering of Roses.*] During the spring, the baths in Persia are decorated in great finery, a custom distinguished by the natives under the name of

Gul Reàzee (or the scattering of roses), from the vast quantity of those flowers strewed in the apartments; this ceremony continues a week or ten days, during which time the guests are entertained with music, dancing, coffee, sherbet, &c. and the dressing apartment is decked out with paintings, looking-glasses, streamers, and other ornaments, at the expence of the master of the humaùm, who compliments his customers on the occasion, though a small present is generally made by them to the musicians. The baths are used alternately by men and women every other day, but each sex generally use them but once a week, or in every ten days at farthest.

The bath built by Kerim Khàn is particularly beautiful; it has for the outer apartment a large handsome octagon, to which light is conveyed from the top; on the sides are platforms of stone, raised three feet from the ground, each of which has a square reservoir of water, and a large fountain, which, by constantly playing in the centre of the room, renders the place very cool and agreeable; the sides are adorned with pictures and tapestry; the inner apartment is lined throughout with Tauris marble, and the dome and sides ornamented with the imitation of the lapis lazuli. To this bath none are admitted but those of a higher rank, it being chiefly used by the principal Khàns, or officers of the army, and their families.

*Shàh Cheraùg.*] In the centre of the city, adjoining to the mosque called Musjidi Noò aforementioned, is a building of a very large size, which is called by the Persians the Shàh Cheraùg, or the king's lamp, and is considered as a place of the greatest sanctity about Shirauz, being the mausoleum of the brother of one of their Imaùms, or heads of the faith; this place is of considerable antiquity, nor is the exact date of its foundation ascertained; but by an extract I procured from the chronicles of the place, it appears to have been repaired by the celebrated Prince Azzud ad Dowlàh Deilemeè, of the family of Buyàh, who was Ameer al Umrah to one of the Caliphs of the house of Abbàs, and was a Prince of great abilities, learning, and piety. He reigned in the fourth century of the Mahomedan Hijra.

Having with great difficulty procured an extract from the chronicles of the place, which are kept in the mosque, I shall here insert a translation of them; and it will appear by this extract, that the building was formerly magnificent, but is now going to ruin. The last person who repaired it was Kerim Khàn, who gave it a complete new covering, but since his time it has been neglected, and has suffered much by the rain and other accidents, owing to the very great age of the building; however, there are at present some of the Imaùms Zàdas, or descendants from their Imaùms, residing in it, who are supported by what little remains of the former ample revenues of the place.

*Extract from the Aásar Ahumudì, or Chronicles of the Shàh Cheraùg, the Sepulchre of Ahumud Ibn Moùsa.*

“IT is related, from the register of most respectable chronicles, that in the days of Sultaùn Azzud ad Dowlah Deillemee, it was thus revealed to that Prince in a dream, that Meer Mahummed (the son of the religious, chief of the tribe of the worshippers of God, the most learned of the holy orators, and prime head of the expounders of the Koràn), as also Ahumud Ibn Afeef ad Deen Kubeèr (chief of the speakers of truth, and of those who praise the Deity), two persons, who from purity of heart had become the servants and guardians of this holy monument and most sanctified tomb, there resting from their labours, are interred. The Sultaun, therefore, was enjoined to go to their immediate descendants, that is to say, Sheik Afeef ad Deen Sàni and Peer Shems ad Deen, who are both now alive, and that he should by their means be pointed

out the sacred tomb, and from them receive instructions for the rebuilding and beautifying the edifice; and as formerly in the days of Sufoot ad Deen, Musauood, Ibn Bedr ad Deen, this holy tomb, as well as that of Seiud Meer Mohammed Abudeen Moufa Ibn Jaàfar (upon whom be peace!), and also that of Seiud Allah ad Deen Hoffein Ibn Moufa Kafim (the blessing of God be upon them!), had been re-built and beautified; so Ameer Sultàn Azzud ad Dowlah Deillemee, who is the slave of the posterity of Ali, having been pointed out these things in a dream, set forwards towards the holy place; and as this had been revealed to him, so it had also been revealed to the domestics of the sacred sepulchre of Sheick Afeef ad Deen Sàni and Peer Shems ad Deen: they, therefore, when the Sultaun arrived, informed him of what they had beheld; and he, agreeably to the command, came to the holy sepulchre, and ordered it to be opened; which being done, it appeared by measurement that this tomb was fifteen yards in length, and ten yards in breadth; and the sacred corpse was discovered to the eyes of Sultaun Azzud ad Dowla, and those who were with him, as well as to the grandfather of the author of the present work, who was on the spot. Upon the tomb they perceived a lighted candle, scented with camphire; and the body of that holy person appeared quite fresh and sweet, as if but lately interred, whilst from the blessed tomb there was emitted the scent of pure musk and ambergris, and from the top of the dome the rays of a clear and bright light were reflected around. It is further related, in the Shirauz Nàma, that Atta Beg Abu Bukir, the son of Saad Zunkèè, in the year of the Hijra 446, added many apartments to this building, as also did, after him, the most illustrious lady Bebee Jani Khatoon, who was either the second or third benefactress to it. — The history further observes, that Sultaun Azzud ad Dowla, and those who were with him, perceived on the finger of the corpse a seal ring, on which was engraved the following words: ‘Izzut Allà Tààla Ahumud Ibn Moufa: To God Almighty be glory! Ahumud the son of Moufa:’ and, moreover, Sultaun Ameer Azzud ad Dowla drew this ring off the finger, when suddenly it became invisible to him, and was on the finger of another in company, (but God knows who!) The Shirauz Nàma also relates, that at this time Sultaun Ameer Azzud ad Dowla was afflicted with a violent asthma, and the moment he entered the holy sepulchre, by virtue of that sacred body, he became perfectly cured, without the smallest trace of his disorder remaining; in acknowledgment of which great blessing, Sultaun Azzud ad Dowla determined on rebuilding and beautifying the sacred tomb; and those buildings which were to be seen in the days of Azzud ad Dowla, particularly the foundation of the present dome, the tower, the haram, and the ornaments of the sepulchre, as well as the college adjoining to the court-yard, were all done by him. He also appointed fixed salaries for the domestics of the place. The lady above mentioned, Bebee Jani Khatoon, was the sister of Sultaun Ishaàc, and not only a most noble and illustrious Princess, but so devout and respectable as to be the pride and ornament of the Seljukian race: (may the mercy of God be upon her!) She it was that rebuilt the tower, and those apartments which are above the area, both above and below, as also the market-place adjoining the Meidàn \*, the Nokàra Khanà †, and the Ash Khanà ‡. The Fars Nama, the Nezam al Towareèk, as well as the Shirauz Nama of Sheick Kuttob, and the Kitab Hizzà Beiaùn, all relate that the above noble character, Bebee Jàani Khatoon, appointed fourteen parcels of arable land, with proper aqueducts for conveying water, the revenues of which were taken from the village of Meimoon, and other places in the neighbourhood of Shirauz, for the maintenance of this holy tomb: she also made a

\* A square.

† The gallery for music.

‡ The kitchen.

present of thirty volumes of the Koràn, written in letters of gold (the work of Moulana Yeheca); and there was written on the top of them, 'May the curse of God overtake those who presume to lay hands on, or take away, these books.' She even ordained, that, excepting the guardian of the sepulchre, none should presume to look into, or meddle with the sacred volumes; nor should any have concern with the lands allotted for the support of the place, or the servants or domestics belonging to it, on any account whatever except him; which ordinations were confirmed by all succeeding Princes and great men who afterwards became benefactors to the tomb. It is further recorded, that Meer Hubeeb Allàh, the flower of religious and holy men, and chief of the race of the Seiùds (descendants of Mahomed), the most wise, the most learned, and the most exalted of his age, the disposer of benefices, and the performer of good actions, who, in the reign of Sháh Tehàmásp al Húffien al Hofsèeni Behàder Khàn (whose habitation now is paradise), was chief magistrate of the province of Fars, and guardian of the holy sepulchre, which he held by right of inheritance from his ancestors, who in regular succession had enjoyed the office of Vizier in Persia and guardian of this tomb, and voluntarily gave up all they possessed in support of it; for this reason, therefore, Meer Hubeeb Allàh resolved on re-beautifying the building, in consequence of which the tower and the apartments, both above and below, as well as the body of the edifice, were by him adorned in the most elegant manner, with curious gold enamelled work, in imitation of lapis lazuli, and other costly materials, as well within the building as in the outer courts and offices; and excepting the tomb of that illustrious Prince and Imaum, Abul Huffun Ali, Ibn Mòusa al Reza, the chief of the Imaums, (the blessing of God be upon him!) who was brother to this Imaum, there was nothing in the four quarters of the world could equal it, for the quantity of ground allotted for its support, the ample salaries of the readers of the Koràn, or for the expences of the Ash Khana, the Nokàra Khana, the Muezzins \*, its ornaments and buildings, all of which were renewed by this Meer Hubeeb Allàh; no mortal ever beholding its equal in beauty, magnificence, and splendor."

The above is as literal a translation as the language would admit of, which is very obscure and difficult in the original.

*The Tomb of Hafiz.*] The tomb of the celebrated and deservedly admired Hafiz, one of the most famous of the Persian poets, stands about two miles distant from the city walls, on the north-east side, and nearest the gate of Sháh Meerzà Hamzà. Here the late Vakeel Kerim Khàn has erected a most elegant ivàn or hall, with apartments adjoining: this building is executed in the same style as the Dewan Khàna, nor has any cost been spared to render it agreeable: it stands in the middle of a large garden; in front of the apartments is a stone reservoir, in the centre of which is a fountain. In the garden are many cypress-trees of extraordinary size and beauty, as well as of great antiquity: I take them to be the same as those described by Sir John Chardin. Under the shade of these trees is the tomb of the poet Mahòmed Shems ad Deen Hàfiz, of fine white marble from Tauris, eight feet in length and four in breadth: this was built by order of Kerim Khan, and covers the original one: on the top and sides of the tomb are select pieces from the poet's own works, most beautifully cut in the Persian Nustàleek character. During the spring and summer seasons, the inhabitants visit here, and amuse themselves with smoking, playing at chess, and other games, reading also the works of Hafiz, who is in greater esteem with them than any other of their poets; and they venerate him almost to adoration, never speaking of him but in the highest

\* Criers for the purpose of calling the people to prayers.

terms of rapture and enthusiasm: a most elegant copy of his works is kept upon the tomb for the purpose, and the inspection of all who go there. The principal youth of the city assemble here, and shew every possible mark of respect for their favourite poet, making plentiful libations of the delicious wine of Shirauz to his memory. Close by the garden runs the stream of Roknabad, so celebrated in the works of Hafiz; this, however, is now dwindled into a small rivulet, which takes its source from the mountains to the north-east. The water is clear and sweet, and in that respect deserves the fame it has obtained; it is held in great estimation by modern Persians, who attribute medicinal qualities to it; but with what justice I cannot determine.

The following couplet, from the works of the poet, may serve to illustrate the above passage:

بلا ساقی می باقی که در جنت نخواهی یافت  
کنار آب رکن آباد و گلگشت مصلا\*

“ Boy! bring me the wine that remains! for thou wilt not find in Paradise the sweet  
“ banks of our Roknabad, or the rosy bowers of Mofellày!”

SIR WILLIAM JONES.

Further, he observes of Mofellày:

مناک جعفر ابارو مصلا  
عبیر امیز فی لیل شغالش\*

“ From Jaáfar Abàd to the sweet bower of Mofellày, the morning gale cometh scented  
“ with ambergris!”

HAFIZ.

*Mofellày.*] This celebrated bower of Mofellày is situated a quarter of a mile to the westward of the tomb, but is entirely in ruins, no trace or vestige remaining of that pleasantness which you are taught to expect on perusing the preceding couplet; yet one may judge by the situation, which is really a delightful one, being lofty, that it might formerly have been agreeable. At present the country round about is rugged and barren, and now serves as a place for celebrating the Mahomedan festival of the Ide Korbàn, or the ceremonies which are observed on that day, in commemoration of Abraham's offering up his son Isaac, whom they call Ishmael.

*Heft.*] A little to the northward of Hafiz's tomb, is a magnificent building, called by the Persians Heft Tun, or the Seven Bodies, on account of seven Dervishes, or religious men, who coming from a great distance to reside in this country, took up their abode on the spot where the above building is erected, and there remained until they all died, each burying the other successively, until the only survivor, who was interred by the neighbours upon this spot, and in memory of which event Kerim Khan has erected a beautiful hall, with adjoining apartments: this hall is twenty-seven feet by eighteen, and forty feet high; one third of the height of the hall is lined with white marble from Tauris, and the rest and the ceiling are ornamented with blue and gold enamel: it is built on the same plan as those of Hafiz and the Dewàn Khàna, and is really a noble building. It has also some tolerable paintings, executed in the Persian style, amongst which is one of Abraham's offering up his son Isaac, with the angel descending; and another of Moses, when a boy, tending the flocks of his father-in-law Jethro. Over the doors of this hall are placed portraits of the two celebrated poets Hafiz and Sàdi, done at full length: that of Hafiz habited in the old Persian dress. He is painted with a fresh rosy complexion, and a very large pair of whiskers, and in the picture appears to be about six-and-thirty years of age; the other, of Sheick Sàdi, is the figure

of

of a venerable old man, with a long beard turned white by age, dressed in a religious dress, with long flowing robes, in his right hand holding a small crooked iron staff, and in the other a charger of incense. Before the hall is a very handsome stone reservoir, where the Persians observe their ablutions (enjoined by the Mahomedan laws) previous to their performing their devotions near the graves of the seven Dervishes (each of which have handsome tomb-stones over them), in a spot of ground allotted for that purpose. The garden consists of two avenues of cypress trees, bounded by a high wall, and there is a fine spacious terrace on the top of this building, from whence you have an extensive view of the city of Shirauz, and the adjoining country. To this place, as well as to the tomb of Hafiz, the Persians frequently resort, and amuse themselves until evening, when they return to the city.

*Dil Gushaie.*] On a parallel line with Heft Tun, about three quarters of a mile distant, is the garden of Dil Gushaie, so called from the pleasantness of its situation, signifying in Persian, heart expanding: it is situated at the foot of a high mountain, out of which issues a stream of clear fresh water, for the reception of which there has been made a succession of stone basins, so fashioned as to make the water fall down from one to the other, after the manner of a cascade, and at about sixty paces distant from each other; these forming separate falls, have a pleasing effect to the eye. In the centre is a summer-house, built of stone, through which the water runs by means of a stone channel: in this place the Persians sit and amuse themselves, smoking and playing at games of chance, and regale themselves with what they may have brought from the city. This garden is, upon the whole, extremely agreeable, the water clear and cold, and the air delightfully mild and refreshing.

*The Tomb of Sâdi.*] A mile to the eastward of Dil Gushaie, is the tomb of the celebrated Sheick Sâdi aforementioned, situated at the foot of the mountains that bound Shirauz to the N.E. and is a large square building, at the upper end of which are two alcoves, recesses in the wall; that on the right hand is the tomb of Sheick, just in the state it was in when he was buried, built of stone, six feet in length, and two and a half in breadth: on the sides of it are engraved many sentences in the old Nuskhi character, relating to the poet and his works. Sâdi flourished about five hundred and fifty years ago, and his works are held in great esteem amongst all the Eastern nations for their morality, and for the excellent precepts they inculcate. On the top of the tomb is a covering of painted wood, black and gold, on which is an ode of the Sheick's, written in the modern Nustaleek character, and on removing this board is perceived the empty stone coffin in which the Sheick was buried. This the religious, who come here, take care to strew with flowers, rosaries, and various relics. On the top of the tomb is placed, for the inspection of all who visit there, a manuscript copy of the Sheick's works, most elegantly transcribed. On the side of the walls are many Persian verses, written by those who have at different times visited the place. The building is now going to ruin, and unless repaired must soon fall entirely to decay. It is much to be regretted, that the uncertain state of affairs in the country will not admit of any one's being at the expence of repairing it. Men who are to-day in authority and power, are, perhaps, to-morrow seized on and dragged to prison; nor can any one depend upon the fate of the ensuing day. Adjoining to this building are the graves of many religious men, who have been buried here at their own requests.

*A remarkable Channel.*] A little to the left of this building, under ground, is a very remarkable channel, to which you descend by a flight of seventy stone steps, and at the bottom are surpris'd at the sight of a handsome building, of an octangular form, through which the channel runs. It is built entirely of stone, which, although the  
work

work of many ages past, yet remains complete and perfect. This the present Persians superstitiously attribute to its having been built with what they call Pool Helaül, or lawful money, *i. e.* money not acquired by oppression and tyranny; for they say that such buildings as have been erected by tyrants soon moulder and fade away; whilst, on the contrary, the works of good and just princes endure for ages unhurt. They have formed these opinions by attending to the tradition of the place, which they say was built by a king of Persia named Gemsheed, a prince famous in the Persian history for his piety and justice, and the same who built Persepolis, he having first, at a vast expence and much labour, dug out a stream of water from the adjacent mountains, which was conveyed by an aqueduct to this well, from whence it flows through a stone channel formed under ground, about two feet in breadth, and supplies all the places adjoining to Shirauz with excellent water. The present natives attribute great virtues to the supposed properties of this water, and are fond of bathing in it. On the sides of this building are recesses and alcoves, where those who visit it sit and smoke, and find it perfectly cool and refreshing, even in the hottest day of summer. Sir John Chardin mentions a fountain near the tomb of Sâdi, in which, he says, were fish consecrated to the Sheick; but as there are no signs of any thing at present remaining similar to his description, I think it is probable he meant the above-mentioned channel, in which are caught abundance of very fine fish. This place, though it may not be of the date tradition mentions, yet certainly bears marks of very great antiquity; and as such is an object worthy the attention of a stranger, which induced me to insert the above description.

A quarter of a mile to the northward of the gate Shaah Meerza Hamzà, is a large octagon building, in the inside of which is the tomb of Abdurrahèem Khàn, the second son of the late Vakeel Kerim Khàn, who died in the 12th year of his age. This tomb is eight feet in length, and three in breadth, standing in the centre of the room, covered with a piece of brocade; it is of very fine marble from Tauris, elegantly gilt: on the top and sides are inscriptions in the Persian language, well cut, in the Nustaleek character, and the room has a beautiful dome, with the cupola and sides ornamented with blue and gold enamelled work, imitative of China-ware. The Persians excel all the Eastern nations in this kind of enamel; and what makes it so pleasing to the eye, is the brightness of the colours, which far exceed, in their liveliness, any thing that can be done in Europe; and I think are equal to those produced in China.

Kerim Khan, amongst other beneficial works during his lifetime, built several summer-houses in the neighbourhood of Shirauz. The gardens in which they are placed are laid out in an agreeable style, though quite different to our ideas of the beauties of gardening; they consist generally of long strait plantations of sycamore and cypress trees, planted regularly on each side the walk, in form of avenues, and have parterres of flowers in the centre, with stone fountains in different parts of the garden, which add much to the coolness and beauty of them. On the side of the walls are erected scaffoldings of wood, covered over at top with thin laths, on which the grape vines grow, and form pleasant arbours. Indeed this truly great man well deserved his good fortune, as he spent the best part of his life in adorning Shirauz, which he considered his chief city of residence, with every thing that could make it comfortable and agreeable to his subjects; a circumstance the Persians have been more sensible of since his death: nor is his name ever mentioned by them, especially the middling and lower class of people, but in terms expressive of the highest gratitude and esteem.

As the religion of the Persians is known to be Mahomedan, and as very good accounts have already been given of it, I shall touch but lightly on the subject; but as they are of the sect of the Sheiàs, or followers of Ali, some of their customs, as well religious as civil, may probably differ from those of the Turks, who are of the sect of the Sunnies, or followers of Omar. I shall therefore make a few remarks on what I think most worthy of observation in each of them: and first respecting their marriages.

*Marriages of the Persians.*] When the parents of a young man have determined upon marrying him, they look out amongst their kindred and acquaintance for a suitable match; in which having succeeded, the father or mother of the young man, or sometimes his sister, assemble a number of their friends, and go to the house where the person they intend to demand lives: being arrived, a conversation takes place, in which the business is opened and the match proposed. If the father of the woman is contented with the proposals, he immediately orders sweetmeats to be brought in, which is taken as a direct sign of compliance; and the company for that time take leave. Some days after, the females of the family of the man assemble at the house of the intended bride, where the terms of marriage are settled, and the usual presents on the part of the bridegroom are promised. These, if the person be in middling circumstances, generally consist of two complete suits of apparel of the best sort, a ring, a looking-glass, and a small sum in ready money of about ten or twelve tomans, which sum is denominated Mehr u Kawèèn, or the marriage-portion, it being given for the express purpose of providing for the wife in case of a divorce. There is also provided a quantity of household stuff of all sorts, such as carpets, mats, bedding, utensils for dressing victuals, &c. After this a writing or contract is drawn up, in the presence of, and witnessed by, the Cadi, or magistrate, or in his absence by an akhund, or priest: this writing the Persians call Akud Bundèè, or the binding contract, in which the father of the bride sets forth, that on such a day, in such a year, he has given his daughter in marriage to the son of such a person (mentioning the name of the bridegroom and his father), who also on his part enumerates the different presents he makes in his son's name to the bride, as well as the stipulated money called Mehr u Kawèèn. This writing is signed and sealed by both parties, as well as the Cadi and the Mullah, and is deposited in the hands of the bride's father, where it always serves as a record, in case of a divorce, to enforce the fulfilling of the marriage-articles: for on this occasion the husband is obliged to make good the contract, even to the minutest agreement, before the divorce can be complete. When this ceremony is finished, the marriage by the Mahomedan law is deemed perfect. It is, however, observable that portions are never given with daughters in Persia, as is the custom in Europe, and in most places of the East. Nothing now remains but to celebrate the wedding, and this is generally performed on the second or third day after signing the contract, in the following manner: the night before the wedding, the friends and relations of the bride assemble at her house, attended by music, dancing girls, and other signs of festivity. This night is distinguished by the appellation of Sheb Hinna Bundee, or the night in which the hands and feet of the bride are stained with the herb of hinna, well known all over the East. Previous to the ceremony, a large quantity of this herb is sent by the bridegroom to the house of the bride; and on the day of staining she is first conveyed to the bath, where having bathed, she is brought back to her own house; after which they stain her hands and feet, at the same time painting her eyebrows and forehead with antimony powder called surma: when this is finished, they send back what remains of the herb

to the house of the bridegroom, where the like operation is performed upon him by his friends. The wedding night being come, the friends both of the bride and bridegroom, men and women, assemble at the house of the bride, in order to carry her to that of her future husband: they are attended by all sorts of music, singers, and dancing girls, and all are dressed in their smartest apparel, each of the women having on a veil of red silk. The presents which the bridegroom has made, are all put into trays covered with red silk, which are carried on men's shoulders. After waiting at the door some time, the bride is brought forth, covered from head to foot in a veil of red silk, or painted muslin; a horse is then presented for her to mount, which is sent thither expressly by the bridegroom; and when she is mounted, a large looking-glass is held before her by one of the bride-maids, all the way to the house of her husband, as an admonition to her, that it is the last time she will look into a glass as a virgin, being now about to enter into the cares of the married state. The procession then sets forward in the following order:—first, the music and dancing girls; after which the presents, in trays borne upon men's shoulders; next come the relations and friends of the bridegroom, all shouting and making a great noise; who are followed by the bride herself, surrounded by all her female friends and relations, one of whom leads the horse by the bridle; and several others on horseback close the procession. Being arrived at the house of the bridegroom, they are met at the door by the father and mother, and from thence are conducted up stairs: the bride then enters the room. The bridegroom, who is at the upper end, makes a low obeisance; and presently after, coming close up to his bride, takes her up into his arms and embraces her. Soon after they retire into a private chamber; and, on their return to the company, it causes great rejoicings. They then all sit down to supper in separate apartments, the men eating with the bridegroom in one room, and the women with the bride in another; it being quite contrary to custom for the women to eat in company with the men on this occasion. The wedding-supper is prolonged to a late hour in the night, with cheerfulness and festive mirth.

Rejoicings in Persia for a wedding generally continue eight or ten days. If, after marriage, a man should be discontented with his wife (which is sometimes the case in this as in other countries), he is at liberty to divorce her; a man, by the Mahomedan law, being always enabled to put his wife away at discretion: this is performed by giving her every thing he had promised her previous to marriage, and by re-demanding the contract of his wife's relations. The ceremony of divorce is called by the Persians *Tellaak*. If again, after the divorce, the husband should be inclined to take his wife back, he is at liberty so to do, and this for three times successively; and when it so happens, the contract must be renewed each time: but after the third time he is expressly forbidden to re-marry the same woman. I have heard a story of the woman's being obliged first to be married, then bedded, and afterwards divorced by another man, before her first husband can re-marry her; but I never could meet with an instance of it in Persia, or ever knew of any custom of that kind prevalent in the country, although I made frequent enquiries concerning it. It seldom happens that a man, who is once divorced from his wife, is inclined to take her back again; those who do so being in little estimation with their neighbours: and with respect to the number of wives a man has, although by the Mahomedan law he is certainly allowed as many as he is able to maintain, yet in general, amongst the Persians, that person is most esteemed who attaches himself to one.

Contracts of marriage in Persia, as well as in many other places in the East, are often made between families at a very early period; and although consummation does

not take place till many years after, yet the woman contracted cannot divorce herself, or be absolved from the contract, unless by the consent of her betrothed husband, except on forfeiture of a considerable sum of money. The same is also binding on the part of the man.

A widow in Persia is obliged to wait four months, after the death of her husband, before she is permitted by law to marry again; but the concubine of a person deceased may go to another as soon as she pleases.

*Christenings or naming of Children in Persia.*] At the christening, or rather naming of children in Persia, the following ceremony is observed: the third or fourth day after the child is born, the friends and relations of the woman who has lain in assemble at her house, attended by music and dancing-girls, hired for the occasion; after playing and dancing some time, a Mullah, or priest, is introduced, who, taking the child in his arms, demands of the mother what name she chuses the infant should be called by; being told, he begins praying, after a short time applies his mouth close to the child's ear, and tells him distinctly three times (calling him by name) to remember and be obedient to his father and mother; to venerate his Koràn and his Prophet; to abstain from those things which are unlawful, and to practise those things which are good and virtuous. Having repeated the Mahomedan profession of faith, he then re-delivers the child to his mother; after which the company are entertained with sweetmeats and other refreshments, a part of which the females present always take care to carry away in their pockets, believing it to be the infallible means of their having offspring themselves. The ceremony of the Sunnut, or circumcision, in Persia, is generally performed during the Chehula, or space of forty days from the birth of the child; as within that period it is less dangerous than at a more advanced age. Some there are, however, who do not undergo the operation until the expiration of seven or eight years; but it is absolutely necessary that it should take place before the age of fourteen, as after that time it is deemed unlawful; on this occasion the parents of the child invite their relations and friends to an entertainment. The operation is performed after the Jewish ritual, and in the manner practised by the Mussulmans of India.

With great men this ceremony is uncommonly splendid. During my residence at Shirauz, I had an opportunity of being an eye-witness to the rejoicings made by the inhabitants in honour of the son of Jáfar Khàn, who, on the 27th of April 1787, had the ceremony performed upon him.

*Festival of the Cheraugoons.*] On the 20th, great preparations having previously been made, all the bazars in Shirauz were splendidly illuminated, particularly the grand bazar, which was adorned throughout with lustres of party-coloured lamps, suspended from the roof about half way down: the shops of the merchants on each side were dressed out in great finery, with silver paper, rich hangings, &c.; the walls on each side, to a considerable height, covered with tapestry, looking-glasses, and many paintings, done in the Persian style, most of them representing the ancient Kings of Persia and India, in the different dresses of their respective countries; as well as designs taken from their most admired poets. Bands of music, and dancing women, were constantly performing night and day, throughout the different bazars, on scaffoldings erected for the purpose; and the whole was a scene of festivity for seven days and as many nights. Among several ingenious things observable on this occasion, the sight presented at the Juba Khàna, or the Khàn's arsenal, was most worthy of notice. In the centre of this building the armourers had suspended in the air a brass mortar of 800 cwt. by some hidden means, as nothing appeared to support it, either above or below; the only visible thing being a number of coloured bottles sticking to it, as if

to keep it buoyant in the atmosphere. I was told, however, that it was effected by means of a wire passed from the roof of the place to the mouth of the mortar; but not being visible to the spectators, it gave a very ingenious effect. The decorations on this occasion cost the shop-keepers and tradesmen considerable sums, as, besides the expences of the illuminations, they were obliged to make a handsome *peishcush*, or present, to the Khan and his son, who also on this occasion gave a grand entertainment in the citadel, to which the principal men in the city were invited; and the whole was concluded by a magnificent display of fireworks.

*The funerals of the Persians.*] The funerals of the Persians are conducted in a similar manner to those in other Mahomedan countries. On the death of a Mussulman, the relations and friends of the deceased being assembled, make loud lamentations over the corpse; after which it is washed and laid out on a bier, and carried to the place of interment without the city walls, attended by a Mullah, or priest, who chants passages from the Koràn all the way to the grave. If any Mussulman should chance to meet the corpse during the procession, he is obliged, by the precepts of his religion, to run up to the bier, and offer his assistance in carrying it to the grave, crying out at the same time, *Làb Illàb Ill Lillàb!* "There is no God but God." After interment, the relations of the deceased return home, and the women of the family make a mixture of wheat, honey, and spices, which they eat in memory of the deceased, sending a part of it to their friends and acquaintance, that they also may pay him a like honour. — This custom seems to be derived from very great antiquity, as we read in Homer of sacrifices and libations being frequently made to the memory of departed souls.

*Price of Blood.*] The Persians are very strict in respect to the price of blood, or *lex talionis*, this being laid down and authorized as a positive command in the Koran; it is called *Deiut*. At Shirauz, if a man murders another person, he is obliged to pay a *Deiut*, either in money or goods, to the value of 800 piastres, which is to be received by the relations of the deceased; but if this is not agreed to, and the relations insist upon it (the acceptance being entirely optional), the murderer is to be delivered up to the nearest of kindred to the person slain, and is by them put to death: but should it so happen that the murderer escapes, the two families are at perpetual variance, until full satisfaction be made, either by paying the price of blood, as related, or apprehending the murderer, and surrendering him, a circumstance often attended with very bloody consequences. There is yet, however, another mode of compromise, and to which, in one instance, I was an eye-witness; which is, the relations of the murderer giving in marriage a daughter, or niece, to the son of the deceased, as the price of blood; and when this is the case, the two families becoming one, the reconciliation is always complete.

*The Management of the Police at Shirauz.*] The police in Shirauz, as well as all over Persia, is very good. As before observed, at sunset the gates of city are shut; no person whatever is permitted either to come in or go out during the night; the keys of the different gates being always sent to the Hakim or governor, and remaining with him until morning. During the night, three tiblas, or drums, are beaten at three different times; the first at eight o'clock, the second at nine, and the third at half past ten. After the third tibla has sounded, all persons whatsoever found in the streets by the Daroga, or judge of the police, or by any of his people, are instantly taken up, and conveyed to a place of confinement, where they are detained until next morning, when they are carried before the Hakim; and if they cannot give a very good account of themselves, are punished, either by the *bastinado*, or a fine.

*Sheick al Sellaum, or the Head of the Faith.*] Civil matters are all determined by the Cazi, and ecclesiastical ones (particularly divorces) by the Sheick al Sellaum, or head of the faith; an office answering to that of Mufti in Turkey. Justice is carried on in Persia in a very summary manner; the sentence, whatever it may be, being always put into execution on the spot. Theft is generally punished with the loss of nose and ears: robbing on the road, by ripping up the belly of the criminal, in which situation he is exposed upon a gibbet in one of the most public parts of the city, and there left until he expires in torment; a dreadful punishment, but in the end extremely salutary, as the sight deters others from committing the same crime, and renders robberies in Persia very uncommon. The punishments in this country are so varied and cruel, that humanity shudders at the thought; and the happy Englishman, viewing them, blesses himself that he is born in the arms of freedom and liberty, where property is not only sacred, but justice administered with mercy!

*The Fast of Ramazàn.*] The Persians observe the fast during the month of Ramazàn (the ninth month of the Mahomedan year) with great strictness and severity. About an hour before daylight, they eat a meal which is called Sèhre, and from that time until the next evening at sunset, they neither eat nor drink of any thing whatever. It is even so very rigid, that if in the course of the day the smoke of a calcan, or the smallest drop of water reaches their lips, the fast is in consequence deemed broken, and of no avail. From sunset until the next morning they are allowed to refresh themselves. This fast, when the month Ramazàn falls in the middle of summer, as it sometimes must do (the Mahomedan year being lunar), is extremely severe, especially to those who are obliged by their occupations to go about during the day-time, and is rendered still more so, as there are also several nights during its existence, which they are enjoined to spend in prayer. The Persians particularly observe two; the one being that in which their prophet Ali died, from a wound which he received from the hands of an assassin three days before; which night is the 21st of Ramazàn, the day of which is called by the natives Yeòm al Kutul, or the day of murder; the other is the night of the 23d, in which they affirm that the Koràn was brought down from heaven by the angel Gabriel, and delivered to their prophet Mahomed; wherefore it is denominated Lailut ul Kudur, or the night of power. The first of these nights the Turks and others of the sect of the Sunnies do not observe, and the latter they keep on the night of the 27th; but both nights are spent by the Persians entirely in prayer; besides which, the most religious men generally allot a part of each day in the month for the purpose of reading the Koràn. From this fast, women under particular circumstances relative to their sex, very old persons, the sick, and children under the age of fourteen, are exempted; every other person is enjoined to keep it, as absolutely necessary to salvation. Travellers also, during this month (when on actual journey), are exempted from observing the fast; but in lieu thereof are obliged, on their return home, to fast an equal number of days in another month: though the Persians say, that one day's fast in the month of Ramazàn is more acceptable to God than all the remainder of the year put together. This month, by way of eminence, is styled by the Mahomedans Al Mubarak, or the blessed: and they affirm that whatever Mussulmàn die during it, will most assuredly enter into paradise; as they believe the gates of heaven are then open by the command of God. People of a religious turn of mind begin this fast seven or eight days before Ramazàn, and some continue it as many more during the succeeding month.

*Shuwàul.*] The 1st of Ramazàn, or 1st of Shuwàul, is not observed here as in Turkey, with any particular solemnity.

*The Festival of the Ide Korbàn.*] The 23d of September, which this year happened on the 10th of the Mahomedan month Zul à Huj, A. H. 1201, is kept in Persia as a grand festival, and was celebrated at Shirauz with extraordinary rejoicings; it is called by the Persians Ide Korbàn, or the festival of sacrifice; being the same, they say, as that in which Abraham offered up his son Isaac, whom they call Ismaël. A few days previous to its commencement, each family takes care to purchase a fine fat sheep, which they design for the sacrifice, distinguished by the name of Gofesund Korbàn, or the sheep of sacrifice; this sheep they take great care of, and he must be without spot or blemish, in order to represent the purity of Isaac. The day being come, they adorn the victim with ribbands, beads, and other finery; also staining his face, feet, and different parts of his body with the herb hinna. The neighbours reciprocally visit each other, and exchange the wish of a happy ide, or festival. Their mode of salutation is *Ide Shùmá Mubàrik bāsbed!* “May your festival be fortunate!” The victim being slain, they fend the different parts of him as presents to their friends and to the poor. Some, indeed, do not reserve any part for themselves; but every Mussulman is enjoined by his religion to give a part of what he kills that day to the indigent, who generally find means to make a comfortable meal. The day is spent in the utmost festivity. Among those of higher rank, the following ceremonies are observed: the Khàn, or in his absence the Beglerbeg, goes in procession to the place of sacrifice, which is without the city, and is called the Korbàn Gàh. A favourite camel, chosen for the occasion, is led forth, which is dressed out in great finery, and is considered as sacred. On their arrival at the place, the Khàn first strikes a lance into the breast of the animal, and the crowd are permitted to rush in, by which he is presently cut into a thousand pieces; and happy in their estimation is the person who can procure the least portion of him, as they look upon it a great blessing, and an infallible omen of future good fortune. The procession returns to the city, where a scaffolding is erected before the palace, and the people are entertained with rope-dancing, singers (male and female), tumblers, ram-fighting, and other diversions until evening. The Persians, on this occasion, have all of them by heart an ode made for the day, which they repeat as they walk the streets; and cheerfulness, with contentment, sits on every countenance. As I lived in a native family, I thought it proper on this occasion to make a present to it of a sheep for the sacrifice, by which I afforded great satisfaction; and we spent the day in high mirth. Indeed I attributed my own comfortable situation, during my residence in Persia, principally to my ready and general compliance with all their manners and customs; a practice I would advise every traveller, who wishes to live agreeably in a strange country, to observe; experiencing myself the benefit of it in so ample a manner.

*Ide Kudeèr.*] The 30th of September, being the 17th of Zu à Hùj, is also observed here as a festival, and is called Ide Kudeèr, or the festival of fate, being, according to the Persians, the day in which their prophet Mahomet bequeathed the caliphat to Ali his son-in-law, nine days before he died; but this is denied by the Turks and others of the sect of the Sunnies, and has been the cause of much animosity and bloodshed.

*The Fruits of Shirauz.*] No place in the world produces the necessaries of life in greater abundance and perfection than Shirauz; nor is there a more delightful spot in nature to be conceived, than the vale in which it is situated, either for the salubrity of the air, or for the profusion of every thing necessary to render life comfortable and agreeable. The fields yield plenty of rice, wheat, and barley, which they generally begin to reap in the month of May, and by the middle of July the harvest is completed. Most of the European fruits are produced here, and many of them are superior in size and flavour to what can be raised in Europe, particularly the apricot and grape. Of

the grape of Shirauz there are several sorts, all of them very good, but two or three more particularly so than the rest; one is the large white grape, called Reesh Bâbâ, without seed, which is extremely luscious and agreeable to the taste; the small white grape, called Akeri, also without seed, and as sweet as sugar; the black grape, of which the celebrated wine of Shirauz is made. This wine is pressed by the Armenians and Jews, in the months of October and November, and a vast deal is exported annually to Abu Shehr, and other parts in the Persian Gulph, for the supply of the India market. The wine of Shirauz is really delicious, and well deserving of praise; so much so, that people who have drank it for a space of time seldom care for any other, though at the first taste it is rather unpleasant to an European. They have another kind of large red grape, called Sahibi, the bunches of which weigh seven or eight pounds each: it is sharp and rough to the taste, and makes vinegar of a very superior quality. The cherries here are but indifferent; but apples, pears, melons, peaches, quinces, nectarines, and the gage plums, are all very good, and in the greatest plenty. The pomegranate is good to a proverb; the Persians call it the fruit of paradise.

*Breed of Horses.*] The breed of horses in the province of Fars is at present very indifferent, owing to the ruinous state of the country; but in the province of Dushit-taân, lying to the south-west, it is remarkably good. The sheep are of a superior flavour, owing to the excellence of the pasturage in the neighbourhood of Shirauz, and are also celebrated for the fineness of their fleece: they have tails of an extraordinary size, some of which I have seen weigh upwards of thirty pounds; but those which are sold in the markets do not weigh above six or seven. Their oxen are large and strong, but their flesh is seldom eaten by the natives, who confine themselves chiefly to that of sheep and fowls. Provisions of all kinds are very cheap; and the neighbouring mountains affording an ample supply of snow throughout the year, the meanest artificer of Shirauz may have his water and fruits cooled without any expence worthy his consideration: this snow being gathered on the tops of the mountains, and brought in carts to the city, is sold in the markets. The price of provisions is regulated at Shirauz with the greatest exactness, by the Daroga, or judge of the police, who sets a fixed price upon every article, and no shop-keeper dares to demand more, under the severe penalty of losing his nose and ears; such being the punishment attached to a crime of this nature; by which means the poorest inhabitants are effectually secured from imposition, in so capital an article as the necessaries of life.

*Manufactures and Trade.*] Manufactures and trade are at present greatly decayed in Persia, the people having had no interval of peace to recover themselves since the death of Kerim Khan to the present period: but if a regular and permanent government were once again established, there is little doubt but they would flourish, as the Persians are very ingenious, of quick capacities, and even the lower class of artificers are industrious and diligent. They work in filligree and ivory remarkably well, and are good turners. They have at Shirauz a glass manufactory, where they cast very good glass, of which great quantities are exported to different parts of Persia; by which the manufacturers acquire considerable profit. Most of the woollen goods, silks, and worked linens, are brought from Yezd and Carmania, from both of which places they also export felts and carpets. A great quantity of copper is produced from Tauris, and other of the more northern parts of Persia. Kôm is remarkable for excellent sword-blades; but at present all trade with Europeans is stopped; and the state of the country does not promise a speedy return of it. India goods are imported chiefly from Abu Shehr. In matters of trade amongst the natives, the whole is under the regulation of the calònter, or town-clerk, who regulates the duties to be paid to the

the Khan on all imports: this is sometimes executed with a severity which leaves the merchant little or no profit upon his goods. This officer has an apartment in the grand caravanferai, where himself or his assistant resides, who is called the Goom Rook, or custom-master, and is always present on the arrival of a caravan. All goods are opened here, even to the meanest article, and a duty is exacted upon every thing foreign. This office affords a field for great knavery, which I doubt not is often practised, as I have frequently heard the merchants complain of the oppressive disposition of the present superintendant with much acrimony: this proceeding cannot, however, be presumed to have the sanction of the Khan, as it is most probable he is often defrauded without its coming to his knowledge; for a person detected in the practice of these tricks would unquestionably suffer death.

*The climate of Shirauz.*] The climate of Shirauz is one of the most agreeable in the world, the extremes of heat and cold being seldom felt. During the spring of the year the face of the country appears uncommonly beautiful. The flowers, of which they have a great variety, and of the brightest hues, the fragrant herbs, shrubs, and plants, the rose, the sweet basil, and the myrtle, all here contribute to refresh and perfume the natural mildness of the air. The nightingale of the garden (called by the Persians *boolbul hezar dastaan*), the goldfinch, and the linnet, by their melodious warblings, at this delightful season of the year, serve to add to the satisfaction of the mind, and to inspire it with the most pleasing ideas. The beauties of nature are here depicted in their fullest extent; the natural historian and the botanist would here meet with ample scope for pursuing their favourite investigations. With such advantages, added to the salubrity of the air, how can it be wondered at, that the inhabitants of Shirauz should so confidently assert the pre-eminence of their own city to any other in the world? or that such beauties should fail of calling forth the poetical exertions of a Hâfiz, a Sâdi, or a Jâmî? Their mornings and evenings are cool, but the middle of the day is very pleasant. In summer the thermometer seldom rises above seventy-three in the day-time, and at night it generally sinks as low as sixty-two. The autumn is the worst season of the year, that being the time when the rains begin to fall, and during the autumnal months it is considered by natives as the most unhealthy; colds, fluxes, and fevers being very general. In winter a vast deal of snow falls, and very thick, but ice is rarely to be found, except on the summits of the mountains, or towards Ispahan, and the more northern parts of Persia. One thing, which is most to be esteemed in this country, and renders it preferable to any other part of the world, is their nights, which are always clear and bright, and the dew that in most places is of so pernicious and dangerous a nature, is not of the least ill consequence here: there is none at all in summer, and in the other seasons it is of such a nature, that if the brightest scimitar should be exposed to it all the night, it would not receive the least rust; a circumstance I have myself experienced. This dryness in the air causes their buildings to last a great while, and is undoubtedly one of the principal reasons that the celebrated ruins of Persepolis have endured for so many ages, and comparatively speaking, in so perfect a state; that place being situated in much such another valley as Shirauz, and but two days' journey from thence. The nights in Persia, and more particularly in the southern parts of it are most excellently adapted for the science of astronomy, being of extraordinary brightness, and far preferable in that point to what I have observed in any country in which it has been my fortune to reside.

*Slight account of the character of the modern Persians.*] In attempting to say any thing of the character of the modern Persians; I am sensible of the difficulty of the undertaking, from my being so short a time amongst them. An acquaintance with the

real character of a people is only capable of being attained by a very long residence; yet as, during my stay in Persia, from the situation I was placed in, by living in a native family, I had an opportunity of seeing more of the nature and disposition of the middling sort of people, and their manners and customs, than perhaps has fallen to the lot of most travellers, I am induced to give the few observations I made during that period. The Persians, with respect to outward behaviour, are certainly the Parisians of the East. Whilst a rude and insolent demeanour peculiarly marks the character of the Turkish nation towards foreigners and Christians, the behaviour of the Persians would, on the contrary, do honour to the most civilized nations: they are kind, courteous, civil, and obliging to all strangers, without being guided by those religious prejudices so very prevalent in every other Mahomedan nation; they are fond of enquiring after the manners and customs of Europe; and, in return, very readily afford any information in respect to their own country. The practice of hospitality is with them so grand a point, that a man thinks himself highly honoured if you will enter his house and partake of what the family affords; whereas going out of a house, without smoking a calean, or taking any other refreshment, is deemed, in Persia, a high affront; they say that every meal a stranger partakes with them brings a blessing upon the house: to account for this, we must understand it as a pledge of faith and protection, when we consider that the continual wars in which this country has been involved, with very little cessation, since the extinction of the Sefi family, have greatly tended to an universal depravity of disposition, and a perpetual inclination to acts of hostility. This has lessened that softness and urbanity of manners for which this nation has been at all former times so famous; and has at the same time too much extinguished all sentiments of honour and humanity amongst those of higher rank.

The Persians, in their conversation, use such extravagant and hyperbolical compliments on the most trifling occasions, that it would at first inspire a stranger with an idea, that every inhabitant of the place was willing to lay down his life, shed his blood, or spend his money in his service; and this mode of address (which in fact means nothing) is observed not only by those of a higher rank, but even amongst the meanest artificers, the lowest of which will make no scruple, on your arrival, of offering you the city of Shirauz and all its appurtenances, as a *peishkush* or present. This behaviour appears at first very remarkable to Europeans, but after a short time becomes equally familiar. Freedom of conversation is a thing totally unknown in Persia, as that "walls have ears" is proverbially in the mouth of every one. — The fear of chains which bind their bodies has also enslaved their minds; and their conversation to men of superior rank to themselves is marked with signs of the most abject and slavish submission; while, on the contrary, they are as haughty and overbearing to their inferiors. The excessive fear and awe they stand in before the great, is exemplified in a circumstance I shall mention, which happened when I accompanied Mr. Jones, of the Bussora Factory, to the Persian camp, in an audience we were admitted to with Jaafar Khan. The Khan had ordered Mr. Jones to be shewn his horses; who having seen them, was asked which he liked the best. Mr. Jones told him (through me) that he approved very much of the stud in general, but that two horses (naming them) were entitled to more particular attention. This the man who accompanied us, and who was in the capacity of a gentleman usher, interpreted to the Khan in the following terms: "He says that all the horses are the finest that ever were seen; but as to the two marked out, their equal is not to be found in any part of the world." And at this answer the Khan himself seemed pleased; no doubt from having been used to no other language from his infancy.

The Persians, in their conversation, aim much at elegance, and are perpetually repeating verses and passages from the works of their most favourite poets, Hafiz, Sâdi, and Jâmi; a practice universally prevalent, from the highest to the lowest; because those who have not the advantages of reading and writing, or the other benefits arising from education, by the help of their memories, which are very retentive, and what they learn by heart, are always ready to bear their part in conversation. They also delight much in jokes and quaint expressions, and are fond of playing upon each other; which they sometimes do with great elegance and irony. There is one thing much to be admired in their conversations, which is the strict attention they always pay to the person speaking, whom they never interrupt on any account. They are in general a personable, and in many respects a handsome, people: their complexions, saving those who are exposed to the inclemencies of the weather, are as fair as Europeans.

*The women of Shirauz.*] The women at Shirauz have at all times been celebrated over those of other parts of Persia for their beauty, and not without reason. Of those whom I had the fortune to see during my residence, and who were mostly relations and friends of the family I lived in, many were tall and well shaped; but their bright and sparkling eyes were a very striking beauty: this, however, is in a great measure owing to art, as they rub their eye-brows and eye-lids with the black powder of antimony (called *furma*) which adds an incomparable brilliancy to their natural lustre. The large black eye is in most estimation among the Persians, and this is the most common at Shirauz. As the women in Mahomedan countries are, down to the meanest, covered with a veil from head to foot, a sight is never to be obtained of them in the street; but from my situation, I have seen many of them within doors, as when any came to visit the family where I lived, which many did, directed by their curiosity to see an European, understanding I belonged to the house, they made no scruple of pulling off their veils, and conversing with great inquisitiveness and familiarity, which seemed much gratified by my ready compliance with their requests, in informing them of European customs and manners, and never failed to procure me thanks, with the additional character of a good natured Feringy (the appellation by which all Europeans are distinguished). The women in Persia, as in all Mahomedan nations, after marriage, are very little better than slaves to their husbands. Those mild and familiar endearments which grace the social board of an European, and which at the same time they afford a mutual satisfaction to either sex, tend also to refine and polish manners, are totally unknown in Mahomedan countries. The husband, of a suspicious temper, and chained down by an obstinate and persevering etiquette, thinks himself affronted even by the inquiry of a friend after the health of his wife. Calling her by name, is never allowed of; the mode of address must be, "May the mother of such a son, or such a daughter, be happy; I hope she is in health." And none, except those of the nearest kin, as a brother, or uncle, are ever allowed to see the females of the family unveiled: it would be deemed as an insult. — Thrice happy ye, my fair and amiable countrywomen, who, born and educated in a land of freedom, can, without violating the laws of propriety, both give and receive the benefit of social intercourse, unimpressed by the baneful effects of jealousy! Rejoice that these blessings are afforded you! — which have inculcated the sentiments of liberality and politeness, and which still contribute to enhance the value of society, and to secure you a permanent and unalloyed felicity! — The Persian ladies, however, during the days of courtship, have in their turn pre-eminence; a mistress making no scruple of commanding her lover to stand all day long at the door of her father's house, repeating

verfes in praife of her beauty and accomplifhments; and this is the general way of making love at Shirauz; a lover rarely being admitted to a fight of his miftrefs, before the marriage contract is figned.

*Curious fpecies of contention.*] The Perfians, in their difpofitions, are much inclined to fudden anger; quick, fiery, and very fenfible of affronts, which they immediately refent on the fpot. They are a brave and courageous people; but I have before faid, that their frequent wars have much depraved their ancient urbanity of manners; and this ferocity of difpofition has alfo introduced a strife, peculiar to the lower clafs of inhabitants of Shirauz. When two people begin fighting, it always raifes a great crowd, who generally feparately take the part of one or the other in the conteft, and the whole prefently becomes a fcene of tumult and confufion, until the arrival of the dâroga, or judge of the police, who puts an end to the fray. Thefe riots are very frequent. and even the boys are fond of running to them, in order to have a fhare in the contention. In their capacities they are ready, prompt, and ingenious: but thefe talents they too often employ in the moft difcreditable way, being the greateft liars in the world, praftifing the moft improbable falfties with the graveft air imaginable; and fo far from being abafhed by a detection, they always endeavour to turn it off with a laugh, and even confefs themfelves, that they think there is no harm in telling a lye, provided it can be of any benefit to themfelves: and they will always, in every bufinefs they are engaged in, endeavour firft to bring it about by lying and knavery; which, if unfuccefsful, as thofe with whom they deal are full as expert as themfelves,) they will then conclude the bargain with truth and honefty; but either way is equally indifferent to them.

*The fuperftition of the Perfians.*] The Perfians univerfally have a fixed belief in the efficacy of charms, omens, talifmans, and other fuperftitions. Befides what they have received fince their converfion to Mahomedanifm, they have in general retained all that their anceftors before praftifed. Indeed, the only difference is, that what was before authorifed and commanded by the Magian religion, has been fubfequently allowed by the religion of Mahomed. They are, of all people, the moft addicted to the idea of fortunate or aufpicious days and hours, the *dies fafti atque nefafti* of the Romans; and even on the minuteft and moft trifling occafions will feek for a lucky moment. Going a journey can never be performed without firft confulting a book of omens, each chapter of which begins with a particular letter of the alphabet, which is deemed fortunate or inaufpicious; and fhould they unluckily pitch upon one of the latter, the journey muft of course be delayed until a more favourable opportunity. Entering a new houfe, the putting on of a new garment, with numberlefs other common and trifling occurrences, are determined by motions equally abfurd and frivolous. In their marriages they pay the ftricteft attention to this point; a lucky hour for figning the contract, and another for the wedding day, being efteemed abfolutely neceffary to the future happinefs of the intended couple. Thofe alfo who are in good circumftances, generally fend for a muunjim, or aftrologer, at the birth of a child, in order to calculate his horoscope with the utmoft exactnefs.

*Their talifmans.*] To a man they have their talifmans, which are generally fome fentence from the Koran, or faying of their prophet Ali, written either upon paper, or engraved upon a fmall plate of filver, which they bind round their arms, and other parts of the body; but thofe of higher rank make ufe of rubies, emeralds, and other precious ftones. The women of condition have fmall filver plates of a circular form, upon which are engraved fentences from the Koran; which, as well as the talifmans, they bind about their arms with pieces of red and green filk, and look upon  
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them as never-failing charms against the fascinations of the devil, or wicked spirits (whom they call deebis), and who they say are constantly roaming about the world, to do all the mischief in their power. They are equally absurd in their ideas of the heavenly bodies, at least the middling and lower class of people, particularly in respect to the falling of the stars, eclipses of the sun and moon, and the appearances of meteors and comets. As for their religious system, they believe there are nine heavens, the lowest of which is that immediately above their heads: they imagine, therefore, that on the falling of a star, it is occasioned by the angels in the lower heaven giving blows on the heads of the devils, for attempting to penetrate into those regions. Mr. Hanway has taken notice of this circumstance in his travels; and it is the firm belief of the Persians in general, and even amongst some of those who, from their education and sense, ought to be better informed.

*Curious manner of charming the scorpions.*] Among other customs of a superstitious nature, they believe that scorpions, of which there are great numbers in this country, and very venomous, may be deprived of the power of stinging, by means of a certain prayer which they make use of. The person who has the power of binding, as it is called, turns his face towards the sign Scorpio, in the heavens, which they all know, and repeats this prayer. Every person present, at the conclusion of a sentence, claps his hands; after this is done they think that they are perfectly safe: nor, if they should chance to see any scorpions during that night, do they scruple taking hold of them, trusting to the efficacy of this fancied all-powerful charm. I have frequently seen the man in whose family I lived, repeat the above prayer, on being desired by his children to bind the scorpions; after which the whole family has gone quietly and contentedly to bed, fully persuaded they could receive no hurt by them. During the summer season, scorpions appear in great numbers; they are quite black in appearance, and very large, and the sting of them is dangerous, but not mortal: those, however, which are found in the most northern parts of Persia, and particularly in the province of Cashàn, are of so dangerous a nature, as often to cause immediate death.

*Not scrupulous of drinking wine.*] The Persians are, of all Mahomedan nations, the least scrupulous of drinking wine, as many of them do it publicly, and almost all of them in private (excepting those who have performed the pilgrimage of Mecca, and men of religion): they also are very liable to be quarrelsome when inebriated; which is often attended with fatal consequences. They eat opium, but in much less quantities than the Turks; and indeed in every thing they say or do, eat or drink, they make a point to be as different from this nation as possible, whom they detest to a man, beyond measure; esteeming Jews and Christians superior to them, and much nearer to salvation. They publicly curse and abuse the three first caliphs after Mahomed, Abu Beker, Omar, and Osman, who they say were usurpers and tyrants, and unjustly deprived their prophet Ali of his right of the caliphate. It is impossible to conceive the great veneration they express for Ali, both in their books and in their conversation: they esteem him to be the most excellent and learned man that ever lived, and not inferior in good qualities to Mahomed himself, excepting in his express dignity, as a heavenly missionary. They say that Ali was the only man the world ever produced, who could converse in all languages; and that since him no one has appeared upon earth with an equal knowledge.

*Excessive respect for Ali.*] As one instance to what excess the common people carry their veneration, I shall mention a speech made use of by the cheharwadar, or master of the cafila, with whom I travelled to Shirauz:— One of his assistants making use

of the common expression, "O God! O Ali!" he immediately replied, "No, no; Ali first, God second." The title of Ameer al Moumineen, or commander of the faithful, when made use of by the Persians, is always applied to Ali; for they will not allow there having been rightfully any other. It is a common term of abuse amongst the lower class of people, when in a passion, to call their opponents the son of a Sunni, or follower of Omar, implying that they could not wish him a more reproachful condition. The Persians reckon the right of succession to the caliphate to consist of twelve Imaams, or heads of the faith, whom they deduce from the family of their Prophet; that is, from his daughter Fatima, whom he gave in marriage to Ali, and from thence to his two sons by that marriage, Hussun and Hussein, and their children, descendants. They, moreover, allege, that the Prophet, in his lifetime, did publicly declare that Ali and his family should succeed to the caliphate, both in spiritual and temporal matters. This, however, the Turks deny, affirming that the right of succession was from the free election of the people, and that by that right the three first caliphs took possession of the throne.

*The twelve Imaams.*] The twelve Imaams, in which the Persians esteemed the true right of the caliphate to consist, are as follow: 1st, Ali, who ought to have come immediately after Mahomed, but succeeded the fourth from him, as above mentioned. 2d, Hussun, the eldest son of Ali, put to death by the Caliph Moaweia; or, as others say, poisoned by Ayesha, the widow of Mahomet, for opposing her intrigues. 3d, Hussein, the second son of Ali, killed at Kirbelai, in Eerack Arabi, in the war against the Caliph Yezeed, son of Moaweia: the death of which last two persons gave rise to the annual mourning, observed so solemnly by the Persians, and others of the sect of the Sheias. 4th, Zein al Abudeen, the son of Hussein, put to death by Wàlid the First, the son of Abdul Meleck. 5th, Mahomed al Bawkir, the son of Zein al Abudeen, put to death by order of Hashim, the son of Abdul Meleck. 6th, Jaafar al Sadick, the son of Mahomed al Bawkir, put to death by order of Abu Jaafar Dowanikeè. 7th, Moufa Kazim, the son of Jaafar al Sadick, put to death by order of Haroon Abbasi, at Bagdad. 8th, Ali Ibn Moufa al Rezà, put to death by order of Almàmoun Abbasi. It was in honour of this Imaam that Shàh Abbàs built the famous mosque at Mefched, and commanded his subjects to make pilgrimages thither, to prevent the carrying out the immense sums of money expended annually by those who went to Mecca in Arabia; a very wise and politic stroke, by which means he caused Persia to flourish more in his reign than it had done for a long time before, or has ever since. 9th, Mahomed al Tukee, the son of Ali Ibn Reza, put to death by order of Almamoun Abbasi. 10th, Ali al Nukee, the son of Mahomed al Tukee, put to death at Samara, by order of Moàtizim Abbasi. 11th, Hussun Askeri, the son of Ali al Nukee, put to death by order of Moàtizim Abbasi. 12th, Mahomed al Mähadi, the son of Hussun Askeri, who disappeared in the reign of Moàtemud Abbasi, and who the Persians expect will be again visible before the end of the world. He has the title of Huzurut Sàheb Zimaùn, or lord of time, and is always mentioned by them with the highest respect. These twelve Imaams are disallowed by the Turks, and others of the sect of Omar, who say that, excepting Ali, they were all justly put to death for rebellious practices, against the governments under which they lived: but they are esteemed as saints and martyrs by the Persians, and the only true and lawful caliphs, which they confirm in the recital of their Kélema, or creed, by adding the words, "and Ali is the friend of God;" an expression which the Turks omit.

*Matters of Religion managed by Sheick al Sellaum.*] Matters of religion in Persia, as before observed, are managed by the Sheick al Sellaum, or the head of the faith,

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an office answering to that of Mufti among the Turks. He takes cognizance of all ecclesiastical matters, and on public festivals and other occasions preaches in the grand mosque; but he has not, like the Mufti, any power in affairs of state, being entirely confined to his religious office.

In point of dress, the Persians differ remarkably from the Turks; for in Turkey any person who was not a Seiüd, or descendant of the Prophet, wearing the least green upon his garment, would most probably be stoned: whereas in Persia, the general and favourite colour is green, even to their shoes; and people of all persuasions and denominations may wear it as they please. A Turk also thinks himself defiled by the touch of a Christian, even on his garments. The Persians, on the contrary, will eat out of the same plate, drink out of the same cup, and smoke out of the same calan, as readily as they would with their own children; at least I have constantly experienced this myself, during my residence in Persia, while living in a native family. The Persians, in some parts of their devotions, differ from the Turks, as they always pray with open hands; whereas those of the Turks are closed and placed before them. The Persians also, in their ablutions before prayer, wash their faces and beards with their right hand only, the other being reserved for meaner occasions, and they only slightly touch the fore and hind part of their feet; but the Turks wash with both hands, and rub all over their feet. The *jaiè numàz*, or carpet, on which they pray, is always endeavoured to be placed with the upper part of it facing to the temple of Mecca, but this they only guess at.

In religious opinions they are far more tolerant than the Turks: they acknowledge the authority of the Old and New Testament, which they say were sent from heaven, and delivered to Moses and Christ, equally with their Koran; only they affirm that the last was given to purify and correct the errors of the two former, which they pretend have been much corrupted from their original state, both by Jews and Christians. They acknowledge Jesus Christ to have been a great prophet, but deny him to have been the Son of God, and the Saviour of mankind; and pretend that their prophet Mahomed is the last or seal of the prophets, the number of which, they say, amounts to one hundred and twenty-five thousand; from which circumstance he is called *Khatim al Ambeai*, or as I have explained, the seal of the prophets. In their opinion, all nations are to be converted to Mahomedanism on the day of judgment; and on that day the people of each faith flying to their particular prophet for protection, shall by him be screened and defended from God's wrath, through mediation, and finally become all of one faith, which is to be Mahomedanism. In like manner they apply many things to their own Impostor, which only belong to our Saviour.

*Their mode of living.*] The mode of living of the Persians is in general as follows: they always rise at day-break, in order to perform their devotions. Their first prayer is denominated *numaz loobh*, or the morning prayer; it is said before sun-rise, after which they eat a slight meal, called *nâshhta*, or breakfast; this consists of grapes or any other fruits of the season, with a little bread, and cheese made of goat's milk; they afterwards drink a cup of very strong coffee, without milk or sugar; then the calan, or pipe, is introduced. The Persians, from the highest to the lowest ranks, all smoke tobacco.

Their second hour of prayer is called *numaz zòhur*, or mid-day prayer, and is always repeated when the sun declines from the meridian. Their dinner, or *châshht*, which is soon after this prayer, consists of curds, bread, and fruits of various kinds; animal food not being usual at this meal.

The third hour of prayer is called *numaz àsur*, or the afternoon prayer, said about four o'clock.

The fourth hour of prayer is numaz shâm, or evening prayer, which is said after sun-set; when this is finished, the Persians eat their principal meal, called shâmi, or supper. This generally consists of a pilau, dressed with rich meat-sauces, and highly seasoned with various spices: sometimes they eat kibaâb, or roast meat. When the meal is ready, a servant brings notice thereof, and at the same time presents a ewer and water; they then wash their hands, which is an invariable custom with the Persians both before and after eating. They eat very quick, conveying their food to their mouths with their fingers; the use of knives and forks being unknown in Persia. Sherbets of different sorts are introduced, and the meal concludes with a dessert of delicious fruits. The supper being finished, the family sit in a circle, and entertain each other by relating pleasant stories (of which they are excessively fond), and also by repeating passages from the works of their most favourite poets, and amusing themselves at various kinds of games. The fifth and last prayer is styled numaz akhir, the last prayer; or sometimes numaz shèb, or the night prayer, repeated about an hour after supper.

*The great respect of the Persians for their Imaums.*] The city of Shirauz is divided into twelve districts, or neighbourhoods; over each of which one of their Imaums, or heads of faith, is believed to preside, as a kind of guardian angel. Every Thursday night, which the Persians call the night of Friday, the criers and other domestics of the mosques make a zikir, that is, a recital of the life and good actions of the Imaum, or saint, who presides over the districts, by whose influence the inhabitants hope to obtain their wishes, and be absolved from their sins. These Imaums are alluded to by the Persians in their conversations; they swear by them, and invoke them on all occasions of distress and adversity, as well as return them thanks on any good fortune befalling them. The mosques of the Imaum Zadas, or descendants from the Imaums, serve as sanctuaries for criminals; but the most sanctified place in Shirauz, and which no one ever violates, is the Shah Cheraug, of which I have made mention already, where the greatest criminal can be protected, if the inhabitants of the place should receive him. However, persons offensive to government are generally delivered up when demanded. This last-mentioned custom seems to bear a strong analogy to the mode practised in Roman Catholic countries, of the sanctuary of a church, or monastery, screening a criminal from the punishment of the law.

*An audience of Jaafar Khan.*] On the 18th of July, 1787, I accompanied Mr. Jones, second of the English factory at Buffora, to the Persian camp, where we were admitted to an audience of Jaafar Khan. On our arrival in camp, at a little after ten A. M. we were conducted to the tent of the minister, Meerza Mahomed Hossain, where we staid a considerable time, and were entertained with a calcan and coffee, the usual mode of treatment in Persia to visitors. The tent of the Meerza was a very handsome one, of an oblong form, with an open front, the inside lined with a fine chintz, and the walls of a curious open work; the floor was covered with a Persian carpet, and with long felts, made at Yezd, but no cushions, as the Persians never use any in public, and very seldom in private. At half an hour after twelve, an officer came to acquaint us, that the Khan was ready to receive us, and desired us at the same time to follow him. We accordingly set out, and, although the Khan's tents were in a parallel line with that of the minister, yet, agreeably to the etiquette observed in Persia, we were obliged to make a circuit of about thirty yards, in order to approach through a counaught, or screen of canvas, painted red. On our passing this screen, the first officer quitted us, and another immediately coming up, conducted us towards the tent, and at the same time called out to the attendants surrounding, to open to the

right and left, by which we had a full view of the Khan. Upon this the officer desired us to salute, which we did by pulling off our caps after the English fashion, bowing at the same time. The Khan made a slight inclination with his head, and we were then conducted round the outside of the tent, and entered at the back door. On our entrance, the Khan made a second inclination with his head, and desired us to sit down, which we did, at about four yards distance; though at a former interview Mr. Jones had, he was obliged to sit much further off. The Khan seemed pleased: he asked several questions concerning Europe, the English, and their manners and customs: expressed his wish that Mr. Jones had benefited by the air of Shirauz, and assured us both of his protection whilst we staid there, and ordered his secretary to make out a firmān, or order, for that purpose. After staying a considerable time, we took leave in the same manner as we entered. The tent of the Khan was a noble one, of an oblong form, and pitched with three poles, which were adorned at the top with gilt balls. The front is open in all weathers; the inside was lined throughout with a beautiful clouded silk, and the open work much the same as that of the minister's: the floor was covered with a rich carpet, and long felts. At the upper end of the tent sat Jaafar Khan, upon a large felt bent double under him: opposite to him stood Meerza Mahomed Hossein, without the tent, and several other officers of the army. The Khan's dress differed not from that of the other great men; he wore an orange-coloured cuba, or coat, and had his scimitar on. The calān which he smoked was of gold, beautifully filigreed, with a ruby in the ser poosh, or head.

In the rear of the Khan's tent, about the distance of forty yards, was the haram, or women's apartments: these were completely walled in by screens of red painted canvas, about twelve feet in height. The Khan has always a certain number of women, whom he selects to accompany him when in camp; and they have the same number of attendants and accommodations as those within the palace.

*A short Account of the Remains of the celebrated Palace of Persepolis.*

ON Thursday evening, the 30th of August, I left Shirauz, in company with Mr. Jones, for the purpose of visiting the ruins of the celebrated palace of Persepolis. We slept that night at a garden without the city, and at three o'clock on Friday morning we set off: at nine A. M. arrived at the village of Zarkan, situated eight fursengs, or thirty-two English miles, from Shirauz. The road to this place is chiefly through a rocky, mountainous country; approaching, however, to Zarkan, you meet with some cultivated land. Zarkan is a large village under the government of Shirauz, and is ruled by a calentar, or chief magistrate. From its vicinity to the mountain, the view of this place is very pleasing; the neighbourhood produces the large red grape. On the road we met with some hundreds of wandering Curds, and Turkomans: they said the name of their tribe was Ort, and that they were going towards Gurmafeer, a place to the southward of Shirauz, in order to spend the approaching autumn and winter. These people lead a wandering life, having no settled place of abode, but move about with their families, flocks and herds, in a manner similar to the ancient Scythians: their complexions were the same as those of the gypsies in Europe, sun-burnt and tawny.

Saturday, September the 1st, moved at half past twelve A. M. At five we crossed the Bund Ameer river, which Mr. Niebuhr has laid down as the ancient Araxes; over this river is a stone bridge, which the natives call Pool Khan. We proceeded on through the plain, and at half after six arrived at the ruins. This stage is five fursengs: the

road lies entirely through the plain, which beginning about five miles to the southward of Zarkan, is continued up to Persepolis, which is situated close under the mountains. Our cafila encamped in a garden a mile and a half to the northward of the ruins, near the village of Merdasht, from whence the whole plain takes its name. This plain is exceedingly delightful; it abounds in game of several sorts, amongst which we discovered partridges, wild pigeons, quails, and hares.

At nine A. M. went to visit the ruins. What remains of the celebrated palace of Persepolis, is situated on a rising ground, and commands a view of the extensive plain of Merdasht. The mountain Rehumut encircles the palace in the form of an amphitheatre: you ascend to the columns by a grand staircase of blue stone, containing one hundred and four steps. The first object that strikes the beholder on his entrance, are two portals of stone; I judge them to be about fifty feet in height each; the sides are embellished with two sphinxes of an immense size, dressed out with a profusion of bead-work, and, contrary to the usual method, they are represented standing. On the sides above are inscriptions in an ancient character, the meaning of which no one hitherto has been able to decipher.

At a small distance from these portals you ascend another flight of steps, which lead to the grand hall of columns. The sides of this staircase are ornamented with a variety of figures in basso relievo; most of them have vessels in their hands: here and there a camel appears, and at other times a kind of triumphal car, made after the Roman fashion; besides these, are several led horses, oxen and rams, that at times intervene and diversify the procession. At the head of the staircase is another basso relievo, representing a lion seizing a bull; and, close to this, are other inscriptions in ancient characters. On getting to the top of this staircase, you enter what was formerly a most magnificent hall; the natives have given this the name of Chehul Minâr, or forty pillars; and though this name is often used to express the whole of the building, it is more particularly appropriated to this part of it. Although a vast number of ages have elapsed since the foundation, fifteen of the columns yet remain entire; they are from seventy to eighty feet in height, and are masterly pieces of masonry: their pedestals are curiously worked, and appear little injured by the hand of time. The shafts are inflated up to the top, and the capitals are adorned with a profusion of fretwork.

From this hall you proceed along, eastward, until you arrive at the remains of a large square building, to which you enter through a door of granite. Most of the doors and windows of this apartment are still standing; they are of black marble, and polished like a mirror: on the sides of the doors, at the entrance, are bas-reliefs of two figures at full length; they represent a man in the attitude of stabbing a goat: with one hand he seizes hold of the animal by the horn, and thrusts a dagger into his belly with the other; one of the goat's feet rests upon the breast of the man, and the other upon his right arm. This device is common throughout the palace. Over another door of the same apartment is a representation of two men at full length; behind them stands a domestic, holding a spread umbrella: they are supported by large round shafts, appear to be in years, have long beards, and a profusion of hair upon their heads.

At the south-west entrance of this apartment are two large pillars of stone, upon which are carved four figures; they are dressed in long garments, and hold in their hands spears ten feet in length. At this entrance, also, the remains of a staircase of blue stone are still visible. Vast numbers of broken pieces of pillars, shafts, and capitals, are scattered over a considerable extent of ground, some of them of such enormous size,

size, that it is wonderful to think how they could have been brought whole, and set up together. Indeed, every remains of these noble ruins indicate their former grandeur and magnificence, truly worthy of being the residence of a great and powerful monarch; and whilst viewing them, the mind becomes impressed with an awful solemnity! — When we consider the celebrity of this vast empire, once the patron of the arts and sciences, and the seat of a wise and flourishing government; — when we reflect on the various changes and revolutions it has undergone, at one period a field for the daring ambition of an Alexander, — at another for the enthusiastic valour of an Omar, we must consequently feel the strongest conviction of the mutability of all human events! — Exclusive of the ancient antique inscriptions already mentioned, are others of a modern date, able to be read, as well as some in the Syriac character; the whole of which the celebrated Mr. Niebuhr has accurately copied and published. Being destitute myself of all materials necessary for copying inscriptions, and at the same time ignorant of the rules of architecture, I have refrained from entering into a diffusive account of this celebrated palace. What I thought most worthy of notice, I have endeavoured to describe to the best of my abilities.

Behind the hall of pillars, and close under the mountain, is the remains of a very large building of a quadrangular form; this may either have made part of the palace, or, not unlikely, a detached temple, as there is a considerable space of ground filled up with earth and mounds of sand, betwixt the two; and as it has within-side symbols emblematical of a religious meaning. This building has four principal entrances to it; two from the north-east, and two from the south-west. The walls are divided into several partitions, which are ornamented with various pieces of sculpture, the most common of which have the figure of a man at full length; he is sitting in a chair, with his feet supported by a stool; behind the chair stands a domestic holding an umbrella; the man has in his hand a round staff; before him are two branched candlesticks, with candles in them; beyond these is a little boy, and behind him is a woman with a goblet in her hand. Underneath this figure are several others in long garments; some of these are armed with bows and arrows, others with spears, and all of them have caps in the form of turrets, which we learn from ancient historians was the mode of dress observed by the Medes. Over the doors of this building, which are twelve in number, are bas-reliefs of a lion seizing hold of a bull, similar to that observable on the grand staircase: the recesses in the walls are all lined with fine granite, and their fronts have handsome cornices of stone. Besides the usual figures, is a very extraordinary one, and is, I suppose, emblematical of the ancient religion of the Persians: it represents a man seated on a pillar, who holds in his hand a small vessel; he has a girdle twisted round the centre of his body, the two ends of which project a considerable distance beyond his cloaths, and have much the appearance of wings; he is dressed in long garments, with a cap, turret-form. Underneath the figure are several lions (a symbol of empire among the ancient Persians) very well executed.

Behind this ruin, a considerable way up the mountain Rehumut, to the north, is the remains of a curious place cut out of the rock, which had formerly an ascent to it by steps, but these being destroyed by time, you are obliged to clamber up by the rock. As there is another building parallel to this, about the distance of eight hundred yards to the south, I shall describe them both together, and add a few observations of what I conceive to have been their original design. — They are lofty buildings of three sides, two of which are plain, and forty feet in height; the third has several fine sculptures boldly executed; in the centre is a pillar with the mystic figure already described sitting at the top: opposite to this stands a man upon a pedestal of three steps; in his

left hand he holds a bow, his right is held up, pointing to the figure on the pillar. To the left is an altar of stone two feet high, upon which fire is burning, and, a little on one side, is a large globe suspended in the air, which has much the appearance of being intended for the sun. These two last-mentioned symbols, we are informed, were considered by the Persian Magi as the two grand principles of their religion, as they adored the Omnipotent Creator of the universe under these types, being each in their nature the purest and freest of corruption of all created things: it may, therefore, be presumed they were intended to represent certain mysteries in the Magian faith. The man with the bow may possibly be designed for a chief of the Magi; or, to hazard a further supposition, the celebrated lawgiver and prophet, Zoroaster himself. However, this is only a suggestion, and I would not be thought to lay it down for a certainty. Every person, on viewing those noble ruins, must have different ideas arise to him concerning them; but as all traces of the original religion have long since perished, together with their learning and language, the world must remain in ignorance until the characters on the walls can be decyphered, which, alone, can clear up the much wished-for ascertainment of the real date of the palace, its devices, emblems, and its real founder. Some have given it as their opinion, that these are tombs of the ancient Kings of Persia, and of this opinion are Mr. Le Bruyn, and Sir John Chardin.

The modern natives call this place Mujilis Gemisheed, or the assembly of King Gemisheed, as they say that Prince used to visit the place, with the nobles and great men of his court, in order to enjoy a delightful view of the adjacent country, of which, indeed, there cannot be a finer prospect than from thence.

Underneath the above-mentioned devices are small openings, which lead to a subterraneous passage, cut out of the mountain; it is six feet in height, and four in breadth: the passage leads a considerable way into the rock, but is quite dark after advancing about thirty yards, and emits a most noisome damp smell. The natives call this place the Cherk Almàs; that is, the talisman, or diamond of fate: they affirm that at the end of the passage is the talisman, and that whoever arrives thither, and asks questions of future events, will be answered from within; but they say that no one has ever yet been able to penetrate to the extremity of the passage, being opposed by the Demons and Genii, whom they believe to dwell there; and superstitiously imagine, that all lights taken in there will go out of themselves. Sir John Chardin, and Mr. Le Brun, however, penetrated a considerable way into this passage, till, they relate, it ended in a path too narrow to admit further progress. As no account has hitherto appeared of these subterraneous passages, but what the superstition of the natives has chosen to invent, it may not be deemed presumptuous in giving a conjecture, that they were originally intended as places for concealed treasure, a custom time immemorially observed, and to this day subsisting among Eastern Princes. Not having lights with us, neither Mr. Jones nor myself thought proper to explore the passage.

Descending to the foot of the mountain, to the south, you meet with the remains of a small square building, which has several doors and windows still standing, having carved figures on them; but as these are only visible to the waist downwards, it is most likely the sand from the mountains has choked up the remainder: the figures are the same with those in other parts of the palace. A little to the westward of this building, you ascend by a stone staircase into a magnificent court, of a quadrangular form. Several pedestals of pillars, and the remains of two grand portals to the east, are still visible: they are all of granite, and the cornices of the portals appear to have been very superb; they are of an oblong shape. On many of the broken pieces of the pillars are ancient inscriptions.

In several parts of the palace are stone aqueducts, made for the purpose of draining off the water that comes from the mountains: they are of blue stone, cut under ground eight feet deep, and two and a half in breadth.

These venerable ruins have suffered much by the ravages of time and weather; but what still remains of them is as hard and durable as the rock itself. Earthquakes, which are frequent in Persia, have also proved the means of throwing down many of the columns, and otherwise injuring the apartments; and several of those which have not been overturned by the violence of the shocks, have had their tops nearly removed off, and in this situation remain. The sand which is constantly washed down from the mountains by the rain, in the winter season, has choked up numbers of places, and even covered the pedestals of several pillars.

The old inscriptions discernible on the walls, and other parts of the palace, may be reckoned among the greatest curiosities, as they have never yet been decyphered, either in the East or in Europe; and what is very extraordinary, the most learned and curious in the Oriental languages have been baffled in every attempt made to learn their meaning: — like the hieroglyphics of Egypt, they remain buried in an impenetrable mystery. Mr. Niebuhr has given all these inscriptions in his second volume, most elegantly and accurately copied, which may possibly assist the curious in their attempts to elucidate them. It is one of the most considerable difficulties to solve when and by whom this palace was originally built. The Grecian historians have given very imperfect and dubious accounts of it, and the Persians no less so. By the present natives, the place is called Tukht Gemsheed, or the throne of King Gemsheed; who they affirm built it between three and four thousand years ago: he is also expressly mentioned as having erected the Chehul Minár, or hall of forty pillars. It is related, in Grecian history, that Alexander the Great set fire to and destroyed this rich and splendid palace, instigated to it in a fit of debauchery by the celebrated courtesan Thais. This circumstance, although it has the sanction of history, if one reflects upon the appearance of what still remains of these ruins, any person on viewing them would suppose such an event impossible to have taken place; as, in their present state, all the fire that could be applied would not make the smallest impression on those huge masses of stone, equal in point of durability and hardness to the solid rock; and of such are the materials of the whole building. These sentiments arose to me whilst on the spot, and my opinion was strengthened by the fullest acquiescence of Mr. Jones, who thought, like myself, it was absurd to give credit to the idea of its having been burnt by Alexander.

Having met with a short account of the building of this palace, in a Persian manuscript, being part of a work called Rousut al Sefa, or the Garden of Purity, I shall here take the liberty of inserting a translation.

“ It is related by historians, that King Gemsheed removed the seat of government, which was formerly in the province of Sejestaan, to Fars; and that in the neighbourhood of Shirauz, having taken in a spot of ground, of twelve furlongs in length (48 English miles), he there erected such a palace, that in the seven kingdoms of the world there was nothing could equal it. The remains of that palace, and many of the pillars on it, are visible to this day; and he caused the palace to be called Chehul Minar, or Forty Pillars. Moreover, when the sun, quitting the sign Pisces, in the heavens, had entered Aries, Gemsheed having assembled all the princes, nobles, and great men of his empire, at the foot of his imperial throne, did on that day institute a grand and solemn festival; and this day from henceforth was called the Noo Roze, or first day of the new year (when the foundation of Persepolis was laid), at which period he commanded, from all parts of the empire, the attendance of the peasants, husbandmen, soldiery,

foldiery, and others, in order to profecute the defign; requesting that all, with joyful hearts and willing hands, should lend their affiftance in completing this work. This numerous affembly obeyed the command of their monarch, and the building was finished with all figns of mirth and feftivity."

It is further obferved, in the *Jehan Arâ*, a book of Perfian chronology, that Queen Homaie, who flourifhed about 800 years after Gemfheed, added a thoufand columns more to this palace. — Such are the Perfian accounts, which are believed by the prefent natives to be true ones; but I fould prefume, that until the ancient characters on the walls can be decyphered, no account of this place, either Grecian, or Perfian, or any other, can be depended upon as genuine or authentic, as they are unqueftionably of an antiquity far beyond the records of any language now known in the world.

It is to be remarked, that in the figures throughout the whole of the palace, the rules of art are not attended to; the mufcles of the figures are wanting, yet the drapery is finely done, and the proportions in general are well kept up, though the contour is only obferved, which gives a famenefs to the whole. Sir John Chardin obferves, that he thinks it is evident, whoever was the architect of this celebrated palace, was ignorant of Grecian and Roman architecture; and fuppofes that the defects already mentioned were occafioned by his being obliged to finish the work in a hurry, and by that means the figures were left in the imperfect ftate we find them at prefent. But Mr. Jones obferved to me that he rather fuppofed it to have been the *ne plus ultra* of thofe days; and remarked alfo, that the ornaments he had obferved in Sadick Khan's palace at Shirauz, were in the fame ftyle as thofe of Perfepolis, and that the architecture of the prefent Perfians was fimilar to that of ancient times; an obfervation by no means unworthy of attention. With refpect to the figures on the ftair-cafe, I have before obferved, that the variety of animals which appear, the camels, led horfes, the rams, the triumphal car, and the men with veffels in their hands, all give room to fuppofe the pomp of a proceffion is meant to be reprefented; and I think the pofition may be corroborated by fome part of the tranflation before inferted.

The materials of which the palace is compofed, are chiefly hard blue ftone; but the doors and windows of the apartments are all of black marble, and fo beautifully polished as to reflect an object like a mirror. One of the principal things worthy of admiration, is the immense ftrength of the foundation. The whole of the palace takes in a circumference of 1400 fquare yards: — its front is 600 paces from north to fouth, and 390 from eaft to weft. Being built at the foot of a mountain, a great deal of it has been fmoothed with infinite labour, to make the ftones lie even. The height of the foundation, in front, is in feveral parts from forty to fifty feet, and confifts of two immense ftones laid together: the fides are not fo high, and more unequal, owing to the vaft quantity of fand which has fallen from the mountain. It is much to be feared, that in the courfe of a few centuries, the earthquakes may totally deftroy the columns and remaining apartments; but whatever may be their fate, the foundation muft endure until the rock itfelf, on which it is built, fhall ceafe to exift.

I fhall conclude with a few obfervations on the Hall of Pillars.

This hall appears to have been detached from the reft of the palace, and to have had a communication with the other parts by hollow galleries of ftone. By the pedeftals of the pillars, which I counted very exactly, the hall feems originally to have confifted of nine diftinct rows of columns, each containing fix; making confequently, in all, fifty-four. The fifteen that remain, are from feventy to eighty feet in height; the diameter at the bafe is twelve feet, and the diftance between each column twenty-two. By the pofition of the front pillars, the hall appears to have been open towards the plain;

but four of the pillars, facing the mountain, and which are at some distance from the rest, seem to have been intended for a portico, or entrance from the east; they are also of a different style of architecture. The materials of the columns are a mixed sort of red stone, granular.

The hall, situated on an eminence, and commanding an extensive view of the plain of Merdâst, is strikingly grand, and conveys to the beholder the idea of an hall of audience of a powerful and warlike monarch.

On Monday afternoon, the second of September, Mr. Jones and myself set off to visit the tomb of the celebrated Persian hero, Rostum (called by the natives Nukshée Rostum). It is situated three miles and a half to the north-east of Persepolis: the place consists of four distinct chambers, excavated high in the rock. The devices, in the upper parts, are exactly the same as those of Persepolis, representing the mystic figure, with the altar of fire and the sun. Underneath the sculpture of the second chamber, is a gigantic figure on horseback, cut in stone, and very perfect; he is completely armed and accoutred, and dressed something after the Roman fashion. On his helmet is a globe; two figures are before him, the one kneeling down in a supplicating posture, and the other is in the act of taking hold of the horseman's hand, as if to mitigate his wrath; the horseman is looking sternly upon the figures, and the hand at liberty is applied to the hilt of his sword. On one side of the figure is an inscription in ancient characters but different from those on the walls of Persepolis. Several attendants are in waiting behind the equestrian figure, all of them as large as life; but the proportions are not at all adhered to in the first sculpture, the man being twice the size of the horse on which he rides.

A little to the northward is another representation. At the foot of the rock there are two figures completely armed; one of them is in the action of letting go a ring, which the other grasps. The figure to the right has a globe on his helmet, and a large battle-axe in his hand: that to the left has a domestic behind him, holding an umbrella. Under their horses feet are two human heads; and a little on one side appear the heads of several figures, attendants; most of them have a broad fillet encircling their temples, and a profusion of hair flowing loose. Sir John Chardin supposes, that this may be intended to represent the action of Alexander the Great, receiving the submission of the Persian monarch Darius; but as we are informed by Grecian history, that Darius never saw Alexander, being murdered in his flight shortly after the loss of the battle of Arbela, by his servant Bessus, so I should imagine the Persians themselves would hardly have taken such pains to render the dishonour and ruin of their lawful king so permanent and known to the latest posterity, in order to praise one who had utterly overturned their religion and their laws. Moreover, the work itself bears not the least trace of having been the production of any Grecian artists, as the Greeks at that period were arrived at the highest perfection in the arts and sciences; and had such a thing been done during the time of Alexander, he would most certainly have made use of one of the many celebrated artists who followed him into Asia; but these figures are disproportionate, and executed in a rude manner. To hazard a supposition of my own, I should rather conceive the above device was of a date prior to the Grecian conquests of Persia, and that it was intended to represent some remarkable action in the life of the hero Rostum (from whom the whole of the place takes its name), and that it was cut to perpetuate the memory of it.

Near the foot of the rock is a square building of blue stone, twenty feet in height, by eight in breadth. This place has several windows; the inside is empty, and there are small niches in different parts of the wall. The natives affirm that the celebrated

Rostum

Rostum was interred in this spot ; but many travellers have supposed it to have been the tomb of Darius Hystaspes, from a passage of Herodotus, the Grecian historian, amongst whom Sir John Chardin and Mr. Le Brunc are both of the latter opinion.

In a part of the rock, to the eastward, is a sculpture of a figure on horseback, the face of which has been much mutilated, and is scarcely visible ; enough, however, remains to perceive that the figure is that of a man — he has long flowing hair, and has a projection, resembling a horn, on the left side of his forehead. The natives call this figure Iskunder Zu Al Kerneen, or Alexander Lord of the Horns, that is, of an empire extending from east to west ; and they affirm, that it is positively intended for Alexander the Great. Horns, we know, were considered by the ancients as emblems and symbols of power and majesty, and from this we may conclude, without a contrariety to reason, that the Persian idea of this figure is a just one ; as Alexander is always described by the Grecian historians, having a horn on his forehead, or rather a particular lock of hair, resembling one ; and it is also observed on the coins and medals of that prince, which are still to be seen in the cabinets of the curious. Behind the figure on horseback are several others ; they are in armour, on foot, and seemingly attendants on him.

Having staid a short time at Nukshee Rostum, we returned to Shirauz, September 4th.

*Original cause of the Mohurrum.*] The first ten days of the month Mohurrum (being the first of the Mahomedan year) are observed throughout Persia as a solemn mourning ; it is called by the natives Dèha, or a space of ten days. During this period the Persians, and all the followers of Ali, lament the death of Imaum Houssein, the second son of that prophet, who was slain in the war against Yezzeed, the son of Moaweia, Caliph of the Mussulmans. This event happened at a place called Kerbelaiè, which in Persian implies grief and misfortune. It is situated in Eerack Arabi, the ancient Mesopotamia, between the cities of Cuffa and Medeena. The particulars of the story are as follow :

On the death of Caliph Ali, who was assassinated at Cuffa, Moaweia, of the house of Ommia, succeeded to the caliphat, which he had disputed with Ali during his lifetime. Moaweia, dying shortly after, was succeeded by his eldest son Yezzeed. In the interval, the inhabitants of Cufa [anno Hijera 60.] had sent a solemn embassy to Houssein at Medeena, requesting him to come and take possession of the government, giving assurance of their faithful support. Upon this assurance, Houssein determined to set forwards, at the same time taking with him the whole of his family (excepting his youngest daughter, who was at that time sick). He began his march to Cufa on the 8th of Zùlhuj, accompanied by a considerable body of troops : intelligence of this being carried to the Caliph Yezzeed, who was then at Damascus, he sent orders to Obeidollah, the governor of Cufa, to assemble an army and to crush the rising rebellion, by cutting off Houssein and his followers. Obeidollah, in obedience to the command of his master, sent his deputy Ibn Saàd, with ten thousand men, giving him express orders to intercept Houssein in his route. The army in consequence began their march ; and Obeidollah, remaining in the city, took care, by seizing the heads of the faction, entirely to quell the insurrection ; by which means, the Cufians perceiving the situation of affairs, regardless of the oaths and promises they had made, treacherously left the unhappy and deluded Prince to his fate ; for which behaviour they are cursed by the Persians and all the followers of Ali to this day. Houssein with his army had not advanced far, before intelligence was brought him that the enemy had taken their station between him and

the river Euphrates, which lay in his intended route, by means of which he was entirely cut off from the water; an event of the most distressing nature, in the sultry climate of Mesopotamia, where, from the violence of the heat, the weary traveller, even when supplied with water, can scarcely exist. Deprived of that necessary article, how trying must the situation be! Indeed this circumstance was the primary cause of all the misfortunes which befel him: — his men, disheartened at the idea of perishing with thirst, forsook him in great numbers, deserting so very fast that in a few days his whole force was reduced to the inconsiderable number of seventy-two persons, among whom were several of his own kindred, particularly his brother Abbàs Ali, his nephew Càmim, the son of his brother Hassan, his own son Zein al Abudeèn, a youth of twelve years of age, and his two infant children, Akbar and Akur; of the females, were his daughter Sekeena, his sister Zeineb, and his aunt Koolsom. In this situation continual skirmishes and distresses thickening upon him were finally terminated on the 10th of Mohurrum, when Ibn Saàd advancing with his whole force, surrounded his little troop, and they were cut to pieces, after fighting most desperately. Akker, Hossèin's infant son, was killed by arrows in his father's lap; and Hossèin himself, at length exhausted with fatigue, and fainting under a multitude of wounds, fell. His head was immediately cut off, and the enemy's troops then rushing into the tent, began a general plunder, and took prisoners the remaining son of Hossèin, who was sick in bed, together with the females of the family already mentioned; bereaving them at the same time of their ornaments and jewels, and treating them in a most insulting manner. A few days after, they were all conveyed to Damascus, with the head of Hossèin, to be presented to the Caliph Yezzeed.

The tradition goes, that at this period an ambassador from one of the European states happened to reside at the Caliph's court, who, on the arrival of the prisoners, was struck with compassion at the miserable appearance they made, and asked Yezzeed who they were; the Caliph replied, that they were of the family of the prophet Mahomed, and that the head was the head of Hossèin the son of Ali, whom he had caused to be put to death for his rebellion; whereupon the ambassador rose up and reviled the Caliph very bitterly for thus treating the family of his own prophet. The haughty Yezzeed, enraged at the affront, ordered the ambassador to go himself and bring him the head of Zein al Abudeen, on pain of immediate death; this, however, the ambassador flatly refused; and, as the Persians believe, embracing the head of Hossèin, turned Mussulman; on which he was immediately put to death by the command of Yezzeed.

All these various events are represented by the Persians during the first ten years of Mohurrum. On the 27th of the preceding month of Zùlhuj, they erect the mumbirs on the pulpits in the mosques, the insides of which are on this occasion lined with black cloth. On the 1st of Mohurrum, the Akhunds, and Peish Numazzs (or Mahomedan priests) mount the pulpits, and begin what is denominated by the Persians, *al wakàa*, or a recital of the life and actions of Ali, and his sons Hussun and Hossèin; describing at the same time the circumstances attending the melancholy fate of the Imaum Hossèin: the recital is made in a slow solemn tone of voice, and is really affecting to hear, being written with all the pathetic elegance the Persian language is capable of expressing. At intervals the people strike their breasts with violence, weeping bitterly at the same time, and exclaiming, *ah Hossèin! ah Hossèin! Heif az Hossèin! Alas for Hossèin!* — Other parts of the *wakàa* are in verse, [which are sung in cadence to a doleful tune. Each day some particular action of the story is represented by people selected for the purpose of personating those concerned in it; effigies also are brought out and carried in procession through the different neighbourhoods: among these they have

one representing the river Euphrates, which they call *Abi Ferat*. Troops of boys and young men, some personating the soldiers of *Ibn Saad*, others those of *Hossein* and his company, run about the streets, beating and skirmishing with each other, and each have their respective banners and ensigns of distinction. Another pageant represents the Caliph *Yezzeed* seated on a magnificent throne, surrounded by guards; and by his side is placed the European ambassador before mentioned.

Among the most affecting representations is the marriage of young *Çasim*, the son of *Husfun*, and nephew of *Hossein*, with his daughter; but this was never consummated, as *Çasim* was killed in a skirmish on the banks of the Euphrates, on the 7th of *Mohurrum*. On this occasion, a boy represents the bride, decorated in her wedding garments, and attended by the females of the family chanting a mournful elegy, in which is related the circumstances of her betrothed husband being cut off by infidels—(for such is the term by which the *Sheias* speak of the *Sunnies*). The parting between her and her husband is also represented, when on his going to the field she takes an affectionate leave of him; and, on his quitting her, presents him with a burial vest, which she puts round his neck: at this sight the people break out into the most passionate exclamations of grief and distress, and execrate the most bitter curses upon *Yezzeed*, and all those who had any concern in destroying the family of their *Imaum*.

The sacred pigeons, which are affirmed by the Persians to have carried the news of *Hossein's* death from *Kerbelai* to *Medeena* (having first dipped their beaks in his blood as a confirmation) are also brought forth on this occasion. The horses on which *Hossein* and his brother *Abbàs* are supposed to have rode, are shewn to the people, painted as covered with wounds, and stuck full of arrows.

During these various processions much injury is often sustained, as the Persians are all frantic even to enthusiasm, and they believe uniformly that the souls of those slain during the *Mohurrum* will infallibly go that instant into Paradise; this, added to their frenzy, which for the time it lasts is such as I never saw exceeded by any people, makes them despise and even court death. Many there are who inflict voluntary wounds on themselves, and some who almost entirely abstain from water during these ten days, in memory of, and as a sufferance for, what their *Imaum* suffered from the want of that article; and all people abstain from the bath, and even from changing their cloaths during the continuance of the *Mohurrum*. On the 10th day, the coffins of those slain in the battle are brought forth, stained with blood, on which scimitars and turbans, adorned with herons' feathers, are laid:—these are solemnly interred, after which the priests again mount the pulpits and read the *wakaa*. The whole is concluded with curses and imprecations on the Caliph *Yezzeed*.

The Persians affirm this to be a martyrdom, and throughout the whole of the recital *Hossein* is distinguished by the appellation of *Sheheed*, or the martyr. They add, that he also knew of, and voluntarily suffered it as an expiation for the sins of all who believe in *Ali*, and consequently that all who lament the death of their *Imaum*, shall find favour at the day of judgment: they further assert, that if *Hossein* had thought proper to make use of the powers of his *Imaumship*, the whole world could not have hurt him, but that he chose to suffer a voluntary death, that his followers might reap the benefit of it in a future state: whence arises the belief among the Persians, that at the day of judgment *Fatima*, the wife of *Ali*, and mother of the two *Imaums* *Husfun* and *Hossein*, will present herself before the throne of God, with the severed head of *Hossein* in one hand, and the heart of *Husfun* (who was poisoned) in the other, demanding absolution in their name for the sins of the followers of *Ali*; and they doubt not but God will grant their request. — I had these particulars from a religious

Persian, and as they are not generally known to Europeans, I have taken the liberty of inserting them.

The death of the Imaum Hussun (who was poisoned by Ayèsha the widow of Mahomed at Madeena) is lamented by the followers of Ali on the 28th of the month Sefr, being the day which he died, but it is not kept with so great solemnity as those of Mohurrun; although Hussun is mentioned during that period. Many persons have confounded these together, and erroneously suppose the Deba of Mohurrun to be equally for both; but I was particularly inquisitive on this head, and was assured by several persons that the distinction between the two was very considerable.

*Return from Shirauz.*] On the 11th of October 1787, I set off from Shirauz on my return to India: as I came down by the same route as I went, I shall only mention the different stages, with a few slight observations, which by reason of my illness, I was before unable to attend to.—12th and 13th, passed the villages of Khoon Zineoon, and Desterjun. 14th, We arrived at Kazeroon.

*Kazeroon.*] Kazeroon, by its remains, appears formerly to have been a city of considerable note, and in size little inferior to Shirauz; it is situated in the centre of an extensive plain, surrounded by high mountains; there is a fine lake, about four miles east of the city. In the vicinity of Kazeroon, great quantities of opium are produced, but the Persians do not make this very valuable commodity an article of trade; I should imagine they did in former times, as the opium of Kazeroon is much spoken of in the East. The city, excepting a mosque, and the governor's palace and gardens, has nothing remarkable in it.

15th, 16, and 17th, We remained at Kazeroon.—18th, We arrived at Comarige.—As I have not before particularly described the mode of travelling in Persia, it may, perhaps be acceptable in this place.

*Mode of travelling in Persia.*] A cafila is composed of camels, horses, and mules, the whole of which are under the direction of a cheharwa dâr or master. It is to him the price of a mule or camel is paid, and he stipulates with the traveller to feed and take care of the beast during the journey; he has under him several inferior servants, who help to unload the beasts of burden, take them to water, and attend them during forage. The cafila, whilst on the journey, keeps as close as possible, and on its arrival at the Munzil Gah, or place of encampment for the day, each load is deposited on a particular spot, marked out by the master, to which the merchant who owns the goods repairs; his baggage forms a crescent; in the centre are placed the bedding and provisions; a rope or line made of hair is then drawn round the whole, at the distance of about three yards each way, which serves to distinguish the separate encampments. During the night, the beasts are all brought to their stations, opposite to the goods they are to carry in the morning, and are made fast to the hair rope aforementioned. At the hour of moving, which is generally between three and four in the morning, they load the mules and camels. In doing this, the passengers are awakened by the jingling of the bells tied round the necks of the beasts, in order to prevent their straggling during the march. A passage from Hafiz may probably be not unacceptable to the reader, in this place, as it serves to illustrate the custom above described.

جرس قر باد ميل ارد کم بر بنليل فحيلم نا

“The bell proclaims aloud, bind on your burdens!”

ODES OF HAFIZ.

When every thing is ready, the cheharwa dâr orders those nearest the road to advance,

advance, and the whole moves off in regular succession, in the same order as the preceding day.

19th, 20th, 21st, and 22d, we passed the villages of Khisht, Dowlakie, Berazgoon, and Chekâduk. — On the 23d, we arrived at Abu Shehr, where I met with a most polite and hospitable reception from Mr. Charles Watkins, the Company's Resident at that place.

On the 22d of December I embarked on board the Scorpion cruizer, Captain Jervis, for Buffora, who very politely made me the offer of a passage. — 24th, in the evening, passed the Bullora Bar, and on the 28th came to anchor opposite the town.

*Buffora.*] The city of Buffora is situated at the extremity of the Persian Gulph, in latitude  $31^{\circ} 30'$  north, on the banks of a fresh water river, called the Shat al Arab, which is a branch of the Euphrates; that river uniting with it about fifty miles to the north-west of Buffora. The city is a very large one, but indifferently fortified: a mud wall encircles the town, having bastions and turrets also of mud; it had formerly a wet fosse, this is now dried up in many parts. Buffora, notwithstanding these disadvantages, held out upwards of eight months when besieged by the Persians in 1777; it was evacuated at the end of the ensuing year, occasioned by the death of Kerim Khan, Vakeel of Persia. Although the great desert extends to the very walls of the city, the banks of the river on each side are exceedingly fertile and pleasant; they produce corn, pulse, rice, and several European fruits: but that which most adds both to the pleasant situation and profit of the place, is the date tree; by the cultivation and produce of this tree, a considerable revenue arises to the Turkish government. The vicinity of Buffora abounds in game, particularly hares, partridges, and the wild hog, whose flesh is of a delicious flavour. The modern Buffora is fourteen days journey (by couriers) from Aleppo. There is a very grand mosque in Buffora, and also a convent of Italian missionaries. The city is at present under the government of the Turks, and the residence of a Mussullem, appointed by the Bashà of Bagdad, under whom he acts.

The following are the particulars of a revolution that took place about eight months ago.

*Revolution at Buffora.*] In the middle of April 1787, Sheick Twiny, an independent Arabian chief of the tribe of Montifeeks (whose country is situated to the eastward of Buffora on the Grand Desert), arrived at the village of Zubeer, on his return from an expedition he had undertaken against his enemies; in which he was successful; the Mussullem, or Turkish governor, came out from the city to meet and congratulate him on the occasion.

The Sheick of the Montifeeks had long had it in his mind to obtain possession of Buffora, which he laid claim to, and considered as the right of his family; deeming the present, therefore, a more favourable opportunity, he, without further ceremony, made the Turkish governor, and those who accompanied him, prisoners, which was effected without bloodshed, and before the Turks could entertain the least suspicion of his intentions. The following day the Sheick sent into the city a body of fifteen hundred Arabs, who took possession of the serai, or governor's palace, and every thing without opposition, there being but few Turks in the place, and not more than two hundred troops in all. The place was preserved in its usual order, and the property of individuals remained safe. On the third day the Sheick Twiny made his own entry, accompanied by the remainder of his army, being about five thousand men. The Arab government immediately commenced.

The commanders of the Turkish ships in the river were deposed, and Arabians appointed in their room; and shortly after, the Mussellem, with the council, the Dufter dar, or treasurer, and the principal officers under the Turkish government, were embarked on board ship, and sailed for India.

These steps being taken, the Sheick began to prepare himself for the consequences that might ensue, and first he wrote letters to Constantinople, excusing what he had done, by alleging and endeavouring to prove, that Bassora had originally belonged to his own proper ancestors, and that, as a free and independent chief of a tribe, he had undoubted right to obtain what was his due. But he further observed, that in order the Porte might perceive how anxious he was to settle matters amicably, and if possible procure peace, he had on this occasion forborne the victor's right, and had hitherto held untouched both the persons as well as the property of individuals whom the laws of war gave him a power over; that order and justice were as rightfully administered as before. He finally concluded his letters with professions of allegiance to the Porte, on condition of his being nominated to the Basshalick of Bagdad and Bassora united in one, and hoped the Suldaun would lend a favourable ear to a request so justly made.

These letters he dispatched to Constantinople, and at the same time providing for the worst that might occur, he augmented his army; after which, assembling the Jews, Armenians, and other merchants of Bassora, he requested from them the sum of six thousand tomans as a loan, for which he informed them a bond should be given. The merchants, though averse to a proposal so extraordinary in its nature, from the possessor of Bassora, yet had no other resource than compliance left them: and it was some consolation to them to reflect, that the Sheick had given them hopes of re-payment at a future period; and to do him justice, there was every probable reason to suppose, in case of success, he would have done so. The sum proposed was raised, and the bonds delivered. Shortly after, Sheick Twiny quitted the city, and marched his army to the village of Naranta, on the banks of the Euphrates, in the direct road to Bagdad, where he encamped and resolved to await the coming of the Bassha, and risk his fortune on the issue of a pitched battle.

It will now be necessary to observe, that at the surprising of Bassora, before mentioned, the eldest brother of Sheick Twiny had deserted his camp, and fled to Soliman, the Bassha of Bagdad, claiming his protection. This person whose name is Sheick Ahumud (for chiefs of families amongst the Arabs have always the appellation of Sheick), had been set aside from the succession at the death of their father, which ever after gave him a disgust towards his brother, and he eagerly longed for an opportunity to emancipate himself, and acquire a party of his own. This was offered him on the present occasion; he was received by the Bassha with open arms, and the strongest assurances of support and protection were given him.

Soliman, on receiving intelligence of the revolution, assembled his army; and the more to strengthen his party, he resolved to seek the alliance of an Arabian tribe bordering on Bassora to the south-west. This tribe (whose chief is called Sheick Chaubi), from their vicinity to the city, have it in their power to become either very useful or very troublesome neighbours, their country extending along the banks of the river below the town, and they also possessing a considerable fleet of armed gallivats. To this tribe Sheick Twiny had previously made an offer of alliance; but they demanding what he thought too much, as the reward of friendship at this critical juncture, he unwisely relinquished the idea, which his more politic adversary the Bassha took advantage of, and a treaty of alliance and friendship was settled between them. The Bassha, on

this occasion, was liberal in the donation of two districts of land, which he granted to the Chaubi.

During the interval of those preparations, the letters sent by Twiny had arrived at the Porte: they remained unanswered to *him*, but a positive order was dispatched to the Basha of Bagdad to send the head of Twiny to Constantinople, the Porte making no other observation on the matter, but disdainingly to treat with the chief of a petty Arabian tribe.

The Basha, being now fully prepared, set forward in the beginning of October 1787. On the 23d instant, he came up with the Arabs, and on the 25th the Turks gained a complete victory over the Sheick and his adherents. The action was fought on the banks of the Euphrates; the conflict was bloody, and for some time doubtful, but at length the Arabs giving way, a total rout ensued, and Sheick Twiny was obliged to fly from the field of battle, attended by a few followers.

Buffora, by this victory, once more fell into the hands of the Turks, and the re-establishment of the Turkish government became the necessary consequence. Though every thing at present is quiet, and the troubles are terminated, yet the trade of the place has suffered greatly thereby, and it will take some time to restore it.

The unfortunate merchants, on this occasion, besides losing what they had lent to Sheick Twiny, were obliged to deprecate the anger of the Basha by a new fine, who also gave orders for double duties to be exacted on all goods for that year; and this, as the Sheick had before received the like, fell very heavy upon them. The Basha, after establishing a new Mussellem, returned to Bagdad. Sheick Twiny has lately sent submissive letters; but the Basha has confirmed Sheick Ahumud in the chieftship of the Montifeeks, and is resolved to maintain him in it. — Buffora, Feb. 1st, 1788.

On the 12th of February 1788, I embarked on board the brig Futta Illâhi, Captain Ninmo, on my return to India. I cannot, however, quit the Persian Gulph, without making my acknowledgments to Messrs. Manesty and Jones, of the Buffora factory, who did every thing in their power to render my short stay with them agreeable. After touching at Muscat, Cocheen, and Masulipatnam, on the 22d of April we arrived in Ballafore roads; and on the 25th anchored off Calcutta after an absence of two years and two months.

*Forſan et hæc olim meminiffe juvabit!*

## E X T R A C T S

FROM

## F O R S T E R ' S T R A V E L S ,

CONCERNING THE NORTHERN PARTS OF PERSIA \*.

ON the 5th November 1783, in an open well-cultivated plain, six fursungs, where, halting for a few hours, the kafilah proceeded two and a half fursungs further, to Kandahar. This city, comprized within an ordinary fortification of about three miles in circumference, and of a square form, is populous and flourishing; and lying in the great road which connects India with Persia and Tartary, has been long a distinguished mart.

At Kandahar are established many Hindoo families, chiefly of Moultan and the Rajepoot districts, who, by their industry and mercantile knowledge, have essentially augmented its trade and wealth. The Turcoman merchants of Bochara and Samarcand also frequent this mart, whence they transport into their own country a considerable quantity of indigo, with which commodity Kandahar is annually supplied from various parts of Upper India. This city is more abundantly supplied with provisions, and at a cheaper rate than any place I have seen on the west side of the Indus. The grapes and melons of numerous kinds are peculiarly high flavoured, and are comparable with the first fruits of Europe. The extensive range of shops occupied by Hindoo traders, with the ease and contentment expressed in their deportment, affords a fair testimony of their enjoying at Kandahar liberty and protection.

A son of Timur Shah governs the city, with a tract of dependent territory, which produces, it is said, a revenue of eighteen lacks of rupees; and it may be justly concluded, from the appearance of all classes of people, that this collection is made without any extraordinary rigour. The environs of Kandahar occupy an extensive plain, covered with fruit gardens and cultivation, which are intersected with numerous streams of so excellent a quality as to become proverbial; and the climate is happily tempered, between the heats of India and the cold of Ghizni.

It is generally supposed in Europe that Kandahar stands in a country of mountains, and we speak of the lofty passes of Kandahar, as a point not less clearly ascertained than the existence of the Alps. Permit me to rectify this popular error, which, like many of a similar texture, has made mountains of mole-hills, and acquaint you, that the face of the country surrounding the new city of Kandahar forms an extensive plain, which as it approaches the site of the old fortrefs, becomes interspersed with hills; but they are of a moderate height; nor do they form any barrier of difficult access, or deep extent.

On leaving Kabul, Bagdasir, my Georgian host, had given me introductory letters to two Turkish residents of Kandahar; the one kept a small shop in the bazar, the other,

\* A Journey from Bengal to England, by GEORGE FORSTER, Vol. II.

Aga Ahmed, had a warehouse of some note in the karavanfera. This person received me in a courteous manner, and though then in the character of a Christian, I did not experience any of that haughtiness of manner, with which Mahometans usually regard those of our faith. He even directed his countryman, the shopkeeper, to provide the necessaries for my journey, and to carefully guard against any fraud.

The immediate departure of a kafilah, and the fast approach of winter, when the road to Persia is impassable, determined me to proceed to Herat; though I wished much for a few days' residence at Kandahar. Aga Ahmed made an agreement with the kafilah bashi \* for my passage, and also that I should be furnished with an attendant: this benevolent Turk did not formally recommend me to the director's care, but enjoined him, on the forfeiture of his favour, to shew me a particular kindness, which was only to be testified by producing my written assurance. Could I have found a fit associate to divide the cares of house-keeping. I would have remained at Kandahar during the winter, as I still felt the effects of the late sickness, and feared a relapse from the fatigue of travelling; but the predicament in which I stood wholly precluded any domestic connection with the Mahometans; and that of some stray Armenians, whom I found there, did not seem eligible.

The road from Ghizni to Kandahar, according to my gross observations, tends to the south-west; and the country has generally a barren aspect, with a scanty supply of wood and water. The buildings, from a scarcity of timber, are constructed, as in the Kabul districts, of sun-burnt bricks, and covered with a flat arched roof of the like materials.

On the 8th of November left Kandahar, and proceeded to Koby, three fursungs, a small village surrounded by a fertile plain. At the distance of two or three miles to the northward of Kandahar, is seen, on the left, the remains of the old fortification, standing on the summit of a rocky hill of a moderate height, but abrupt elevation. The road at this place tends over a stony ascent of easy access, skirted on each side with scattered hills and wide intervals of level land. It is the form of this part of Afghanistan, which has given rise, I apprehend, to the European belief of the mountains and passes of Kandahar.

On the 9th, at Aufkuckana, three fursungs, a small village on a thinly cultivated plain. Our slow progress was occasioned by the Kafilah bashi remaining at the city to adjust some business; he had, however, wholly neglected mine, for not a person, when my sect was known, would even touch my garment.

My ill fortune on the score of an associate, which seemed to pursue me with an inveterate rigour, had now given me, in the place of the scolding nurse and crying child, a theological and very clamorous disputant. This bewildered man, unhappily for himself, and for his neighbours, had conned over some of those books of ingenious devices and quaint syllogisms, which are held in high note among the modern Mahometans, and have fixed among them a false distorted taste. Even Hafis's poems, so conspicuously replete with wit, and with incitements to mere mortal pleasures, are tortured by them into praises of Mahomet and his religion. This fanatical logician was unknown to the other passengers, but he lost no time in displaying to them his store of endowments; and seeing me a favourable subject, he directed his full force at my head.

I had engaged the services of a travelling Arab taylor, and was anticipating the various conveniences which they promised, when he was driven from the prospect of an easy livelihood by the threats of the logician, who denounced Mahomed's vengeance against him if he eat the bread of an infidel. The poor man, hungry and almost naked, started

\* Bashi in the Turkish language signifies head, and is often applied in Persia to the head of a society or party.

at the danger, and, fearful of incurring so powerful a wrath, resigned his new office, and went to live as it might please God. Thus had I the dreary prospect of being pestered for the term of twenty days, by this outrageous Mahometan, who, so far from being conscious of any mischief, believed that he was performing an act of extensive merit.

On the evening of the 10th, the kafilah moved, and arrived next morning at Howrah Muddit Khan \*, six furlongs; the country open, and the soil a mixture of light sand and earth, producing generally that species of weed which has been noted in the remarks of the road from Kabul to Kandahar.

On the 13th, at Khackchamparah, six furlongs. No marks of habitation were seen during the journey of these two last days.

On the 14th, at Greishk, seven furlongs, a large walled village, on the skirts of which runs a small stream of good water; halted two days at this place, where a toll is collected on merchandize and passengers, and where a stock of provisions was laid in, to supply our consumption through a tract of desert country, extending from this station to the westward. My persecuting neighbour had already deprived me of two servants, when, after much entreaty, mixed with a warm eulogium on his extensive capacity, I prevailed on him to moderate his resentment against me, and cease to anathematise those who might in future be induced, from their necessity, to eat the bread of an infidel. He had, by his rhetoric, precluded me even from the use of a barber; one of whom being observed by him at the close of an operation on my head, was reprobated for his impurity in virulent language, and compelled to cleanse his razor by an ordeal process, the expence of which was defrayed by Christian money. On paying the charge, I observed to our logician, whom I now treated with little ceremony, that he should also cause the shaver to purge the money by the like trial, that he might not be polluted by the touch; a precaution, I added, that would doubtless have been adopted, but for a fear of half the amount being lost in the large alloy that debases all Mahometan coins. I was, he said, an incorrigible Kafir, whom ill-fortune had placed with him on the same camel, and which he feared could never thrive under such a weight of sin.

The urgent calls of hunger now gave me a third servant, who was in his way from Moulton, to make the pilgrimage of Muschid †. Think how ardent must have been the zeal which incited this pilgrim to so distant a journey, and supported him against the inclemency of winter, and the inhospitality of a rude people, with scarcely a covering to his back, no shoes to his feet, or an atom of money in his purse. Though I gave him some warm clothing and substantial food, he was not able to keep pace with our party.

His successor was a Kashmirian, who had a countenance as demure as that of Gil Blas's Ambrose Lamela; and, to the extent of his ability, as great a rogue. To enhance the value of his services, for which I was obliged to pay largely, he expatiated on the sin he was about to commit, eating the salt of an infidel; but I soon found there was no restriction to his diet. Most of the Asiatic nations have affixed to salt a certain sacred property, but it is held in the highest degree of reverence by the Mahometans, who speak of salt as Europeans do of bread. A servant is said to eat the salt of his master; and, when guilty of ingratitude, he is stigmatized with the name of a ninmock haram, or, a polluter of his salt; which is, I believe, the only term applied by Mahometan nations to such an offender.

\* Howrah signifies an artificial fountain, or reservoir of water; one of which had been constructed at this place by Muddit Khan, for the accommodation of travellers.

† It is at this day the reputed capital of Khorasan.

Here I am induced to notice the ominous qualities vulgarly ascribed on some occasions to salt in our own country ; as when it is accidentally spilled, some part is thrown over the left shoulder, that the supposed ensuing evil may be averted ; a ceremony I have seen even observed by those who were far removed from the lower classes of life. But early impressions are not easily effaced, and they often impart to the ideas a lasting colour ; especially among those who are secluded from the more hacknied paths of the world.

On the 17th at Shah Nadir, a station in the desert, seven furlongs. This reservoir, built by Nadir Shah, is a square of about twenty feet, over which is erected on pillars a terrace, which extending beyond the margin of the water, affords a convenient lodging to travellers.

On the 18th at Shorab\*, five furlongs ; some spots of cultivation were scattered around this station, but no village in sight.

On the 19th at Lungerah, a place of halt, in a desert country, where we found only one weak spring of water, which was quickly consumed.

On the 20th at Dilaran, six furlongs, a fort in ruins, which is skirted by a rivulet, on whose margin are seen some scattering trees ; a rare sight in this land ! but the adjacent country is barren and uninhabited.

On the 21st at Buckwau, seven furlongs, a station in the desert.

On the 22d at Drauve in the desert, six furlongs. This day the sun shot forth his rays with great force, and the ground which we occupied being a bare sand, reflected an intense heat. Whilst I was panting under a very flimsy covering, I observed that my neighbour, a Turkoman Seid, who had no shelter, was struck by the sun, and lay struggling in a violent agony.

The Mahometans thought him possessed with the devil, and instead of affording any proper aid, began an extraordinary conversation with the supposed fiend ; especially my learned associate ; who, in a peremptory manner, ordered the devil to depart out of the body of a true believer, and a branch of the holy stock ; but, seeing that the command had no effect, though conveyed in Arabic and a vehement tone of voice, I requested to interfere ; and lifting the incumbent from the ground, threw some water on his face, and forcibly poured a quantity down his throat. The Seid soon felt the natural benefit of this administration ; but the violence of the shock created a temporary stupor, during which he uttered so incoherent a language that it confirmed the opinion that a demon was speaking, and not the Tartar.

Our logician addressed the infernal personage in a very spirited harangue, severely reprehending his entrance into the body of one of the prophet's descendants, and challenging him, that the cloven foot might conspicuously appear, to repeat the Mahometan creed. To this test the shattered state of the Seid's senses were not yet equal ; nor was it until he had smoked his pipe, that he distinctly, and with surrounding applause, pronounced his creed and shook off all diabolical connection.

On the 23d at Ghurmow, in the desert, five furlongs. This evening my persecuting companion left our party, and proceeded with some Hindoo traders to Fera, an Afghan town of some note, lying about forty or fifty miles to the south-west of Drauze. But my joy at this riddance, like most joys of sublunary texture, was of short duration ; for the vacant place fell to the lot of a much more obnoxious associate.

I begin now to be ashamed at having imposed upon you so large a portion of private story ; yet, without it, I perceive my subject would be as barren as the land I travel

\* Signifying salt, or brackish water ; but at this station the water was fresh.

over, which exhibits to the fatigued eye one vast sterile plain, without rivers, wood, or scarcely a place of human habitation. Though personal recitals are usually suspected of vanity, and even in their best sense partake more of the amazing than the instructive qualities, you may perhaps gather from my anecdotes, some subsidiary knowledge of the human character; an important subject, and not less various than the human face. My next associate was the Arab taylor, already mentioned, who succeeded to the vacant pannier by the assistance of one of his countrymen in our party, a trader of some note. A conversation held when I was thought asleep, some nights before, between the logician and the taylor; in which the latter was strenuously exhorted to rob me, boded no good from the change; and this counsel was strengthened by a doctrine very prevalent among the lower classes of Mahometans, that it is meritorious and laudable to attack the property of an infidel. Nor was the advice lost on the taylor, who promised an active diligence in performing the required service. Combining, therefore, the interest of the world with that of his religion, he commenced a brisk attack on my chattels; but which, at that time, my vigilance preserved. His subsequent attempts, however, were more successful, as were seen in the diminution of my apparel. This freebooting system of the taylor's kept me in constant alarm, and displayed every day, in strong colours, the ill consequences of my Christian garb.

On the 24th at Ghiraunee, six fursung. A populous walled village, situate near a small running water. Halted there the next day to make the payment of a toll, and purchase provisions for a three days' journey over a desert, which reaches from this place to the confines of Khorasan. My Kashmirian servant was wholly divested of religious fervour, or a religious cloak. For he neither prayed nor washed; but, was much addicted to theft; and while the taylor purloined my cloaths, he was occupied in stealing my victuals. Yet this propensity was, in some degree, compensated by his services, which found active employment in bringing water and fuel, baking cakes, and boiling my coffee.

On the 27th at Khoos, in the desert, five fursung. The taylor's payments for conveyance not being regularly made, the feat was again put up to sale, when it was purchased by an Hindostany Mahometan, who had left his wife and family at Juanpour, in the district of Benares, and was thus far advanced on a pilgrimage to Muschid. From the mouth of this devotee, who had formerly been a marauding soldier, there issued an almost incessant ejaculation of prayer. In truth it may be said, that he overflowed in holy zeal; for he prayed and cried in a successive rotation. What an extraordinary character would this be thought in a country where its inhabitants, though shunning no peril or fatigue in the pursuit of wealth and pleasure, will scarcely cross a street to look into a church. The various precepts of education and religion, established in the world, but especially, the different orders of government, produce so strong a dissimilarity in the manners of men, that in investigating those of the most opposite tendency, they would seem to arise from beings of a distinct species.

On the 28th at Gimnich, seven fursung, a station in the desert.

On the 29th at Ouckal, a large walled village, standing within the limit of the province of Khorasan, and inhabited wholly by Persians. It is proper here to observe, that the natives of Persia proper, particularly the soldiery, are often termed at home, as in foreign countries, Kuzzel Bach; a Turkish compound, signifying, I am informed, red head, and originally from the Persian cap being covered at the top with red cloth.

On the 30th a halt.

On the 31st at Sheerbuchsh, a desert station, six fursung.

On the 1st of November, at Zearut Ghah, seven fursungs. A small village, on the skirts of which are seen the remains of some tombs or religious edifices.

On the 2d, at the city of Herat, three fursungs. The road from Kandahar to Gimmuch leads to the west, or west by north; from thence to Herat, it has, I apprehend, nearly a northern course, yet I cannot account for the sudden deviation of the track. The country is generally open, and interspersed with barren rocky hills of a moderate height. The soil is light and sandy, producing naturally little else than the aromatic weed before noted.

The city of Herat stands on a spacious plain, which is intersected with many springs of running water, some of which are supplied with bridges; and the numerous villages, surrounded with plantations, must afford a pleasant view to the traveller, whose eye has been wearied with the deserts of Afghanistan.

The director of the kafilah carried us to the karavanfera, where passengers only are lodged; the other places of this description being all occupied by resident traders. In the square of the karavanfera I perceived an Armenian, whom I informed, with little ceremony, lest he should hear a less favourable story, that I was an European, returning from India into my own country: but, for greater personal security, I had assumed the name of an Armenian. And to quiet any suspicion of the truth of my relation, I produced a letter, which the Georgian, Bagdasir, had written in my favour to an Armenian, who lived in a village about forty miles from Herat. My address was closed by observing, that though not in want of money, I stood in great need of his friendly offices, as he must be well aware of the various difficulties affecting those of our sect, especially when alone, among so bigotted a people as those of Khorāfan. The Armenian heard the little oration, which all my powers of speech had pointed at him, with a resolute coolness, and perceiving, I suppose, that my acquaintance would yield no profit, he turned from me and went away, without even expressing the common terms of civility. The frequent occasions which have occurred to me of noticing the Armenian character, soon cooled my resentment, and enabled me to reconcile the weariness and apathy of this man, with the common principles which govern his sect.

The present race of Armenians, like the Jews, are, with little exception, occupied in commerce, chiefly in its smallest branches, and having long lost with their country the spirit of patriotism, divested also of any valuable attainments of knowledge, they exhibit but a faint discrimination of character; being generally industrious, servile, and dishonest; they are scattered over various parts of Turkey, Persia, and India, where, except in the English colonies, they live on a precarious sufferance, being often, on trivial pretences; insulted, oppressed, and plundered. To palliate the evils inherent to their situation, and create a substitute for powers, honours, and national importance, they pursue the different roads of traffic with unremitting ardour, and invariably measure their pleasures by the mere extent of their wealth. Little susceptible of friendship, they are rarely induced to afford, even among themselves, mutual assistance, or disposed to promote the enjoyment of society: the Armenians at this day are divided into two general classes; the one, the most numerous, established in the Turkish dominions; the other in Persia.

The city of Jolfa, contiguous to Isfahan, was expressly founded for the accommodation of the Armenians, by Shah Abbas, who, aware of the benefits that would accrue to his kingdom from a commercial and temperate people, gave them an ample protection, and many indulgencies. He permitted them, it is said, to accompany their adventures to foreign countries, and advanced a capital to those not already opulent, but he always dett their families at Jolfa in pledge of good conduct. The Indian Armenians of the

Jolfa colony, and from an actual residence in that city, or sprung from families originally settled there, are all conversant in the Persian language. The vicinity of the Persian gulf, which has long maintained an important trade with India, naturally allured the Armenians to a region, which at once held out to them the hope of speedy opulence, and the advantages of a temperate government. Nor did they ever think of returning into Persia; but having amassed a sufficient wealth, purchased the release of their families on the payment of large sums.

From the description given of the Armenian character, which I am not conscious of having in the least overcharged, you will not be surprized at the mode in which I was received by my brother Christian at Herat. But I now determined to slide into the Mahometan community, on the first fair occasion: seeing, that without adding one benefit, I was like to become a martyr to our faith. In all parts of the city which I frequented, I was known only as a Mahometan, except in the karavansera, where I experienced unceasing insult and derision; for the Persians affect a greater scruple in communicating with those of a different religion, than any other sect of Mahometans. I was not even permitted to draw water out of a common well, but ordered to place my vessel on the ground, which was filled by a person hired for the purpose, from a height and not touched. When I have been waiting for this supply, the town boys, who in their round of diversion would occasionally take our karavansera in their way, learning that I was an impure person, used to form a circle round me, and desired to have the unclean part shewn to them, and seemed much disappointed on being told that I was unclean all over. My journey hitherto, if not productive of other advantage, has corrected my former belief of Mahometan politeness and suavity of manners, and also I trust, qualified that insolence of carriage, which I have too frequently evinced to the inhabitants of our eastern territories.

Could one of our Indian grandees in the fulness of his power, seated in a palankeen, perhaps on an elephant, surrounded with those bands of stickmen and pikemen, who disperse every man and beast that dares to cross his way: could this personage be transported on the sudden to Herat; how speedily would he be divested of his plumes, and reduced to his simple value. Whenever I quitted the purlieus of my lodging, I became a grave hypocritical Mussulman, with the enjoyment of all his privileges; and the city containing a various description of people, there was little apprehension of a discovery. I daily frequented the eating-houses, where all the talk of the day is circulated, and chiefly fabricated, in conjunction with the barber's shop, which in Herat has a neat appearance. In the centre of it stands a small stone pillar, on the top of which is placed a cup of water, in readiness for operation, and the sides of the shop are decorated with looking-glasses, razors, and beard combs. Home having no pleasures for me, I was glad to see them abroad; nor did I fail in procuring equal amusement and information. Neither Afghanistan or the northern provinces of Persia, permit the residence of courtizans, or any women that dance or sing for the public entertainment. The northern Persians affect to express an abhorrence of the Indian Mahometans; whom they reprobate for a general depravity of manners, and a neglect of religious duties: yet this temperate and demure people are much defamed, if, under their mysterious carriage of body, they do not practise in their different vocations every species of deceit and knavery. In India, it is a well known fact, that the Moguls, a denomination given there to all foreign Mahometans, throw off their northern cloak, and becoming notorious debauchees, laugh to scorn the precepts of their doctors.

Herat is a smaller city than Kandahar, but maintains a respectable trade; and the market-place, occupying a long street, covered with an arched roof, is filled with shops

of various wares. Bread, rice, and flesh-meats, with numerous fruits and vegetables, are equally cheap and abundant; and the grand market, held once a week, is crowded with the produce of the neighbouring villages, that a passage through it is difficult and fatiguing. Coarse woollens of a strong texture are manufactured in the adjacent districts, a great part of which, made into garments, are exported into various parts of northern Persia; furtouts of sheepskin, with the wool in the inside, are seen hanging almost at every shop, and are used by all classes of people in the winter season. A small quantity of European commodities is brought to this city from the gulf of Persia, consisting of French broad cloths, cutlery, small looking-glasses, and prints; but their low prices shew that their demand is very limited. The police of Herat is judiciously regulated, and the administration of justice vigorous. Two men, apparently above the ordinary class, having been convicted of theft, were suspended by the heels from a dome, which stands in the centre of the market, where they remained near an hour, to the terror of a gazing populace; having witnessed a part of this exhibition, I returned to my lodging with the interested belief that my property, which was all in specie, concealed about my person, had derived from it additional security.

On exchanging some gold at this place, I found the rate more favourable than at Kandahar or Kabul; yet still one in sixteen less than the Indian value. Though I was unremittingly cautious in concealing my money, knowing that discovery would bring an host of enemies on my head, one of my travelling acquaintances suddenly opened the door of my apartment at Herat, a very unusual practice among Asiatics, and found me examining the state of my finances. At the sight of the gold spread on the floor, he was struck with surprize, and expressed an eager curiosity to know the occupation that had procured me so much wealth. But either my speedy departure from Herat, or a more than ordinary honesty in the Persian, prevented the ill consequence which I had apprehended from the impromptu visit.

Khorasan\*, the most eastern, the largest, as well as the most important province of Persia, participated the various and severe revolutions which affected the state of the kingdom, from the dissolution of the Grecian dynasty, until the end of the ninth century, when it was involved in the Tartar dominion of the Sammani race; and in the beginning of the sixteenth century, after having experienced a succession of Tartar and Arabian rulers, it was annexed to Persia, by Ismael, surnamed Sofi, from whom the appellation of Sofi has been given in Europe to the Persian kings.

Herat had continued the principal city of Khorasan until the succession of Ismael, who bestowed the pre-eminence on Muschid, from its containing the tomb of Moozau Reza, his supposed ancestor, and one of the twelve grand Imaams or priests of the Persians. Since Muschid became the capital of Khorasan, it has been enriched by large donations of the Mahometans of the sect of Ali, generally known by the name of Schiahs. Even Nadir Shah, the least disposed of the Persian kings to ecclesiastical endowments, ornamented a mosque, which had been built over the tomb of Moozau Reza, with a massy cabinet of silver, and a spacious lamp of the same metal.

The religion of the Koran had existed throughout the vast Mahometan empire for the space of nine hundred years without any essential change, when it experienced a severe blow from the intrepidity of Ismael, and rapid success of his arms. In the course of the first periods of Mahometanism, four Arabian doctors, Malek, Ambel, Hanneifa, and Shaffee, made commentaries on the original text, which were adopted by sects, now severally distinguished by the names of commentators. But these explanations do

\* Khor, in the ancient Persic, it is said, signifies the last. — Sir William Jones.

not appear to have militated with much force against the first system, or created any violent feuds among the different sectaries.

As the grand innovation of the Mahometan religion was effected in Persia, and chiefly exists in that region, I am induced to make a brief chronological review of some of its more important epochs, previously to this event. It is seen that the Tartar Arfaces, having expelled the princes who succeeded to the conquest of Alexander, established a dynasty, which flourished for the space of four hundred and fifty years, and which, in the two hundred and twenty-sixth year of the Christian æra, was extinguished in the person of Artabanus, by Ardeshere\*, the Artaxerxes of the Greeks, said to have been descended from the ancient race of Persian kings.

Should it be found, which I am induced to believe, that the Persians and the Parthians are a distinct people, it is not improbable that the nations which ancient history denominates Parthians, were composed of the Tartars of the Arfacian dynasty, which held a long possession of Persia, and maintained such fierce conflicts with the Roman empire. The dexterity of the archers, which constituted the strength of the Parthian cavalry, and an excursive rapid manner of fighting, which was represented as most formidable when they appeared to fly from battle, corresponds closely with the military practice of the modern Tartars, in contradistinction to the other nations of northern Asia.

The Arabians carried their conquests and their religion into Persia, in six hundred and fifty-one of our æra, from which time it remained subject to the khaliphate, until the middle of the eleventh century, when it was overrun and subdued by Jogrul Beg, a Turkoman prince of the Seljukian † race. The successors of Jogrul continued to govern certain quarters of Persia in the year 1187, when the last prince of that race was conquered by Amalek Dinar, who, in his turn, fell under the power of Jakash, the Turkoman prince of Kharafin: but, in 1218 of our æra, the Kharafinian empire, the Arabian khaliphate, with the grandest portion of the eastern world, were swallowed up in the power of Jenjis Khan, whose posterity held possession of Persia for the space of one hundred and seventy-four years, though ultimately rent into small principalities by a series of intestine wars. It became, after that period, an appendage to the dominion of Timur, and appears to have acknowledged, in separate governments, a general dependence on certain branches of his family, until the year 1499, when Ismael Sofi, taking up arms against the Tartar princes, rose by a quick succession of victory, and assumed the undivided throne of Persia.

It is seen in Knolles's very estimable History of the Turks, that Ismael was the son of Hyder, surnamed from the place of his birth, or the residence of his youth, Ardebil, and that he was honourably descended. Retiring from the occupations of the world, Hyder fixed his abode in the city of Tauris, where he passed an austere contemplative life, and was held by the inhabitants of that quarter in great veneration. The fame of his character soon procured him the name of a prophet, and caused multitudes of people to resort to him from all parts of Persia and Armenia. The more to seduce the multitude, ever delighted with novelty, he began to inveigh against the doctrine of the Mahometans, which enjoins a sacred remembrance of the three ‡ first successors of their prophet, and to revive the opinions of a certain preceding dervish, named Guini, who was known also by the designation of Sofi. He asserted, as if inspired from above, that none

\* The successors of this prince were denominated Sassanides, from Sassan, the father of Ardeshere.

† So named from Seljuk, his grandfire, who occupied a private station in the vicinity of Samarkand, where he held large landed possessions.

‡ Abubucker, Omar, and Oïman.

should enter the kingdom of Heaven but those of the sect of Ali, who was the genuine heir and associate of Mahomet; and ordained, that the memory of Abubucker, Omar, and Osman, should be held accursed. The King of Persia, whom Knolles calls Assymbenius Ufan Cassanes \* to strengthen his government and acquire popularity, invited Hyder to court, and gave him his daughter in marriage, from which sprung Ismael. Being now brought forward on a more conspicuous theatre, Hyder grew into the general estimation of the people, which alarming the fears of Jacob, the son of Hufsan, who had succeeded to the kingdom, he secretly put him to death.

Ismael, flying from the power of Jacob, took refuge with the chief of a small territory on the southern borders of the Caspian Sea, named Pырchales †. Some of the friends of Hyder retired at the same time into Lesser Armenia, then subject to the Turks, where they promulgated their doctrine with success. Their disciples were distinguished by a red band tied over the turban, whence it is said they first obtained the appellation of Kuffel Bash, which in the Turkish language, as has been already noticed, signifies red head. Ismael, during his retirement, advanced, with zeal, the tenets of his father; and, being by nature conspicuously eloquent, of a penetrating genius and austere life, of a comely person and invincible courage, was, by the vulgar, counted more than human. The nobles of the neighbouring country, allured by the endowments of Ismael, and the specious novelty of his doctrine, resorted to his place of abode with offers of support; and, though seeming to shun them, he was invested with authority, honours, and wealth. In token of his rare qualifications, and a belief in his power of prophecy, Ismael received the title of Sofi, "which," says Knolles, "signifieth, among these people, a wise man, or the interpreter of the gods ‡."

The death of Jacob, which must have happened at an early period of his reign, and the tumults that ensued in Persia, then usurped by one Elvan Beg, who was also engaged in a warfare with his brother, named Morad, encouraged Ismael to urge his fortune on so promising a field. Obtaining some military aid from Pырchales, his first protector, he penetrated into Armenia, where he recovered the patrimony of his family, and was cordially received by those who had favoured his father. Pursuing his success, he penetrated into Shirvan, he took and sacked Shah Machee, the capital of the province, by the plunder of which he largely increased the numbers and hopes of his army. Elvan Beg had now expelled Morad, and was busied in punishing some of the principal citizens of Tauris, the capital of the kingdom, for having taken up arms in favour of his brother, when Ismael suddenly approaching the city, took it without opposition. Elvan, deprived of other support, formed an alliance with his brother, but in his progress to form a junction with the army of Morad, he was vigorously attacked by Ismael, and slain in battle; the conqueror marched without delay against Morad, who was encamped

\* It is seriously regretted that the Greek and Roman writers, as also many of the moderns, have not delivered to us the literal names of men and places, which occur in their history of foreign nations. This want of accuracy, or rather the impulse of an absurd vanity, has involved the European histories of Asia in a maze of obscurity; those, especially, which represented the series of warfare maintained against Persia by the states of Greece, and ultimately the conquest of that empire by Alexander of Macedon. The name given by Knolles to the Persian king, taken from some Latin records, is evidently a misnomer, as no such denomination is now in use among the Mahometans, and we know that no change has affected their name, since the first establishment of the khaliphate. His regal title, being a Tartar, might have been Azim Beg, signifying a great lord or prince; and his domestic appellation, Hufsan Cassim.

† So expressed by Knolles.

‡ This word, I apprehend, is purely of Greek origin; the Mahometans had, at this period, been long conversant in Greek letters.

at Babylon, and compelled him to fly into the Arabian desert \*: he rose without a competitor to the throne of Persia †.

Ismael is perhaps the first prince who at once conquered a spacious kingdom and the religious prejudices of its people. Nor does it appear that any of those violent commotions were excited, which usually mark the progress of ecclesiastical reformation. The system of Hyder and Ismael was founded on the position, that Mahomet had given his daughter Fatima to Ali, as a mark of the greatest affection, and bequeathed to him the succession of the khaliphate. But, that in defiance of this sacred testament, Abubucker, one of the associated friends of Mahomet, setting aside the claims of Ali, had assumed the powers of government, which at his death, were also forcibly held in a consequent administration by Osmar and Osman. But, that the injuries of Ali, having ultimately roused the divine interposition, he became the ruler of the † Mussulmans. This doctrine being unanimously received, Ismael ordained, that as the three first khaliphs were usurpers and sacrilegious violators of the last mandate of their prophet, their memory should, at the five stated times of prayer, be reprobated with every expression of contumely, and the severest vengeance of God denounced against them. He also inserted, at the conclusion of the Mahometan creed, that Ali is the friend or the beloved of God, and directed that he and his posterity should be distinguished by the appellation of imaams, or holy men ||. In contradistinction to the Soonis, who in their prayers cross the hands on the lower part of the breast, the Schiahs drop their arms in straight lines; and as the Soonis, at certain periods of the prayer, press their forehead on the ground or a carpet, the sectaries of Ali lay on the spot which the head reaches, a small tile of white clay, impressed with characters sacred to the memory of Ali.

Some classes of the Schiahs believe that Ali was an incarnation of the deity, who perceiving, they say, the mission which had been delegated on Mahomet to be incomplete, assumed the person of this khaliph, for the purpose of fixing the Moslem faith and power on a firmer basis. The Schiahs have imbibed strong religious prejudices, are more inflamed with the zeal of devotion, and consequently less tolerant to the other sects than the Soonis. In Persia they do not permit a Sooni to eat at their board, and in common language, without provocation or heat of temper, they call him an infidel. But in what light, dear sir, will you view a numerous and civilized people, who have produced writings that would exalt the name of the most polished nations, yet in solemn deliberate expression, imprecate God's wrath five times a day, on the souls and ashes of three men who never did them an injury, and who, in their day, advanced the empire of Mahomet to a high pitch of glory and power. Not appeased with uttering the keenest reproaches against the memory of these khaliphs, they pour a torrent of abuse on every branch of their families, male and female, lower even than the seventh gene-

\* Where he was cut off by domestic treachery.

† Ismael's accession happened about the year 1508.

‡ In commemoration of the four first successors of Mahomet, who were also his confidential associates, and by their enthusiastic courage, had been his grand instruments in aggrandizing the khaliphate, the general body of Mahometans, except the Persians, are often termed Char Yaree, or those of the four friends. They are likewise called Soonis, an Arabic word, signifying the followers of the right path.

|| The real number consists of eleven persons, to which a twelfth, supposed yet to come, has been added; their names are Ali, Hussen and Hussein, his sons, Zyne-ul-Abedein, Mahomet Baukur, Jaffier Sadue, Moufa Kazim, Ali Moufa Befa, Mahomet Tuckee, Ali Nughee, Hussen Ancany and Mahomet Mhedy. The titles bestowed usually on Ali are, Ameer-ul-Momenein, Mortiz Ali and Hyder. This last denomination, signifying a lion, is particularly given to Ali, when his military exploits are rehearsed. But when the profoundest respect is expressed for his memory, he is entitled Ameer-ul-Momenein, or lord of the faithful.

ration. I have seen their imagination tortured with inventing terms of reproach on these men and their posterity, and commit verbally every act of lewdness with their wives, daughters, and the progeny down to the present day. The Soonis, though aware of this unvaried ceremony of execrating the memory of men, whom they have been long taught to hold in reverence, and that they themselves are stigmatized as infidels, do not even, when fully empowered, intemperately resent this persecuting spirit of the Persians.

In the division of Khorafan, subject to the Afghan empire, the Persians enjoy a fair portion of civil and religious liberty, and are rarely treated with insults.

In noticing the more liberal opinions of the Soonis, in the practice of their religion, I am brought to the recollection of an occurrence, which places this fact in a conspicuous point of view.

An Armenian merchant from Ispahan, accompanying an adventure of some value, came to the karavansera, in Kabul, where I lodged; and though five of his countrymen were on the spot, the other residents being Jews, Mahometans, and Hindoos, not one of them advanced to give him welcome, or an offer of assistance; and to augment his embarrassment, all the apartments of the serauce were occupied. In this predicament stood the Armenian, and he must have lain in the street, had not a Turk invited this forlorn Christian into his own apartment; and he fed him also at his own board. One of the Armenian tribe, after some days, taking shame perhaps from the Mahometan example, or expecting some advantage from the cargo of his countryman, tendered him a part of his habitation, which the stranger at first refused; nor did he accept the invitation, until seriously admonished of the crime of forming so close a connection with an infidel.

It is now time to revert to my own story, and inform you, that it had been my first intention to have proceeded from Herat to Reshd, the principal town of the Ghilan province, which lies a few miles inland from Inzellee, a Russian factory, on the border of the Caspian Sea. It is a computed journey of seventy days, of about twenty miles each, from this city to Reshd\*, but the road which leads through the lesser Irak †, has a deviating course from the direct line.

Being informed by the Armenians of Herat, that Russian vessels navigate along the coast of Mazanderan, to which a straight track lay from hence, though not much frequented, from being subject to the depredation of the Turcoman Tartars, I was resolved to pursue this route, at once direct and wholly unknown to European travellers.

A kafilah being about to proceed to Turfhis, a town lying in the direction of Mazanderan, I made an agreement with the director for a conveyance; but with a confidential stipulation, that I was to be received in a Mahometan character; and the better to guard against a discovery of my person, I took the name of an Arab, a people little known in this part of Persia, and the knowledge of whose language is confined only to some of the most learned priests.

Some days before my departure from Herat, an Afghan Seid came into my apartment, and perceiving in the course of conversation that I was a Christian, he exclaimed, with sensible emotions of joy, that he had now obtained a favourable opportunity of

\* From Herat to the town of Jubbus, a route of fifteen days; thence to Yerd twenty-five; and to Cashan ten; and a fifteen days' journey to Reshd.

† There are two provinces of Irak, the lesser and the greater; the latter, termed Irak Azeem, of which Bagdat is the capital, chiefly depends on Turkish and Arabian emirs.

revenging the greivous injuries sustained by many of his holy ancestors at the hands of infidels, and that unless I paid a fine of five hundred rupees \*, I must repeat the creed of Mahomet, and be circumcised. Pretending an ignorance of the purpose of this demand, I carried the seid, with a mischievous intention I confess, to the next quarter, where the Armenian corps, four in number, were then assembled, and requested the principal of them, who spoke the Persian language with fluency, to explain the substance of the seid's demand; and this was precisely the point to which I wanted to reduce the question. When the hungry Afghan perceived, that instead of one Christian he had found five, his exultation had no bounds. He swore by his beard, that we should all incur the fine or circumcision. 'Oh! what a glorious fight, cried he, will be displayed to our prophet, when these hardened infidels, renouncing their heresy and impurities, shall become a portion of the faithful: what a triumph to our holy religion! The expedient which I had adopted, though not a fair, was for me a fortunate one; as the controversy, which became serious, was now more equal. The seid called loudly on the Mahometans in the name of the prophet, to assist in compelling the enemies of his religion either to embrace it, or by administering to the wants of his descendants, contribute to its support; the Persian residents of the karavanfera endeavoured to assuage the Afghan's intemperance; but they quickly withdrew all interposition, on being told that the toleration of their doctrine was a greater indulgence than the maintenance of their execrable tenets deserved. The seid experiencing, however, more obstinate resistance from the Christians than he had expected, it was evidently seen, that however ardent might have been his zeal for the advancement of religion, he was not the less mindful of his temporal welfare; and permitting himself, after displaying great powers in this holy war, to be soothed by the suppliant infidels, he withdrew his threats for a trifling sum of money, far disproportioned to the first demand. And here I must observe, that when I saw the resolute and judicious manner in which the principal Armenian conducted his share of the conflict, I felt a compunction for having involved him in so serious an embarrassment.

At Herat I found, in two karavanferas, about one hundred Hindoo merchants, chiefly natives of Moultan, who by the maintenance of a brisk commerce, and extending a long chain of credit, have become valuable subjects to the government; but discouraged by the insolent and often oppressive treatment of the Persians, they are rarely induced to bring their women into this country. When the Hindoos cross the Attock, they usually put on the dress of a northern Asiatic: being seldom seen without a long cloth coat and a high cap. Some Jewish traders reside also at Herat, where they are accused of practising all that system of chicanery, to which their tribe is so notoriously addicted in the western world. Being habituated to the manners of Upper Asia, and conversant in most of its languages, the Jews and Armenians mix with little personal inconveniency in Mahometan societies.

The leading customs of the various nations of Asia are similar, or but weakly diversified. When they sit, the legs are crossed, or bent under them; they perform topical ablutions before and after meals, at which no knife or spoon is used, unless the diet be wholly liquid. They invariably adopt the like modes of performing natural evacuations. And all the hair of the body is shaved, except that of the beard; yet this last usage is more peculiar to Upper Asia, where, likewise, all degrees of people cover the head,

\* Such pecuniary assessment is termed Jayzeah, and is occasionally levied in Mahometan countries, on those who do not profess the faith of Mahomet.

affixing the idea of indecency to its being bare; and they never enter an apartment covered with a carpet, without pulling off their shoes.

On taking leave of the Armenians, I could not help observing, perhaps unseasonably, that, instead of contributing to my assistance, in a land where our sect already experienced many grievances, they had considerably increased them, by withholding even the inferior offices of humanity; but that I cordially forgave a treatment which was to be ascribed to the excess of caution, constitutionally inherent to their tribe. The principal Armenian earnestly urged me to open myself to him, and disclose the mystery which appeared in my character. It was not in reason, he said, to believe that motives of curiosity, as I alledged, could have induced me to incur so much fatigue, danger, and expence, which were only to be compensated by the prospect of gain, or a pilgrimage to Jerusalem. But the Armenians, said he, are now the only visitors of the sacred tomb, and indeed the only pure Christians now existing. He was of opinion, in short, that my story was a counterfeit, and concluded by asserting, that I was a jewel-merchant, or a spy. I endeavoured to explain, that, among the natives of Europe, it was a common usage to visit foreign countries, where an observance of the manners and arts of various people improved the understanding, and produced a more extensive knowledge of mankind; and that a frequent intercourse with nations of different customs and religious opinions, taught them to shake off domestic prejudice, and to behold all men with the eye of common affection. To this language, which he had probably never before heard, he listened with an air of vacant wonder; but, as the doctrine did not square with his sentiments of the world, he ultimately treated it with contempt; wishing me, however, a better journey, he said, than my plan promised.

On the evening of the 22d of November, I left Herat, and halted that night at Alum Guffour Chushmah\*, three quarters of a fursung. Here let me again crave your indulgence for the copious self-narration already imposed on you, and for that which I fear is yet to come. But what can I do? Northern Persia is, at this day, equally void of events as of letters, and has but few monuments of grandeur. You must, therefore, extend a large portion of patience over these communications, and by permitting me to speak for myself, the favourite amusement of all travellers, you will make me a sufficient recompence for all the little chagrins which I incurred, and some solitary hours which I passed in the course of my journey.

The kafilah director, Aga Ali, and his family, which consisted of his mother, wife, and a servant, having consented that I should be received among them in the character of an Arab, going on a pilgrimage to Muschid, I joined the party at an appointed place, whither every person resorted except the females of our family, on whose heads, and and indeed all parts of them, many indecent reproach was thrown. There was no mortal ill which these women did not deserve to feel; but, when women were concerned in any undertaking, what good could result, exclaimed all the enraged Mahometans. Night approaching, the kafilah moved, and left Ali to escort the ladies, in which service I was also retained. On their arrival he began to utter some angry language; but it became manifest that we were members of a female government, which was conducted by the mother of Ali. She seemed in her manners not unlike the Afghan lady whom I heretofore endeavoured to celebrate, but had less fierceness and decision; the deficiency, I presume, arose from the constitutional difference between the tempers of an Afghan and a Persian; for my new dame evinced the same thirst after supreme sway, but

\* Chushmah, in the Persian, signifies a natural fountain.

exercised it with more mildness. Ali remaining at the town-gate to make some toll payments, dispatched the ladies and me, under the charge of his associates, who, perceiving our progress to be very slow, and the night far advanced, left us with little ceremony. When Ali arrived, he expressed much resentment at the scandalous desertion of his friends, and many thanks for my attention; though I could hear him murmur at the indecency of Mahometan women being entrusted to the charge of an infidel. But Ali's honour might have remained safe in the most intemperate quarter of the world; and, for my part, I was so grievously loaded by a heavy musket which he had given me to carry, that, had his spouse been a Venus, I would not have looked at her. No apprehension now existed of a scolding nurse, a crying child, or a fanatic disputant; or, indeed, of any thing which could actually offend; for my present associate was a bag of rice, from whose good neighbourhood I anticipated much satisfaction.

On the evening of the 24th, moved from the Cushmanah, and arrived the next morning at Dhey Soorch, four fursungs. Some little cultivation was seen, but the general face of the country bore the same wild inhospitable aspect, as in the eastern quarter of Khorasan. The benefits attached to my new character, were now conspicuously testified. I was, from my supposed sect, entitled Hadji, and much courted by all the passengers, especially when the given purpose of my journey was understood. No person in the description of a Christian should attempt to make a passage through this part of Persia; should it, through a train of favourable events, be accomplished, he will be harrassed and defrauded, even on a principle of religion, and ever insulted with impunity. The attempt, indeed, I think impracticable, and liable to subject the adventurer to imminent danger.

On the 26th, at the Pool, or Bridge of Skebo, three and a half fursungs, in an uncultivated country. This bridge, built of brick and mortar, stands over a small river whose name I could not learn, running to the southward or left, and is fordable at most seasons.

On the 27th, at Corian, a large village, four and a half fursungs. In this neighbourhood, I saw some windmills, for grinding corn; they are constructed on the same principles as those of Europe, but instead of canvas wings, broad leaved flags are substituted. The toll gatherer at Corian affects to observe a peculiar vigilance in the execution of his office, which he saw occasion to exercise on me.

Passengers, proceeding to the westward, usually procure a passport at Herat; but being averse to a mode which might have led to inconvenient explanations, I did not apply for this document. The officer, though glad of the omission, held out the utter impossibility of passing without the signature of government, and argued with much delicacy on the crime of disobedience. But feeling some of my money in his hand, he observed that my case admitted a favourable construction; that I was an Arab, and a pilgrim of the holy tomb of Muschid. He would therefore relax a little, he said, in so good a cause. To put money into thy purse, is as necessary in Khorasan as it was in Venice, with the difference, that there the more decorated the garb, the greater respect was shewn to the person, whereas in Asia, the security and the comforts of life often depend on a wary concealment of wealth, and all its appendages.

The complaints of Asiatic travellers against a camel-driver, are not less frequent than those of marine passengers, in our country, against the master of a ship, and oftentimes with the like want of just cause. Men under restraint and deprived of accustomed amusements, become unreasonable in their desires, and fretful from the natural disappointment of vain wishes. The cross incidents which their situation necessarily produces, and which a degree of skill might qualify, are often outrageously ascribed to their conductor.

ductor. This preliminary, though militating against myself, I thought but honest to the exhibition of certain charges against Ali, the kafilah director. The first shews, that having bargained with this Mahometan, on the payment of a stipulated sum, for a conveyance to Turfshih, he at the first halting place laid me under a contribution, on a pretence of the extraordinary weight of my baggage, though he well knew, that the equipment of a mendicant could not have been more slender. This demand was no sooner adjusted, than he commenced another attack, not on my purse, though that was weak, but on my fame, which was vulnerable all over.

Ali seeing me generally addressed by the title of Hadji, and treated with a marked civility, was much mortified, and began to sap the importance I had obtained. He whispered to some of those with whom I associated, that I was no Hadji, nor even one of the true faith. They expressed great surprize at this information, but blamed him for the disclosure; nor did they ever communicate the story to the other passengers, or abate in their former attention.

On the 29th at Charfoorch, seven fursung; a station in an uninhabited country, and supplied with one well, whose water was barely sufficient for the supply of our party.

On the 30th at Turfala, three and a half fursung; a station in the desert, near a well of brackish water.

On the 1st of December at Kauff, seven fursung, a populous, and in this country a large village, which maintains a moderate traffic with Herat, Muschid, and Turfshih. Markets and public shops being only seen in the cities and principal towns of Persia and Afghanistan, travellers are obliged to apply for provisions to the housekeepers, who are often unable to provide the required quantity. Though Kauff is a village of note, bread in no part of it is publicly vended, and having occasion for a three days' supply, I advanced the required price to a Persian, who, after keeping me in waiting till midnight, absconded. Bread and the cheese of sheep's milk, when procurable, was my common fare; which, with a water beverage, gave me a vigour and strength equal to the daily fatigue I incurred. And when the inclemency of the weather is considered, and how broken his rest must be who is carried on the back of the roughest paced animal that moves, thrust also into a crib not half his size, and stunned by the loud clamours of the drivers, you must grant that no ordinary texture of constitution is required to accompany the kafilahs in northern Persia.

Having witnessed the robust activity of the people of this country and Afghanistan, I am induced to think, that the human body may sustain the most laborious services, without the aid of animal food. The Afghan, whose sole aliment is bread, curdled milk and water, inhabiting a climate which often produces in one day extreme heat and cold, shall undergo as much fatigue, and exert as much strength as the porter of London, who copiously feeds on flesh meat and ale; nor is he subject to the like acute and obstinate disorders. It is a well known fact, that the Arabs of the shore of the Red Sea, who live with little exception on dates and lemons, carry burdens of such an extraordinary weight, that its specific mention, to an European ear, would seem romance.

On the 3d of December at Ruee, four and a half fursung, a populous village, where a fall of snow produced a change on the face of the land, to which I had been long a stranger. Halted on the 4th, on account of the inspection of some goods which had been damaged by the weather. Three Persians, with myself, occupied the lower part of a wind-mill, which our joint endeavours to defend from the cold were wholly ineffectual; yet my companions seemed little affected by it. They were horsemen, and having no attendants, were obliged to clean their cattle, and go in search of forage, fuel, and provisions; these offices they performed with alacrity, nor did they once shrink from the

boisterous drifts of snow and a north wind, that, I verily believe, must have swept every mountain-top in Tartary. My body, which a residence of twenty years in India, had greatly relaxed, and a recent sickness enfeebled, was open to every touch of those rude blasts, and I saw, with mortification, a North Briton screening himself from a climate which imparted vigour to an Asiatic. My associates had been horsemen in the service of Timur Shah, but disgusted at his ill payments, they had retired, and were returning to their families at Nishabor.

On the 5th, at Say Day, five and a half fursungs, a small fortified village, whose adjacent lands, extending in a valley, seemed to be well cultivated.

On the 6th, at Ashkara, five fursungs, a small fortified village. A great quantity of snow fell on our arrival at this place, and the weather became so tempestuous that the kafilah could not proceed. Our party went into the fort to seek shelter, and, after earnest entreaties, were conducted into a small dark room, barely capable of defending us against the storm, which had now set in with violence. The inhabitants, aware of our distress, furnished an abundant supply of fuel, which became as necessary to our existence as food; but when the cold was a little qualified, we experienced an urgent want of provisions, not an article of which was to be procured at Ashkara. This dilemma dismayed the stoutest of us, and became the more alarming from the apparently fixed state of the weather. Yet such cordial pleasures are inherent in society, that, though pent up in a dark hovel, which afforded but a flimsy shelter against the mounds of snow furiously hurled against it, our good humour with each other, and an ample supply of firing, produced cheerfulness and content.

One of our associates, who had received a more than ordinary education, and had a taste for poetical literature, amused us with reading Jamis's story of Joseph and Zuleicha\*, which for its scenes of wondrous pathetic adventure, and the luxuriant genius of the poet is happily adapted to soften the rigours of a winter's day. Nor was our companion deficient in accompanying the reading with that energetic emphasis and deep nasal tone, which in the east is thought highly ornamental to the recitation of poetry.

As our pleasures and our sorrows exist largely in the imagination, and as at this period my ideas did not wander beyond the circle of my residence, I felt comforts in my present situation, equal, perhaps, to the enjoyments of the most refined societies. How often, in the fervour of my heart, have I prayed for the fortitude which is said to have actuated the stoic school, that I might shackle, or at least qualify the passions that are continually precipitating us into dependence and embarrassments, and establish within myself a resource for conducting all the operations of life. But the wish was futile, nor would the gratification of it accord with the œconomy of human nature.

The inhabitants of Ashkara were now busily employed in commemorating the death of Huffleyn, the second son of Ali, who was slain at Karibullah, in the vicinity of Bagdat, where a monument has been erected to his memory, and whither the Schiahs numerously resort, in the first ten days of the Mahometan month Mohurram †, to offer up their prayers. Huffleyn, the elder brother, was poisoned by some female machinations; but the celebration of this event, which is noticed at a different period of the year, does not produce that tumultuous lamentation, and often dangerous effects, which accompany the memory of Huffleyn's fate.

A pilgrimage to the tomb of Huffleyn, confers the title of Karribullahee; which classes next after the Hadji, and before a Muschidee, an appellation given to those who

\* The Patriarch of Ægypt. Zuleicha is the name given by the Arabians to the wife of Potiphar.

† The Mahometan months being lunar, the feasts observed in Ramsar and Mohurram are moveable.

visit the shrine of Muschid. The pilgrims of Karribullah make grievous complaints of the insults and oppression of the Turks. Yet it would seem that persecution inflames and invigorates their sense of this religious duty, so that it is merely rated by the extent of difficulty and danger it occurs; for I have known a Schiah travel from the banks of the Ganges, to prostrate himself at Hufsey'n's tomb, amidst the scoffs and rigour of the Turks. To prevent the Afghans from throwing a ridicule on their observance of the Mohurrum ceremony, which happened during our halt at Ashkara, the Persians shut the gate of the fort, and commemorated the day by beating their breasts, and chaunting, in a mournful tone, the praises of Hufsey'n.

In India, though the proportion of the sect of Ali is small, and Hufsey'n only known but by his name, this occasion never fails to excite extravagant tokens of grief and enthusiasm; and it often happens, that the masquerade mourners, impelled by a violent agitation of their minds and bodies, and heated also by intoxication, commit desperate outrages: but the fact is, that all the natives of India, Hindoos and Mahometans, are wonderously attracted by public exhibitions, and those of the most glaring kind. Though any external commemoration of Hufsey'n's death is repugnant to the doctrine of the Soonis, those of India cannot resist so alluring an offer of gratifying their love of show and noise. Many of the Hindoos, also, in compliance with this propensity, and the usage of their Mahometan masters, contribute largely to augment the Mohurrum processions. I have heard Mr. Schwartz, the Christian missionary on the coast of Coromandel, as pious a priest as ever preached the gospel, and as good a man as ever adorned society, complain that many of his Indian proselytes, disgusted at his church's want of glitter and bustle, take an early opportunity of going over to the Popish communion, where they are congenially gratified by the painted scenery, by relics, charms, and the blaze of fire-works. From Schiahs and Soonis, Protestants and Roman Catholics, I am forcibly brought to the business of the day. It is the roguery of a camel-driver, on whom, should you ever travel in Persia, never put your faith. Ali now gravely informed me, that he meant to proceed, on the next day, towards Nishabor, but that he would provide a conveyance for me to Turshish on an ass. It was in vain to talk of engagements, the injustice of forfeiting them, or the sum I had advanced; and had not one of my associates pleaded my cause with a spirit that intimidated him, Ali would have laughed at my plea.

On the 10th, the storm having abated, the kafilah moved before day-break, and arrived in the evening at Hoondeabad, six and a half fursungs, a small village, situate in a well cultivated plain, watered by many rivulets. Ali, with an ill grace, procured for me one side of a camel, the other being poised by a bag of rice, consigned to the market of Turshish; my companions, who had continued to treat me with much kindness, proceeded from this station to Nishabor, which lies about seventy miles to the north-west of Hoondeabad.

The division of Khorasan, which has been annexed to the Afghan empire, seems to be wholly intrusted to the management of Persians, who, though a conquered people, live in the enjoyment of every right, civil or religious, which could have been granted to them under their own princes. We met a party this day returning from the army, which Timur Shah had sent to besiege Muschid. This city, on which depends a small tract of territory, is governed by Shah Rock, a grandson of Nadir Shah, and, I believe, the only branch of that Prince's family now in existence.

Shah Rock is the offspring of Mirza Kuli, the eldest son of Nadir Shah, by a daughter of the Sultan Hufsey'n, who was driven from the throne of Persia by Mahmoud the  
Afghan.

Afghan. After Nadir's death \*, the empire fell to the possession of Ali, his nephew, who cut off all the descendants of Nadir, except Shah Rock, then a youth, whom he intended to raise nominally to the throne, should the Persians shew any strenuous opposition to his government; but being, in a short time after his accession, encountered by his brother, who, by liberal donations, had collected a strong force, Ali was defeated and taken prisoner in the field. Ibrahim, though at the head of a numerous army, and possessing the southern provinces of the empire, saw the impracticability of attaining the dominion of Persia, whilst Shah Rock, who was much beloved in Khorasan, held the city of Muschid, where a large portion of the treasures of Nadir were deposited.

That he might the better succeed in his design of seizing the person of Shah Rock, his only rival, he declared this Prince, by a lineal descent from Nadir and the race of Sofi, to be the rightful heir of the kingdom, and by public deputation invited him to Isfahan, that he might there be invested with the diadem of his ancestors. The adherents of Shah Rock, averse from entrusting him to so powerful and suspicious a charge, made an advantageous use of Ibrahim's professions, by installing, with the necessary ceremonials, the young Prince at Muschid. Ibrahim, baffled in the design of drawing Shah Rock to Isfahan, caused himself to be proclaimed King, and proceeded to reduce the chiefs of Khorasan: but squandering his treasures by an indiscriminate profusion, and having disgusted his troops by an injudicious choice of officers, he was betrayed by them, and, together with Ali, then his prisoner, delivered to the ministers of Shah Rock, who put the brothers to death.

About this period appeared, it is said, a descendant of the ancient Sofi family, who had escaped the massacre of the times, and improving to his purposes the distraction of the kingdom and the minority of a young Prince, he suborned, by a large sum, and extensive promises, a party in the court of Muschid; and having procured, at a secret hour, admittance into the palace of Muschid, he seized the person of Shah Rock, and deprived him of sight. This act was soon punished by the death of the perpetrator; but Shah Rock, cut off by this calamity from the hope of empire, was contented to remain at Muschid, in the possession of a very limited revenue.

He has two sons, Nadir Mirza, and Wulli Neamat, who are waging against each other an inveterate predatory war. Wulli Neamat being driven from the city, has collected a body of cavalry, which, in Khorasan, are ever ready to rove in quest of plunder, and are at this time levying a general contribution on every village, caravan, and traveller, within his power or reach, not sparing even the pilgrims. After an ineffectual effort to enter the city, he solicited the assistance of Timur Shah, who sent a small army to join him, and besiege Muschid; but their knowledge of artillery is so limited, that the Afghans, after the campaign of a year, have only been enabled to straiten the supplies of the besieged.

When the extensive conquests of the Afghans in Persia are considered, the spacious empire which they have so recently founded, and their general reputation for military prowess, I felt a sensible disappointment at seeing their armies, composed of a tumultuous body, without order or common discipline. It is seen, however, that they were good soldiers under Ahmed Shah, who, himself a Prince of conspicuous military talent and a discerning patron of merit, was empowered to give his troops that force which they constitutionally possess. Yet even under this famed leader, the Afghans, impetuous and haughty, from the form of their government, were never an obedient soldiery; and the severe encounters which Ahmed Shah experienced from the Sicques, when he

\* Nadir Shah was assassinated at the age of sixty years, near Muschid, in the month of June 1747.

ultimately evacuated the Punjab, are attributed to the desertion of his troops, who, already enriched by the plunder of India, retired in large bodies to their own country.

Though far short of the opinion I had formed of it, the Afghan army is much superior to that of Persia at the present day, who long deprived of a monarch, and subjected either to a foreign yoke or the precarious authority of petty chieftains, have lost with their patriotism the spirit of enterprize. It appears that the Persians have been ever ill acquainted with the use of fire-arms, and that their grand successes were obtained by the formidable onset of their cavalry. Little other proof, indeed, is required of their want of skill, than a review of Nadir's long siege of Bagdad, which, though a fortification of mean tenability, baffled all his efforts. The match-lock-piece is the common weapon of a Persian foot soldier, except in the province of Auderbeijan, and in some parts of Shirvan and Dhaghistan, where the use of the spring-lock musket has been adopted from the Turks; but the ridicule which has been thrown on this practice by the body of the people, will probably long prevent its general introduction. The severity of the winter season has now obliged the Afghan army to retire into quarters, and afforded a temporary relief to the inhabitants of Muschid, who began to feel a want of provisions.

The young chief of this city, in defiance of the representations of his clergy, has coined into current specie such of those ornaments with which the ostentatious zeal of the Schiahs had for two centuries been decorating the tomb of Mooza Reza, as had been preserved from former depredations. Even Nadir, the avowed foe of priesthood, made his offering at the shrine of Muschid. But his descendant, fearing the whole fabric would fall into the unhallowed hands of his enemies, has wisely sacrificed a part to prevent a total destruction. Yet his efforts will probably be fruitless; for if the Afghans return to the siege, they will derive a considerable aid from the low state of the Muschid treasury, which I am informed is nearly consumed. While the priests inveigh with sufficient acrimony against the sacrilegious seizure of Nadir Mirza, there is no limit to their invectives against his brother, on whom they deprecate the severest divine vengeance, for calling in the inveterate foes of their religion, to the destruction of the only sacred city left in the possession of the sect of Ali.

On the 11th at Fidgeroot, a small fort, three and a half fursungs, situated in a cultivated and generally a plain country, in whose vicinity are seen many fortified villages.

On the 12th at Dochabad, four and a half fursungs, a populous open village, protected by an adjoining fort, and distinguished by a manufacture of raw silk. The districts of Dochabad form the western boundary of the dominion of Timur Shah, which, in a direction from Kashmire to this place\*, occupy, by a gross computation, a space of ————— British miles. Were this spacious extent of territory governed by as vigorous and enterprising a Prince, as it is peopled by a brave and hardy race of men, the entire conquest of Persia would not be of difficult attainment. But Timur Shah inherits no portion of his father's genius, and his power is seldom seen or felt, except some object of wealth, and of safe accomplishment, be held out to his avarice. The existence of the Emperor is then felt, and, for the day, dreaded. Here I am checked by a fear that these opinions may be thought presumptuous and dogmatical, and that from slender opportunities of acquiring information, I have decided with an unwarrantable peremptoriness on the character of a Prince, in whose country I have been but a mere sojourner. I have only to urge, that the language which I have held, is prevalent

\* It is to be noted, that some petty chiefships, lying between Kashmire and the Indus, are held by independent Afghans.

in the country, and its truth strongly marked in all the operations of government, which come before the public eye

On the 13th at Koot, six fursungs, a village dependent on the chief of Turshish. From the vicinity of Dochabad, a waste extends to this place, on which is neither an inhabitant, or the least token of vegetation; and it should seem that nature had interposed this barren land to preclude the assaults of war, and even discourage a disposition to social intercourse. To the north, extends a lofty chain of mountains covered with snow\*, and the other quarters shew a tract of land, thinly marked with craggy hills.

The proprietor of the camel on which I rode, had carried me to Koot, his place of residence, fearing to carry his wares, principally composed of rice, to the town of Turshish, lest the chief should take it at an arbitrary price. He told me that his cattle were not destined for that place, whither I might pursue my way in the best manner I liked, except on his camel. The fort of Turshish being at no greater distance than two miles, I would have proceeded without hesitation, could I have carried my baggage, which, though of little value, was too heavy a load for me. After much intreaty it was transported, at my charge, on the back of an ass †, to the karavanera at Turshish; there I found every apartment occupied; but the application of a small piece of money to the gate-keeper, who regulates the distribution of quarters, introduced me to a lodging, occupied by only one person. The stranger accosted me with evident tokens of joy, observing, that the solitary life he had passed at Turshish, was very tiresome to him, and that he expected a cordial relief from my company. This reception was happily adapted to my purpose, and promised my Mahometan character a fair introduction. It was agreed that a joint board should be kept, that my associate, yet weak from a late sickness, should prepare the victuals, and that I should furnish the water, and a laborious duty it was, there being no good water at a nearer distance than a mile.

Here I must inform you, that this was by no means a degrading duty, and is performed by travellers of a rank much superior to that I held, and also that few travellers in this country, of whatever condition, exhibit any appearance of wealth, fearing the oppressions of government, and the licentious exactions of the toll-gatherers. Even men of opulence do not carry a servant.

Previously to the commencement of a journey, societies are formed at a place of rendezvous, where the different offices are allotted to each; the most robust generally provide the water; some are employed in the kitchen, while others go in quest of provisions and provender for the cattle. Should no prior opportunity have offered to fix such a scheme, it is adjusted on the first halting day, and preserved on a cordial footing throughout the journey. It is not to be inferred that certain attentions are not also shewn to the men of rank, who attach themselves to these parties. When known, and they are soon distinguished, they become, by common consent, exempt from the more laborious occupations, and all aged persons are invariably treated with a respectful indulgence. My present companion, whose name I never knew or asked, was overcast with a fixed melancholy reserve: nor, could I extract from him other information, than that he had last come from Asterabad. But he studiously avoided giving me any

\* A road leads over these mountains to Muschid, which is said to be one hundred miles north-west from Turshish, and about thirty miles to the northward of Nisshabor.

† The Persian asses are of a strong make, and much used by dealers in small and ordinary wares. I have seen the conveyance of large parties, consisting of those animals, which appear to be more active, and endure more fatigue than those of England.

intelligence of the affairs of that province, especially of the Russian trade there, which I much desired to know, and of which he must be informed; and though he seemed to like my company, or perhaps my assistance, he soon became to me an unpleasant colleague. In a few days, his departure to Herat left me sole tenant of a dark solitary lodging, with the advantage, and with the privilege of being unreservedly admitted into the society of the karavanera, as a pure Mahometan.

In the course of vacancies, I got possession of a more commodious apartment, in the corner of which I found, at first entrance, a decent looking old man smoking his pipe. On enquiry it appeared, that he was then wholly at large; but that his usual subsistence arose from vending certain spells, which were powerfully efficacious in conferring every species of worldly happiness, and consequently in the preclusion of all evil. Yet he was willing to shut up his book, he said, should any other prospect of maintenance be held out. This being the person I was in search of, I made him a cordial tender of my assistance, and invited him to a participation of my fare. The offer came to him, poor man, at a convenient season. It was now the depth of winter, and he honestly confessed to me, that his charms had so bad a run at Turkish, that even a scanty meal was earned with difficulty.

The mollah, which was the title he had derived from his professional skill, with a natural good temper, had acquired an accommodating disposition; he was all things to all men; and he found a full exercise of those qualities during our association. The little regularity I observed in our domestic system, especially in the hours of eating, was subject of frequent complaint to the mollah, who applied to the business of the kitchen, in which he had attained an eminent proficiency, with an active attention; nor was Sancho more attached to its produce; and he also reprehended my disregard to those dishes which he most favoured. His censure generally conveyed an ejaculation of surprize, at the neglect of a concern the most important to man, or at my bad taste, which he alledged, must have been vitiated in the course of my journeying through barbarous countries.

Having enjoyed during my acquaintance with this mollah so many conveniencies, and so pleasing a quiet of mind, I often review the scene with sensible emotions of pleasure. For my strength, as well as my spirits, had been much exhausted by the fatigues of the road, and various molestations necessarily incident to a traveller of my description. The cold being intense, and the country covered with snow, it became expedient, in the first instance, to lay in a stock of fuel, which is a dear commodity at Turkish, that we might, at least, communicate an external heat to our bodies; for our creed precluded any interior cordial, nor durst we even mention its name. But we were moderately recreated by a wholesome diet, large fires, a clean hearth, with plenty of Persian tobacco, which is of a most excellent kind\*. When I have contemplated the progress of my associate in his culinary occupation, in mixing with care and earnestness the ingredients of a hodge-podge, stirring it vigorously with a large wooden spoon, blowing and arranging the fire, till his eyes were red, I have been prompted to compare him to a Prussian serjeant, immersed in the fury and enthusiasm of drilling a squad of recruits, and cudgelling into their bodies all the ability of their brains. Nor could one of our minute virtuofos have been more inflated with pride at the discovery of a new species of snail, than the mollah, in demonstrating the qualities of some favourite dish.

\* That produced at Tubbus, a town about one hundred miles to the south-west of Turkish, is esteemed the best in Persia.

The excellent services of my companion now left me at liberty to walk about the town, collect information, and frequent the public baths. In the evening we were always at home, when the mollah, at the conclusion of our meal, either read a story of Yufuff and Zuleicha, which he did but lamely, or opening his book of spells, he would expound the virtues of his nostrums, which embraced so wide a compass, that few diseases of the mind or body could resist their force. They extended from recalling to the paths of virtue, the steps of a frail wife, and silencing the tongue of a scolding one, to curing chilblains and destroying worms. His practice, he told me, had been more extensive than profitable, being chiefly employed by the lower classes of people; the rich rarely sought his aid. He was meditating, he said, which I had now obviated, a journey to Mulchid, where he would have been enabled to pass the winter, a season always of anxious care to him; as for the summer he never bestowed a thought on it.

The duty of religion sat rather loosely on the mollah, for out of the five daily prayers\*, he usually struck off four, and on many days the omission was total. But observing that I was yet more relaxed, he would gravely censure my negligence; not that I was degraded in his opinion, but it was necessary, he said, to maintain a decorum of manners, that the people of the caravanfera might not make unfavourable remarks. The spirit and tendency of the mollah's observation, when impartially considered, discloses the grand tenure by which the religion of Mahomet is at this day held. It is on the daily recital of five prayers †, washing as often, and a restriction from a certain food, that the Mahometan builds his hope of Paradise. And the reputation of such a person, in Persia, is equal to that of our men of virtue, honour, and humanity. Even to that of our man of fashion.

On the other side, he that shall neglect these ceremonies, though he may execute, to an ample extent, the duties of a good citizen, is branded with the general mark of contumely; and should his condition of life not be sufficiently eminent to command respect, he is cut off from many of the benefits of society. That I may point out to you more especially the opinion of a Mahometan on the essential efficacy of forms, I am induced to relate an observation of the mollah. In speaking of an Afghan, who had himself access to the caravanfera by an agreeable and friendly disposition, he said, that he willingly subscribed to the compass of his moral merits, but was sorry to see them vitiated by offering up his prayers with folded hands. Does it not astonish you, that the mind of a creature so exquisitely formed by the great Lord of nature, should have become so strongly fettered by the shackles of prejudice, should have formed ideas so derogatory of his infinite benevolence, as to be fearful of approaching his altar but in certain positions and flexions of the body?

Travelling once with some Persians on a sultry day, and over an ill-watered country, the party unexpectedly approached a small stream, where, hastily dismounting, I drank a cup of water with avidity, one of the Persians who stood near me, cried out in an earnest tone, while I was finishing the draught, to reserve a little in the bottom of the vessel, and throw it on the ground with an execration on the memory of

\* The first, a short one, is said before the break of day; the second on the earliest appearance of light, a period usually denominated the Wokt Nemaz, or time of prayer; the third about two hours before sunset; the fourth at the close of the evening, this is also termed the Wokt Nemaz; and the fifth in the course of the night. The second and fourth prayers are most regularly observed.

† I have seen grave long-bearded Mahometans, retire a few steps from the exhibition of a lascivious dance, and in the same apartment kneel to their prayers, which hastily muttering, they returned to the amusement.

Yezid \*. On seeing that not a drop remained, he viewed me with evident marks of detestation, and pronounced me a *kaufir*. But Persia has long lost her men of genius and philanthropy. The day of Ferdousi, Sadi, and Hafiz, is set in barbarous darkness; and little else is now written or listened to, except the legends of priests, or the chimerical exploits of the twelve Imams, which nearly quadrate in style and matter with our renowned nursery histories of Tom Thumb, or Jack the Giant-killer; though with a more pernicious effect; for the Persian writings strongly tend to eternise amongst them a rancorous hatred to all those of a different creed.

It is recorded that the cotemporaries of Hafiz were so much offended at his bold disquisitions on the religion of the Koran, and witty strictures on the loose conduct of the clergy, that at his death they hesitated to perform the usual obsequies. Yet the latter Persians have not only acquitted Hafiz of any charge of irreligion, though almost every page of the poet refutes the position, but they assert, that under the cloak of his sportive, pleasurable exhortations, he describes the excellency of their faith, and the future happiness of pious Mahometans.

While the mollah and I were enjoying the comforts of a commodious apartment, and savoury messes, made in rotation, of beef, mutton, and camel's flesh, on a sudden, every room of the *karavanfara* was tumultuously filled by a large body of pilgrims † from the shrine of Muschid. What an exuberance of zeal must have animated these devotees! which neither so distant and perilous a journey could deter, or the inclement season of the year cool. The present winter was accounted more rigorous than had been for some years remembered, particularly in the quarter of Muschid and Nishabor, where two of these pilgrims had perished in the snow, and others had lost their limbs by the severity of the frost.

In that band, which rushed into our apartment, was a person who seemed to take the avowed lead; he was better equipped than his associates, and wore on his head the insignia of a *hadji* §; a pilgrim, who supplied the place of a servant, began to reconnoitre the room, and as soon as he noticed its situation, he dislodged, without ceremony, and with much facility, from one of its corners, the very portable chattles of our poor mollah; and in the voice of authority, declared the place assigned to the use of the *hadji*, whom he represented to be of superior rank and importance.

The *hadji* took his seat with a solemn air, and looking haughtily round he threw his eyes on me, and immediately asked, or rather demanded my name and business. The question was conveyed in a manner which fully evinced the power of the interrogator; indeed I quickly saw, from the party's deference to him, the necessity of observing a respectful conduct to this superb Mahometan. I told him that I was an Arab, travelling to Muschid; but judge of my confusion, when the *hadji* began to speak in my supposed language. Endeavouring to suppress my embarrassment at so complete a conviction of falsity, I observed, that I had assumed the name of an Arab, for the purpose of travelling with more safety; but that I was a native of Kashmire, proceeding on a mercantile concern to Mazanderan. Such stories, which in the east may be described by the smoother term, simulation, are in common use among Asiatic travellers; and unless other testimony corroborates their relations, little credit is given, nor is much expected. It is sufficient that their true story remains concealed.

\* The chief who slew Huseyn the son of Ali.

† They were chiefly inhabitants of Tabrid, the ancient Taurus, I believe, a town in the province of Anderbeijan.

§ In Persia it is a strip of cloth, commonly green, rolled on the edge of the cap.

This emendation of my account produced no apparent surprize, nor any further interrogation; and from the mode of the hadji's behaviour, it was evident that I had not suffered in his opinion. The last year of my life had been occupied in an invaried scene of disguise, with a language wholly fabricated to preserve it; so that, God forgive me, I never wanted a ready tale for current use. I have now only to hope, that when it may be no longer expedient to support the part hitherto so successfully maintained, I shall be enabled to throw off the cloak with all its garniture for ever. The hadji was a resident of Balfrosh, the principal town of Mazanderan, where he maintained a considerable traffic; he had joined the Tabrez pilgrims at Muschid, and was now on the way back to his own province. The occasion of accompanying this party was not to be foregone; as few roads are of more dangerous passage, than that from Turshish to the Caspian sea, and consequently not much frequented. The hadji, to whom I applied for a passage to Balfrosh, affected to lay various obstacles in my way, and seeing my anxiety to proceed, he made his bargain conformably, that is, he stipulated for a double amount of the usual hire.

The territory of Turshish, which takes in about ——— miles from east to west, and nearly half that space in latitudinal direction, is held by Abedullah, an independent Persian chief; he seems to be forty years of age, has a respectable appearance, and assumes that air of gravity which strongly pervades the manners of the high classes of Mahometans. His administration is well liked by the people, who seem to act and speak very much at their ease. Passengers are never interrogated, nor is a passport required.

Adjoining to old Turshish, called also Sultanabad, which is of small compass, and surrounded with a wall, Abedullah has built a new town, in an angle of which stands the karavanera, the only one I have seen in Persia, which is not interiorly supplied with water. The chief and his officers reside in the new quarter, where is also held the market, which the inhabitants say has not been so well supplied since the Afghan troops have laid waste the districts of Muschid, and thereby impeded the traffic of this quarter of Khorasan.

The trade of Turshish arises chiefly from the import of indigo and other dyes from the westward, woollen cloths and rice, which is scantily produced in the vicinity, from Herat. And the chief article of export seems to be iron, wrought in thick plates. The small quantity of European cloths required at Turshish is brought from Mazanderan, by the way of Shahroot, or from Ghilan, by the way of the great road of Yezd. About one hundred Hindoo families, from Moulton and Jessimere, are established in this town, which is the extreme limit of their emigration on this side of Persia; they occupy a quarter in which no Mahometan is permitted to reside, and where they conducted business without molestation or insult: and I was not a little surprized to see those of the Bramin sect, distinguished by the appellation of Peerzadah, a title which the Mahometans usually bestow on the descendants of their prophet. Small companies of Hindoos are also settled at Muschid, Yezd, Kachan, Casbin, and some parts of the Caspian shore; and more extensive societies in the different towns of the Persian Gulph, where they maintain a navigable commerce with the western coast of India.

The departure of our kasilah now drawing near, the hadji purchased a horse for my conveyance, with the money which I had advanced; but not thinking my weight and baggage a sufficient burthen for the animal, by no means a robust one, he added two heavy parcels of dyeing stuffs, on which I was to be seated. This was the most rapacious Mahometan I had yet known; not satisfied with the first extortion, he urged me,  
without

without intermission, for a loan of money, even the most trifling sum; in other words, he wanted to cheat me. There are, I believe, few such men amongst us as Hadji Mahomed. He had the reputation of being an opulent merchant, and he was connected with persons of the first rank in his country; his deportment was grave and dignified; his manners in common intercourse were so forcibly insinuating, that he never failed to please, even those who knew and had experienced his ill qualities; he had, on the ostensible score of devotion, made pilgrimages in Arabia, Turkey, and Persia; he prayed with undeviating regularity five times in the day, besides a long roll of supererogatory orisons. Yet this man of property and rank, of polite manners, and professed sanctity, having in vain aimed at a larger sum, importuned me in abject language to lend or give him half-a-crown. But my feelings having become callous, from a long association, I suppose, with those who had none, I was enabled to withstand, with intrepid coolness, the intreaties of the hadji, who seemed to take the refusal nothing amiss; indeed, I imagine, he accounted me a person of discretion, and conversant in the business of the world.

That I might the better guard against a suspicion of the character I represented, especially in the mind of the hadji, who to his other acquirements united insatiable inquisitiveness, I told him that I was a Sooni, imagining that the low estimation in which this sect is held in Persia, would prevent further notice. The hadji did not approve of this character, which was rarely seen, and much abhorred in this part of the country; nor would it be safe for a Sooni, he said, to travel in the society of Schiah pilgrims, who, elevated by their late purification at Mufchid, would assume a merit of insulting and ill treating me.

By the council of Hadji Mahomed I became a Schiah, and was received among the pilgrims without a scruple. It was, believe me, with no little concern, that I parted from the mollah, who had been to me an useful as well as a pleasant companion; and in the unreserved intercourse which had for some days subsisted between us, I experienced a pleasure, the more sensible, as my situation before had been solitary and irksome. In his dealings, I found him punctually honest, for conceiving an attachment to this harmless conjuror, I used to make enquiries at the places where he made his purchases for me, but never discovered a false charge.

On the morning of the 28th of December, left Turshish, and about noon arrived at the village of Killeelabad, two and a half furlongs. Our party, consisting of about six or seven persons, the Tabrez having not yet joined, halted at a small karavansera, where being plentifully supplied with fuel by one of the villagers, to whom our hadji was known, we passed a cold snowy night very comfortably.

On the 29th, at Hadjiabad, a small fort, three furlongs. When the chief of this place was informed that Hadji Mahomed was our leader, for though of a distant province, he was well known in Khorasan, we were invited to the fort, and hospitably entertained.

This day my horse gave many tokens of inability to support the heavy burthen that had been laid upon him. He eat little, sweated much, and often stumbled. In one of his inclinations, I was thrown from my elevated seat, with a violent shock, and received a violent contusion on the hand. Instead of expressing any concern at the disaster, the hadji sharply reprehended my want of skill, and predicted ill success to my undertakings.

At Hadjiabad the pomegranates are of a delicious flavour, a property indeed of this fruit in most parts of Persia. It has a thin soft skin, and contains a large quantity of juice, than which nothing, in hot weather, or after fatigue, can be more grateful.

There is a species of the pomegranate, in Persia, and also in Afghanistan, whose granules are without seed, called the Redana \*; it is of a superior kind, and generally scarce.

On the 30th, at Nowblehuckum, three fursungs, a large and populous village, where our party was joined by the Tabrez pilgrims. From Turfshih to this place, the general direction of the road lay about west; the country is open and well cultivated, but like the eastern division of Khorasan, scantily supplied with wood and running water. At this place, my endeavour to procure a stock of wheat bread, to support me during a three or four days' journey over a desert, which lay in the road, was wholly fruitless. The number of applicants for a like provision was so great, and their arguments, from the late meritorious service they had performed, was so much more efficacious than mine, that I was obliged to rest satisfied with a few barley cakes.

Being thrown, by a sort of chance, for the two last days, into the company of a Ghilan seid, who had been making the pilgrimage of Muschid, we agreed after a short preliminary, to place in a common stock our provisions and good offices. Man, you know, of all created beings, is the least fitted, and the least desirous to live alone. It is true, that if not sunk by vice, or fascinated by dissipation, he will occasionally fly from the fatigues of business, the rapid hurry of crowds, and seeking the shade of retirement, solace and exercise his intellectual faculties. But when he has breathed out his day of contemplation, he is often seen returning from the world he fled from, with a fond solicitude. It is not for me to expatiate on the pleasures and uses of society, the subject has for ages fallen under the most extensive and erudite discussion; nor can the pen of a journalist give it additional lustre. I will now only observe, that after a tedious fatiguing journey, it was with a high relish I sat down to a homely meal with the seid, whose remarks and singular opinions on the subject of religion, never failed to give amusement and information.

On the 31st, at Durroona, seven fursungs, a small village, situate near the western boundary of the territory of Abedullah; the road led, in a western direction, through a barren country. In crossing a steep rivulet, during this day's journey, my horse precipitated me, with hadji's bags of dye, into the middle of it, where we were discovered lying by this now enraged Mahometan. He smote his beard until his anger found utterance, when he poured on me a torrent of abuse; and charging his ill-fortune to my scandalous omission of the stated prayers of a Mussulman, he declared that I should indemnify the loss of his paint to the last farthing.

On the 1st of January 1784, having travelled eight fursungs through a desert, which was interspersed with low hills, and a thin scattering wood, we halted on an eminence, where the snow which covered it supplied our water. My horse became so much enfeebled, that he was unable to carry me with the other part of his load; and I should have been left on the ground, had not some of the passengers, who were apprized of the extraordinary sum which I had paid for hire, warmly expostulated with the hadji on the injustice of his conduct. Somewhat abashed at the remonstrance, and fearful, perhaps, of a more general attack on the many weak sides of his character, the hadji procured a horse from a person who was proceeding two stages on our road, and who, for a small gain, consented to dismount and incur an excessive fatigue.

The domestic associate of Hadji Mahomed having seen his patron treat me with neglect and often with rudeness, thought that he might with impunity indulge a like spirit; but seeing no reason to shew him the respect which I observed to the hadji, I was provoked this evening to give him a smart chastisement, and in the English manner; a species of attack as novel to him as it was efficacious, and which surprized the pilgrims,

\* This word in the Persian, signifies without seed.

who bestowed on me a general applause. In this occurrence you will perceive the essential advantages of my Mahometan character: for, in my real one, no affront, however insolent or opprobrious, could have warranted any active resentment; the only resource would have been a silent patience; it is, indeed, often necessary to assuage the offender's wrath, to avert a further outrage. The penalty that would probably be inflicted on a Christian hardy enough to lift his hand, in this part of Persia, against a Mahometan, would be a heavy fine, or severe corporeal punishment.

The Armenians, who visit most of the quarters of western Asia, are seldom seen on this road, dreading equally the inimical disposition and inveterate prejudices of the inhabitants to all those of a different faith, and the incursions of the Turkoman Tartars.

On the 2d, at Towrone, five fursungs, a small fortified village, situate in the districts of Ismael Khan, an independent chief, who also claims the desert, extending from Deronne to this place: nor is it probable that the property will ever be disputed. Many travellers, it is said, have perished in this track, from the intense heats, and a scarcity of water, which, in the course of the first stage, is procured but in one spot, by digging small wells.

We learned that a party of fifty Turkoman horse had yesterday passed under the walls of Towrone, in the way to their own country. These fierce free-booters, who wage a common war on the Persians, enslave as well as plunder those who fall into their hands. To prevent an escape, the captives are sent into the interior parts of the country, where they are employed in tending the numerous droves of cattle and horses with which Tartary abounds. They are also occasionally sold to the Kalmucks, the most rude and savage of all the Tartar race\*. A slavery with these is spoken of with horror, and accounted worse than death. The Turkomans of this day are a tribe of no important note; and their military operations are directed chiefly to the attack of karavans and defenceless villages. They are no longer that great and powerful people which produced a Zinjis and a Timur, the conquerors of Asia; whose posterity were seen in this country, seated on the most splendid throne of the world. It is now received as a general position of history, that those immense bodies of soldiers which spread over and ultimately subdued the dominion of Rome, under the names of Goths and Vandals, were the Tartars of Bochara, Kheiva, and the shores of the Caspian. The present chief of the Turkoman tribe resides at Bochara, where he keeps a moderate court, and exercises a very limited power. The Tartars of the more eastern regions, the modern conquerors of China, who may be ranged under the common designation of Kalmucks and Monguls, are divided into various roving herds, and would seem to be no longer a cause of dread to the southern nations of Asia.

\* One of the names of a native of Tartary, in the language of his country, is Tatter, and Tattaur. Having often indulged a curiosity in searching for the etymology of Asiatic names, which, though not tending to the development of any important facts, may reflect subordinate lights, I have been induced to insert them in this place.

The term Ferung, or Ferringhee, a name commonly applied at this day among most of the nations of Asia, except the Chinese, seems to be derived from Frank, an appellation by which the Crusade Christians were indiscriminately described by the inhabitants of Asia Minor.

Saracen, one of the names formerly given to the people of Arabia, may, on a ground fair enough, be deduced from Sahara, which, in the Arabic, signifies a desert, and may, with equal propriety, be given to the inhabitant of a barren region, as the term Highlander, among us, to the resident of a mountainous country; and I am the more induced to adopt the probable truth of this derivation, as it was pointed out to me by the most accurate scholar (the present Archbishop of York) of our country.

The Mahometan subjects of the Ottoman empire are known in Europe by the common name of Turks, which immediately accords with one of the grand designations used by the Tartars, who wrested that region from the Arabian khaliphate; and a cause of a similar nature has probably induced many of the Hindoo traders to apply the same denomination to the Mahometans of India.

Preparing this morning to proceed, I could neither find the horse I had ridden yesterday, nor its master, who it appeared had proceeded alone, an hour before the departure of the party. The road being covered with a deep snow, it was with great fatigue and exertion I could overtake the deserter, who frankly said, that he was apprehensive of not being paid by the hadji, but, that if I would answer for the payment of the hire, I might immediately mount his steed. The adjustment being speedily made, I rode on to Towrone; from whence I sent back this same person, on whom money had irresistible force, to bring the hadji's tired horse, which, I learned from some of the passengers, was scarcely able to crawl. Fearful of being altogether abandoned by Hadji Mahomed, I found it necessary to speak to him in unreserved language, which was strongly supported by a Persian merchant, whose notice I had acquired, and, after much opposition, became successful.

On the 3d, the kafilah halted in a desert, eight fursungs, at a small stream, the only water seen in the course of this day's journey; the Ghilan feid and I had filled our bottle for mutual use, and the bread, cheese, and onions, which supplied our evening meal, giving me a violent thirst, I made frequent applications to our water stock. The feid, seeing that I had taken more than a just portion, required that the residue should be reserved for his ceremonial ablutions.

While the feid retired to pray, I went in search of fuel, and returning first to our quarter, I hastily drank off the remaining water, and again betook myself to wood-cutting, that I might not be discovered near the empty vessel by my associate, who had naturally an irascible temper. When I supposed he had returned from his prayer, I brought in a large load of wood, which I threw on the ground with an air of great fatigue, and of having done a meritorious service. "Aye," says he, "while I, like a true believer, have been performing my duty to God, and you toiling to procure us firing for this cold night, some hardened kavir, who I wish may never drink again in this world, has plundered the pittance of water which was set apart for my ablutions." He made strict search among our neighbours for the perpetrator of this robbery, as he termed it; but receiving no satisfactory information, he deliberately delivered him or them to the charge of every devil in the infernal catalogue, and went grumbling to sleep.

On the 4th, at Khanahoody, eight fursungs, a fortified and populous village, the residence of Ismael Khan, who possesses a small independent territory in this quarter. The road from Towrone led in a western direction, through a desert track, interspersed with low and bare hills.

About three miles to the eastward of Khanahoody, a chain of mountains, of the medium altitude, extends in a north and south direction, whose western face is considerably higher than that to the eastward. This branch of hills, which seem to have a long scope, has effected a grand change in the course of the running waters. The streams on the western side have a south-west current, and flow, I imagine, into the Caspian Sea, or into the head of the Gulf of Persia, while those on the eastern side are probably carried to the more southern shores of the Gulf.

From the summit of the Khanahoody hills, is seen, to the west and north-west, a wide extended plain, thickly covered with villages and arable lands; nor does a rising ground in this direction interrupt the utmost scope of the eye. Here I must note, that this quarter of Persia has now assumed its most unfavourable appearance; it being the depth of winter, when little vegetation is seen on the ground, and not a leaf on the trees. This day died an old man of our party, who had been long ailing; and what was rather singular, his death happened while he was on horseback.

On the 5th, at Bearjumund, three fursungs, a populous village in the districts of Ismael Khan. Halted on the 6th, on account of the sickness of our kafilah director. Two of the pilgrims, who were carpenters, made a litter for him, which was furnished with poles like a sedan, and carried by two mules, one of which was yoked before, and the other behind the seat.

On the 7th, at Nasirabad, nine fursungs, a small fortress in ruins, situate on an eminence. We passed at about midway through two uninhabited villages near each other, Kow and Kauff, noted places of rendezvous of the Turkoman banditti, and standing on one of the grand roads from Persia to Tartary. On approaching Nasirabad, I observed numerous bones of a large size strewed on the ground, and which I learned were the remains of some of the elephants of Nadir Shah, who had ordered them to be sent into the southern provinces, where the warmth of climate is better adapted to the health of those animals: but many of them died on the journey.

Persia, since its empire has been rent into pieces, has suffered severe devastations, and has been grievously depopulated. The various petty chiefs, who hold themselves but the ruler of a day, are often incited to oppress the inhabitants, and impose heavy taxes on the merchant; yet these exactions might receive some alleviation, did the governors exert any active efforts in defending their districts from the depredations of the Tartars, who, even in parties of a hundred, are scouring the country from Muschid to the Caspian Sea; and in the course of this last year, a body of them, less than a thousand, had penetrated to the environs of Ispahan. Such acts of unrestrained violence, marked with every species of barbarity, will point out some of the evils which have at this day overwhelmed Persia, which must remain sunk in this inglorious obscurity, until some future hero shall destroy the present pigmy race, and raising the structure of a new empire, shall collect its strength, and impart to it vigorous action.

All the towns, villages, and even the smallest hamlets in the northern division of Persia, though but at the distance of half a mile from each other, are surrounded with walls, which seem to have been erected more as a shelter against domestic robbery and private feuds, than the assault of an enemy. In considering the perpetual alarms, solicitude, and machinations, which must necessarily agitate the inhabitants of this region, we are at a loss whether to consider them more as objects of reproach for the depravity of their manners, or of pity, at viewing the state of national debasement, to which they have been precipitated by the declension of their empire.

On the 8th, at Shahroot, also called Bustan, four fursungs, a small but populous town. From Nowblehuckum, the road lay about west to Towrone, whence it had, I apprehend, a west-by-north direction to Shahroot\*. The horse which I had hired from the hadji to carry me to Mazanderan, having died this day, I was detained on the road to take care of my little chattels, which must have been lost, had not some of my kafilah acquaintances each conveyed a portion, though their horses were much jaded.

Passing over a fertile well-watered plain, which surrounds, to a wide space, the town of Shahroot, I came late in the evening to the karavansera, where I found the Ghilan seid in possession of an apartment, which he had taken for our joint use. The cold was here extremely intense, and had reached the point which the Persians, with a peculiar force of expression, term the Zerb Zimmistan, the stroke of winter. The snow fell thickly about us, and the piercing north wind made every creature shrink from its blast; nor were there many cordials at hand to qualify these rigours.

\* The Tabrez pilgrims left Shahroot, about five miles to the right or westward, and proceeded towards their own country by the way of Simna and Casbin.

Firing is scarcer here than in any part of Khorafan ; it is of a bad quality for fuel, and much of it is of a green wood. Our lodging had no aperture but the door, which the feid, to screen himself from the cold, kept shut ; nor could my most earnest intreaty obtain any opening for the discharge of the smoke. The only material differences indeed existing between us, arose from this, and another despotic arrangement of the feid, which used to cause some warm debates.

It was my business, being the more active member, to purchase and bring in fuel, and before day-light, to procure water and a light to warm the feid, and enable him to perform the ablution preparatory to prayer, an omission of which he would have dreaded as the precursor of some dire calamity. The feid consented to kindle the fire, an office which I could never perform without suffering acute pain in my eyes from the smoke. Thus were our labours, on principles fair enough, mutually divided ; but when we came to enjoy the fruits of it, this descendant of his prophet, wrapped in a large cloak made of sheep skins, would take so unaccommodating a post at, or rather over our small fire, which was in a manner embraced by the extended skirts of his garment, that I received no warmth ; and I should not have known that a fire was in the room, but for a profusion of smoke. I never remember to have suffered so much inconveniency from the cold ; nor could all my wardrobe, heaped at once on my body, keep me from shivering. My anger would often break out to an extreme height at the feid's total seizure of the fire-place, and excited very impassioned language : but which he never failed to allay, by setting forth that he was old and infirm, that he had foregone all his domestic comforts, which were many, to visit, in the depth of winter, a distant shrine, and that in consideration of a deed so meritorious, and also of his holy descent, it was my duty to assist and indulge his wants.

My disposition towards him, and a knowledge of most of the facts set forth, made his arguments unanswerable ; and in return for the surrender of the hearth, I was invited to Ghilan, where he promised to give me a wife out of his family, and suitable provision for my maintenance. Such was the ordinary result of our bickerings, and it always tended to make the connection more cordial. In my little disputes on the road, the feid gave me vigorous support, and when any particular enquiry was made about my person, which it sometimes produced, he would immediately assert that I belonged to him. I have been received as his son, by those who only knew us *en passant* ; nor did our appearance discredit the belief, for we were naturally of a fine complexion, of the same stature, with greyish eyes.

At Shahroot we were frequently visited by a Mazanderan shoemaker \*, the most effervescent zealot that ever counted his beads or entered a mosque. Having thrown aside his tools and committed the shop to the management of his wife, he had laid out the greatest portion of his property on a horse, and a large koran, and made the grand tour of all the celebrated pilgrimages in Persia. But he grievously lamented that the narrow state of his fortunes would not permit a visitation at the holy tomb of his prophet, which only could make his death easy, and his assurance of heaven well founded. Exclusive of the ordained prayers, he practised many of a subsidiary quality, which might be termed the half notes of supplication, and these were incessantly whined out with a deep nasal tone, and sometimes when his spirit was violently agitated, he would discharge them with a bellow, as if he meant to batter down the gates of Paradise by storm.

\* The Persian shoemaker is not, as in India, of the lowest ranks of the people, but classes among the most reputable tradesmen of his country.

This shoemaker was a little man, extremely irascible, and though immersed in devotion, he did not shew the smallest remission in the management of his temporal concerns. In an altercation with the feid, about the adjustment of a very small account, not more than three half-pence, a furious contest arose which terminated wholly in favour of the shoemaker, his language, which ran with an obstreperous fluency, stunned and greatly terrified my companion, who hearing himself in a breath called Christian, Jew, and Infidel, fled from the combat with precipitancy. This said shoemaker, by an ill-timed intrusion, had discovered me taking some money out of my purse; and immediately retiring, declared to all the people of the karavanfera, that the kashmiry, my travelling name at that time, was possessed of a large treasure in gold and diamonds, which he himself had seen.

Such a discovery in a country governed even by the most salutary laws, might have endangered my property and person, but in this quarter of the world, where a man's throat is often cut for the fee simple of his cloak, it placed me in imminent peril. But the chain of favourable events, little strengthened by my own merits, which had propitiously conducted me from the banks of the Ganges, through many an unhospitable track, still continued to lead me on safely.

Having no important matter to lay before you, I must extend my egotisms, and inform you that Hadji Mahomed, having now arrived in the territory of the Mazanderan chief, by whom he was favoured, threw off all reserve; he plainly told me, that, instead of looking to him for a future conveyance, I should think myself fortunate in not being charged with the price of his horse, and the damage done to his wares. Seeing him equally empowered as disposed to do me an injury, I cheerfully cancelled my engagements with him, on the proviso of obtaining his protection during the journey to Mazanderan.

Shahroot, with its independent districts, including Nafirabad, pertains properly, I believe, to the Khorasan division, though it now holds of Aferabad\*, which with Mazanderan and Hazaan-Tirreeb is governed by Aga Mahomed Khan, one of the most important chiefs now remaining in Persia. The town of Shahroot is small and surrounded in some parts with a slight earthen wall. The houses, from a want of wood, are built of unburnt bricks, and covered with a flat arch of the same materials.

Many people are seen in this vicinity, whose noses, fingers, and toes, have been destroyed by the frost, which is said to be severer at Shahroot than any part of Persia. The principal traffic of this district arises from the export of cotton, unwrought and in thread, to Mazanderan; and the returns from thence are made in Russian bar-iron and steel, a little broad-cloth, chiefly of Dutch manufacture, copper and cutlery. Sugar, from its high price, being rarely used by the lower class of Persians, they have adapted to its purposes a syrup called Sheerah, made of the inspissated juice of grapes; but it seemed to be of an irritating and inflammable quality; and most of them mix with their food the expressed juice of the four pomegranate, which makes a high flavoured and salubrious acid.

On the 17th of January I joined a cotton kafilah, and proceeded to Dhey† Mollah, a small walled village, four furlongs. The horse which I had hired at Shahroot was strong and well paced, and promised to be a very valuable acquisition, as a great part of the Mazanderan road lies over a mountainous country, covered with forests, and intersected by rapid streams.

\* Shahro lies about one hundred miles to the eastward of the town of Aferabad.

† Dhey in the Persian, signifies a village.

At Dheh Mollah, the seid and I were entertained with cordial hospitality; a benefit wholly ascribed to the inherent and contingent virtues of my companion, who from descent, as well as his late arduous pilgrimage, had a two-fold claim on the benevolence of his countrymen. I should be deficient indeed in ordinary gratitude, did I not feel the kind offices of this seid, who smoothed the many inconveniences which often crossed my way, and procured for me accommodations not attainable by common travellers. The fruits of this village, some of which were yet fresh, are in great estimation, particularly the pomegranate, which is not inferior to that of Hadjiabad. This quarter of Persia produces a variety of vegetables, as cabbages, carrots, peas, and turnips; the latter of an excellent kind, and composes, in the season, a principal portion of the food of the inhabitants.

On the 18th, at Tauck, a small fort, five and a half fursungs. This day an intense frost, which had congealed all the standing water, kept me shivering with cold during the first part of the journey. About eight miles to the south-east of Tauck, stands, on a spacious plain, the town of Dungam, whose lofty minarets are seen at a great distance. This plain has become famous, in the latter annals of Persia, for a victory obtained by Nadir Shah, before the period of his sovereignty over the Afghan Afhruff, who then held possession of Ispahan. The battle, which was severe but decisive, twelve of thirty thousand Afghans being, it is said, either killed or taken, advanced Nadir high in the estimation of Shah Thamas, who was present in the action. As a distinguished mark of his favour, and one of the most honourable which the Persian princes used to confer on a subject, he permitted Nadir to be denominated the royal slave, by the title of Thamas Kuli\*.

It would afford me a sensible pleasure, were I enabled to point out to you any monuments of the former grandeur and magnificence of the Persian empire, which has been seen to run a long course of glory, and to often combat with success the legions of Rome; yet where are now the Roman eagles that were wont to stun the world with the cry of victory? Where are now the steeled bands of Persia, who insulted the corse of a Roman general and exhibited a captive Cæsar, as a gazing stock to barbarous nations? They have been smote by the destructive hand of time, which points with derision at their puny race, and at the instability of human power. It is in the south of Persia, where the relics of its ancient grandeur are to be sought, but even there, the misshapen ruins of Babylon and Persepolis faintly mark the pristine grandeur and costly taste of its princes.

The upper provinces, though affording the grand supply of brave and hardy soldiers, were rarely visited by the luxurious monarchs of Persia, who, dreading the bleak air and barren aspect of the north, established their residence in milder climates, whither they carried the improvements of knowledge, and the refinements of art. Among the institutions best fitted to give permanency to the Persian empire, were it invested with individual sovereignty, policy would urge the removal of its capital to Khorasan, famous for the salubrity of its air, and the military ability of its inhabitants. Its situation is also well adapted for checking the incursions of the Tartar and Afghan nations; and it possesses a city †, held by the Persians in enthusiastic reverence.

Ispahan and Shiraz, seated in the centre of a country enjoying a soft serenity of air, and replete with the various incitements to luxury, must soon enervate their inhabitants, and promote the influence of corruption. The Persians say, that Kareem Khan, one

\* This event, which is mentioned in Frazer's account of Nadir Shah, happened in the year 1729.

† Muschid.

of the late chiefs of the southern provinces was often urged by his officers to carry his arms into Khorasan, a conquest which would necessarily have given him the supreme dominion of Persia; but, though brave and enterprising, he had too long indulged in the pleasures of Shiraz, and used to palliate his reluctance to the proposed expedition, by observing that, after the long and dangerous siege of a small fort, nothing would be found in it but a few bags of chopped straw for his horse. Yet he must have been aware that Khorasan would have reinforced his army with those soldiers who empowered Nadir to expel the Turks and Afghans from Persia, and overthrow the empire of India. The northern regions were long the nursery of a hardy and predatory militia, who, from their bleak plains and mountains, were wont to pour their force upon the nations of the south, but who, in their turn, felt the force of fiercer and more barbarous tribes, until continued emigrations wasted the stock, and withheld the power of foreign conquest.

On the 19th at Killautau, five and half furlongs, an open village situate on the declivity of a hill. This day's journey led over a gradual ascent, interspersed with low wood, and scattered spaces of arable land. This being the last station on the road where bread is to be procured on the east side of the Mazanderan limits, I procured a necessary supply.

On the 20th at Killausir, five and a half furlongs, a range of ruined buildings, on an eminence, a mile's distance to the northward of the small village of Hirroos. The proprietor of my horse, a carrier, went out of the road from this place to visit his family residence, and wished much to carry me with him; the deviation from our track being but short, I had consented to the proposal, and was about turning into the path which led to his village, when Hadji Mahomed arrived and prevented me.

As this was among the very few marks of goodness which I experienced from the hadji, to notice it is but simple justice to his character, of which, perhaps, you are already impressed with an ill opinion. Taking me aside, he enjoined me, in a manner which evinced an honest concern, not, on any pretence, to proceed to the carrier's village; that the story of the shoemaker had circulated a general belief of my great wealth, and that the carriers had been heard in concerting schemes to rob, and even destroy me; that if such was their design, there were few actions, he observed, however atrocious, which these men would not perpetrate when plunder was the object; and that the situation of the village, which was detached, and inhabited only by their families, would equally facilitate the purpose, as preclude a discovery.

This representation determined me against leaving the party; but having before consented to accompany the carrier, to whom the cause of the refusal could not be assigned, I imposed the task upon the hadji, who immediately making it his own business, told the carrier, in a stern tone, that, as I was under his charge, he would not permit me to be separated from him. Though the carrier continued to urge his purpose by a long and strenuous argument, he was over-ruled by the hadji, who, by some degree of compulsion, consigned my horse to the charge of another person. As we rode on, the hadji congratulated my near escape from a combination which must have been fatal to my person, or deprived me of my property, for that many robberies were committed in these parts, and usually accompanied by murder.

This night I lodged in the remains of a bath, which seemed to have pertained to some place of greater note, than the appearance of the adjacent ruins indicated. The Ghilan seid had not joined me in the latter part of the journey, according to a usage observed by us for adjusting the concerns of our evening meal, but more prudently went to Hirroos, where he was well received. Being now habituated to the seid's company,

which had become equally amusing and convenient, for even our little disputes had a risible tendency, I sensibly felt its loss. Though our acquaintance was of such short duration, I already began to esteem this man as a trusty friend; so natural and immediate is the propensity to cleave to what gives us solace, and relieves our anxiety; nor is any object more completely vested with this property than a pleasant companion.

Cordial connections, and the interchange of good offices, no where make a quicker progress than in the course of a journey. Travellers, aware of the approach of a period which is to cause a general, probably a final separation, occupy, to the best advantage, the limited extent of their associations; and as few selfish views have time to spring up, these contingent compacts usually abound in good humour and good faith. In India they have in common circulation, as a sentence expressive of the pleasures arising from cursory societies, and parties casually formed, "Enjoy this meeting as a gift snatched from fate; for the hour of departure stands on your head." Being now about to enter a province different, in its aspect and production, from that of Khorasan, I will here draw the line of division, which may be done with the more propriety at Killaufir, as it will also mark the eastern limit of Hazaar Jireeb\*, a small district dependent on Mazanderan.

From Shahroot, the road has nearly a western direction, through a country generally open. Low hills are also seen at wide intervals. The soil is a mixture of sand and earth, and well cultivated as far as the vicinity of Killantau, where the vallies become more contracted, and leave but small spaces for agriculture. The sides of the hills are chiefly appropriated to the pastures of sheep, which are numerous and of an excellent kind.

On the 21st at Challoo, four furlongs, a small open village, on the eastern side of the base of a steep hill, and close on the brink of a rapid stream, which was dashed with a bold and beautiful effect on the rocks that lay thickly scattered in its bed. We had now entered a country overspread with mountains and forests, in which were many oak trees, but their dwarfish appearance shewed that they wanted a kinder soil and climate. At Challoo, the seid largely reaped the fruits of his pilgrimage and his sacred descent. He and consequently his associate, for he never failed to divide with me the good things that fell to his lot, were lodged in a mosque, and hospitably treated by the inhabitants, who supplied us, in the first instance, with great store of fuel, which enabled us to hold out against a heavy storm of snow and a piercing north wind; and without which, indeed, our spacious and airy apartments must have been untenable.

It was with pleasure I again saw an open village; it exhibited a rustic simplicity and a peaceful confidence, which I think could not have existed within a rampart. The inhabitants also, if their kindness to us has not biased me too much in their favour, seemed to be more civilized and humane than the people of Khorasan. The houses here are built with flat roofs, supported with large beams, which the adjacent forests plentifully supply. A continuance of the storm detained us on the 22d at Challoo, where we found no abatement of the hospitality of the inhabitants, who furnished every thing that could render our situation commodious.

On the 23d, in the morning, our party moved and penetrated through a mountainous country, intersected with rivulets, and closely covered with large trees, which being stripped of their leaves, I could not ascertain the different species, nor could the carriers, whose only knowledge seems to consist in driving horses. Halted, at the distance of five furlongs from Challoo, under some trees, about one hundred yards from

\* Hazaar, in the Persian, signifies a thousand, and jireeb, a measurement of land.

the side of the road, where we kept a large fire burning throughout the night ; not for deterring the attack of wild beasts, which are not numerous in these woods, but to qualify the intense coldness of the air.

On the 24th, proceeded five furlongs through the forest. In the evening, while I was riding alone, the party, which had proceeded a short way before me, turned quickly into the wood, and came to their station-ground. It was in vain that I endeavoured to trace any marks of men or horses ; for the ground to a great extent was strewn with leaves. My horse, on having for some time lost sight of the party, became restless, and I thought much terrified. It neighed incessantly, and though a willing active animal, would not move in any direction but with reluctance. My situation grew alarming ; it was growing dark, and I found myself bewildered in an immense forest, with scarcely the hope of obtaining relief during that night.

In search of a spot to fasten the horse, and lay myself down, good fortune threw in my way two men, who were driving a loaded bullock and an ass. Without noticing my embarrassment, which they might have made an ill use of, or even making any enquiries, I learned that a part of the kafilah had proceeded on the road which they were pursuing, and going with them about two miles, I found Hadji Mahomet, with some other passengers, refreshing themselves on a small plain, skirted by a stream of water. The proprietor of the horse, who had followed, expressed much displeasure at my quitting him, which he ascribed to the council of the hadji, whom he spoke of with a sneer, and laughed at the sort of protection which I had chosen.

On this night was seen by most of the passengers, a star, with a bright illuminated tail, which I apprehend, from its form and quick motion, must have been a comet. Hadji Mahomet now became profuse in his offers of service ; he promised me every accommodation at Mazanderan, as a supply of clothes, for I was ill apparelled, a proper place of lodging, and to dispatch me with safety to the quarter of my destination. This man, though one of the most acute and knowing of his sect, did not seem to entertain any idea of my being a Christian ; yet he suspected the truth of my narrative, or rather, he did not believe a word of it ; but imagined that I was a trader in jewels, which were concealed about my person.

Desirous of knowing the state of the Russian navigation on the Caspian Sea, I had sought the information with too much earnestness, which created a suspicion at Shahroot, that I was a Russian, escaped from the captivity of the Tartars, and returning to my own country. But this conjecture ceased, when it was known that I had come from the eastern side of Persia.

On the 24th, proceeded five furlongs through the frost. The greatest part of this day's journey lying over steep hills of a moist clayey soil, became of difficult access to our cattle. The carriers of this road usually employ mares for the conveyance of merchandize, being more tractable than stallions, and requiring less attendance. They are, indeed, as quiet as any domestic animal, and though feeding at large during the night, they never strayed from the vicinity of the station.

On returning this evening from a small excursion into the forest, I found that my Ghilan associate had left his quarter, and gone over to the person who has been before mentioned, as the travelling assistant of Hadji Mahomet. He was also a native of Ghilan, well known to the seid, and being stout and hale, had previously to their departure, agreed to be the seid's assistant during the pilgrimage ; it was a concern of moment to this old infirm man, in the various accidents to which a long and harrassing journey was liable, to have so capable a companion ; and the Ghilane, to corroborate the sincerity of his offer, had formally pledged himself on the koran. There was every

reason to credit the feid's relation of this compact, for he was an inviolable observer of the truth, and I have myself often witnessed the ill treatment which he experienced from his countryman. But being now near home, where a retaliation might be feared, he had assumed so genuinely the semblance of contrition, that in the space of my short absence, the feid's full forgiveness was obtained, and the promise of future union. On seeing me, the feid seemed embarrassed, but said nothing, and while I was preparing a slender supper, my attention was roused by a loud noise of altercation from the Ghilan quarter, where I saw a furious debate waging between the members of the new alliance. The old pilgrim soon returned to me, entreating, with many confessions of his credulous folly, to occupy his former station.

On the 25th completed, in a journey of five furlongs, the passage of the forest, and halted on its western edge. This day we frequently crossed the Mazanderan river, which, after winding in various directions, takes a north-west course through the flat quarter of the province, and falls into the Caspian Sea at Muschid Sir. This stream is rapid among the hills, but fordable for laden horses. And on reaching the plains, it flows with an easy current. At a toll-house within the skirt of the forest, the merchants paid a small duty, and I was assessed a few pence on the score of being a stranger.

In my way through this extensive forest, I did not see the vestige of a habitation, nor any culture, except some very narrow strips of land, thinly interspersed at the base of the hills. But the vallies now opened and exhibited a pleasing picture of plenty and rural quiet. The villages all open and neatly built; the verdant hills and dales, encircled by streams of delicious water, presented a scene that gave the mind ineffable delight. The air, though in winter, was mild, and had the temperature of an English climate in the month of April. This change of weather, effected within so short a space of time, arises from the low situation of the province, its near vicinity to the Caspian Sea, and the shelter of the adjacent mountains. The sheep in numerous flocks were feeding on all sides; but they are of a less size than those of Khorasan, and have not the large ponderous tail which is peculiar to this animal in the countries lying between the Indus and the eastern confines of Mazanderan; neither is their flesh so fat or well tasted.

On the 26th at Sari, three furlongs, a fortified town, and the residence of Aga Mahomed Khan, the chief of Mazanderan, Asterabad, and some districts situate in Khorasan. The country in this day's journey was flat and woody, interspersed with small streams, and bounded to the north-east and south-west by a low range of hills. The kafilah having halted about two miles to the southward of Sari, the feid and I walked into the town, which we found had grievously suffered by the effects of a late fire. We were stopped at the gate-guard, which was under the charge of an Abyssinian slave\*, who, after making the common enquiries, permitted us to pass. The market of Sari is plentifully supplied with provisions, among which is seen the grey mullet, a fish abounding in all the rivers which fall into the southern shore of the Caspian Sea.

Sari is rather a small town, but crowded with inhabitants, many of whom are merchants of credit, who resort thither for the purpose of supplying the chief and his officers with articles of foreign produce. A society of Armenians is established in the vicinity of the

\* A native of this quarter of Africa is denominated Hubshi, among the Mahometans, and is held in high estimation in Asia, for a supposed characteristic fidelity to the service in which he is employed. Abyssinians are frequently seen about the persons of Princes, where they hold stations of confidence. And at the Porte, as eunuchs, they are entrusted with the whole interior management of the imperial haram. The females of this tribe, though deficient in those external charms, which are so eagerly sought after by the Mahometans, and which, indeed, diffuse pleasure among all the sons of men, are also greatly prized for many domestic virtues, and especially for their chastity.

town, where they exercise a various traffic, and manufacture a spirit distilled from grapes, of which Aga Mahomed drinks freely, though his habit does not seem to operate to the prejudice of the people. This chief has the reputation of being attentive to business, and of possessing an extensive capacity, which is, indeed, obvious to common notice, throughout all parts of his government. The walls of the town are kept in good condition, and the ditch though narrow is deep, and sufficiently tenable against any force now existing in this country.

A palace has been lately built at Sari, of commodious neat structure, though of limited size, and has a more compact appearance than any building which I have seen in Persia. The front is occupied by a small esplanade, on which are mounted three pieces of cannon, with carriages of good workmanship, fixed on three wheels. Aga Mahomed, a Persian, of the Kajar tribe \*, is about fifty years of age, and the son of Mumtaz Khan †, who in the distractions which involved Persia, subsequent to the death of Nadir Shah, stood forth among the various competitors for the throne, and was, for a short period, declared head of the empire, by a large party of the people. But he was ultimately compelled to yield to the superior force of Kareem Khan, by whom he was put to death. The family of Mumtaz Khan falling also into the hands of the conqueror, he deprived Aga Mahomed, the eldest son of virility. I am not enabled to give you any satisfactory information of the events which promoted the enlargement of this chief, and in quick gradation invested him with the possession of an extensive territory.

In a country where the evolutions and caprice of fortune are exhibited in infinite multiplicity, and her wheel whirls with a velocity that confounds observation; where the slave of the morning is often seen at noon exalted on the ruins of his master, it becomes a perplexed disgusting task, to trace the steps which lead to honours and power; nor does it adequately reward the inquiry of reason. Such transitions may be summarily ascribed to the general depravity of a people, who unrestrained by laws, or even the habits of justice, give a loose to every impulse, which promises the gratification of ambition, avarice, or revenge.

Aga Mahomed has become, since the death of Kareem Khan, the most powerful chief of Persia. He has many brothers, one of whom, Jaffier Kooly, governs Balfrosh, the principal town of Mazanderan; but his conduct is narrowly watched, and his authority so limited, that he cannot issue a passport to a Russian trading vessel without the assent of Aga Mahomed. The forces of this chief, on occasions of service, may amount to fifteen thousand cavalry, which were embodied in the course of the last year, when he overrun Ghilan, and plundered Reshd, the residence of Hydeat Khan, the ruler of the province, who with his family and treasure sought refuge in the Russian factory of Enzillee ‡ until the Mazanderan troops had evacuated the country.

It appears that Aga Mahomed is preparing another attack, which is thought will speedily be effected, unless he is deterred by the power of the Russians, who having long derived extensive advantages from the commerce of Ghilan, seem disposed to espouse its cause. Aga Mahomed is at this time the only Persian chief bordering on the Caspian Sea, whom the empire of Russia has yet made tributary, or rendered subservient to its policy.

\* A word in the provincial language of Mazanderan, signifying a rebel or a deserter, and the name of an extensive tribe, chiefly residing in Mazanderan and Astarabad. Like the Rajahpoots of India, the Kajars are usually devoted to the profession of arms, and they compose the largest portion of the soldiery of these provinces. They are mentioned by Mr. Hanway in his relation of his transactions at Astarabad.

† He was called Fultah Ali Khan.

‡ Situate near the border on the Caspian Sea, about six miles to the northward of Reshd.

About a year ago a small Russian squadron arriving at Ashroff, a capacious bay on the Asterabad shore, the commanding officer directed a large building to be constructed near the shore, for the purpose of accommodating his crew, and probably to lay the basis of some future plan. When the building was nearly finished, Aga Mahomed, to whom this procedure had given alarm, invited the commodore, an inexperienced young man, with his officers, to an entertainment given at Asterabad, on the celebration of some Mahometan festival. Many of the Russians, with their officers, went to the Persian feast, where they were suddenly seized and put into confinement. Aga Mahomed then affected to express much resentment at the conduct of the Russians, in having erected, without permission, so large and solid a building in this country. It was in vain that the Russian expatiated on the treachery of the act, and so glaring a violation of hospitality. He was resolutely answered, that unless his men were directed to demolish the building, the party should be detained in prison, and, perhaps, meet with a worse fate.

The commodore, dreading the effects of this threat, dispatched the necessary orders to the squadron; and when the work was performed, he and his companions were released. The officer was soon after dismissed from the command of the Caspian squadron, and banished from the court. The Empress severely censured his breach of military conduct, which, on account of youth, and a regard for his family, she observed had not been noticed with the deserved punishment. Aga Mahomed lately received an address from the Russian government, threatening him, it is said, with a severe vengeance for the insult offered to their flag, unless he made a speedy atonement. But it does not seem that this chief is disposed to shew any respect to the requisition; and if credit is to be given to a general rumour, another descent on Ghilan may be soon expected, the probability of which is corroborated by a prohibition of all intercourse with the inhabitants of that province.

On the 27th we left Sari, and proceeding five furlongs, through a country interspersed with plain and forest, halted on the skirt of a wood near the high road. At half the distance of this day's journey, crossed a fordable stream, which runs to the left or north-west, and falls into the Mazanderan river. The carriers were stopped at the passage, and ordered to convey on their horses a quantity of stones, and place them in certain swampy parts of the great road, leading from Sari to Balfrosh; which, it is said, was first constructed by Shah Abbas, and appears to have been cut through a forest.

At three miles to the southward of our last night's halting place, we passed through the small village of Alhabad, which has a daily market well supplied with bread, cheese, and such provisions as are adapted to the refreshment of travellers, for the use of whom it seems to have been wholly established.

On the 29th of January our party arrived at Balfrosh, four and a half furlongs. The road this day was the worst I ever had travelled on, and required, in the winter season, continued labour to make it passable. Though deep ditches are extended on each side, and drains cut across, to carry off the extraordinary moisture of the soil, we proceeded with much difficulty and hazard. The carriers, at certain stations were required to deliver their respective portions of stones, and the defaulters, among whom I was classed, were detained by the officers of government; here I might have incurred a long delay, had not the Ghilan seid interposed his good offices for me as a pilgrim and his friend. It was then soon seen in what a favourable light we were beheld. Our hands were even kissed in reverence. The proprietor of my horse having no religious virtues to plead, and his quantity of stones being found very insufficient, he was not permitted to pass; and while he, with many others, were endeavouring to qualify the demand,

the feid and I agreed to proceed to Balfrosh, that we might be sheltered against the weather, which this day had set in with drifts of small rain and a severe cold.

In high anticipation of the pleasures in store for us at the capital, we were overtaken by the carrier, who foaming with rage, at this my second desertion, as he termed it, accused me of an attempt to steal his mare. Nor was his passion allayed, until I promised him a large dish of pillaw, to be ready at his arrival in Balfrosh.

At the distance of two miles on the south side of the town, is seen a small island in the river, where Shah Abbas erected a palace, whose roof, with the bridge of communication, has lately been applied by the governor of Balfrosh to some domestic purposes. After paying double the stipulated hire, and the fine in pillaw, I discharged the carrier, who, like all those of his profession within my knowledge, was an arrant knave. But knavery constitutes a grand branch of his profession, and does not heavily affect the purse of the traveller, who, if he wishes to journey on with comfort, and have his name puffed, should heartily feed his carrier; and, as the common nature of man requires indulgence, occasionally wink at his roguery. Not to govern too much has been a maxim of long standing in the policy of nations, nor is it less necessary to the welfare and quiet of domestic economy.

At Balfrosh I was informed that three Russian vessels were lying in the road of Muschid Sir, and would sail in a few days to Baku\*. It now behoved me to act warily, and to wind up with discretion an adventure which had hitherto been successful, and had at this place reached a crisis, which must either produce a happy or a dangerous issue. To this period I had assumed, with good fortune, the Mahometan character, without which the journey, I think, could not have been performed, especially from Turfshih to the Caspian Sea. I had been admitted, without reserve, into the society of Mahometans, and had lived at the same board with the most zealous and scrupulous, some being now on the spot, would, on a discovery of my person, inveterately resent the deceit. It was first expedient to quiet the mind of the feid, who, lodging in the same apartment, must necessarily become acquainted with my departure. Telling him that I was going to make a pilgrimage at a tomb †, much resorted to by the Persians, in the vicinity of Muschid Sir, and leaving a few things which would be useful, I bade him adieu with an air of unconcern, yet breathing a silent, fervent wish, that this old man, whom I was never to see again, might experience every good in the dispensation of Providence.

Musing on the scenes which of late had been shifted with a rapid diversity, and on the singular, yet interesting connections which I had formed in the course of my journey, I travelled on to Muschid Sir; a scattered village, situate on the eastern bank of the Mazanderan river, about ten miles distant from Balfrosh, and two from the Caspian Sea. On seeing the Russian quarter, I sent back a horse which I had hired, and presented myself to a person who was pointed out to me as the master of a Russian vessel; but he did not understand any language that I spoke. To obviate this embarrassment, an interpreter was called in, and being informed that he was a Russian, I related my story without reserve; that I was an English gentleman, who, from motives of curiosity and pleasure, had travelled from Bengal, through the northern parts of India and Persia, and that I now intended to proceed by the way of Russia to England.

The linguist expressed surprize at the relation, which he seemed to doubt; but a repetition, accompanied with that confidence which only arises from truth, noticing

\* A port on the western coast of the Caspian Sea.

† The place of interment of a son of Mouza Kazim, one of the twelve Imaums of the Persians.

also that I was enabled to reward any good office, gave my relation credit, at least with the Russian. The master agreed to convey me to Baku, whither his vessel was consigned; and observed, that the commanding officer of a frigate lying at that port, would give the necessary directions for my future procedure. The matter being thus happily arranged, I was invited to partake of a mess of fish-broth, served up in a large wooden bowl; of which the master, six or seven sailors, and myself, made a hearty meal; to me it was a regale; both from its being really a favourable one, and from the manner of participation, to which I had been long a stranger.

The Russian habitations at Muschid Sir, are rudely constructed, and far from being clean. The sides are about five feet high, and composed of branches of trees, twisted between stakes, stuck at small distances in the ground; and the roof is of thatched straw. The furniture, equally simple and coarse, consists of some narrow wooden beds, a long board, raised in the centre to eat at, and a few stools, or buckets inverted, to sit on. But the practice of living hard, in all its variations, from eating stale barley bread to sleeping on snow, had formed me into a complete veteran, so that the Russian cabin, with its assemblage of rough utensils, was to my sight a garnished hotel. And the knife, wooden spoon, and platter, luxuries of a superior order.

In the first days of my residence at this place, I sensibly experienced a refreshment of mind and body. I had been accustomed to rise in the morning before day-break, with my hands and feet generally benumbed with cold, when after packing my baggage, I was obliged to take a part in the business of the camel-driver or the carrier; nor did the end of the day's journey often bring with it more than the barest accommodation, or afford me much matter of intellectual gratification. But these inconveniences were all done away, and my meals, as my sleep, became salutary and regular. Being thus relieved from labour, anxiety, and the incessant talk of supporting a feigned character, I thought myself happy; and as happiness largely arises from comparison, and the excursions of fancy, to which I now gave an ample scope, this was, perhaps, the most pleasurable period of my life.

A C C O U N T S  
OF  
I N D E P E N D E N T T A T A R Y .

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DESCRIPTION OF THE KINGDOM OF KARAZM\*.

**B**ETWEEN Great Tatory on the north, and Tibet, India, and Persia on the south, there runs a long tract of land extending from the great Kobi, or desert on the north-west part of China, westward as far as the Caspian Sea. This country is situated in a sandy desert, with which it is surrounded; or rather is itself a vast sandy desert, interspersed with mountains and fruitful plains, well inhabited and watered with rivers.

Nature seems to have divided this region into three large parts, separated from one another by the intrusion of the desert, and known at present in these western parts, by the names of the countries of Karazm, Great Bukharia and Little Bukharia †. The original inhabitants, who are very different from the Tartars, were always great traders; and caravans frequently pass through their lands from India and Persia to China: but as they have been little visited by Europeans, we had scarce any account of them, but what is met with in the translations and extracts from the oriental writers, till Mr. Bentink, often quoted before, obliged the public with his notes on Abu'lghâzi Khan's genealogical history of the Tatars. To these funds are we beholden for all our materials, except what little may be picked out of the travels of our Anthony Jenkinson to Bokhara; Benedict Goës from India to China; and the author of the description of the countries about the Caspian Sea, added to Tavernier's travels.

**SECT. I.** — *The Situation, Soil, Rivers, and Lakes of Karazm.* — *Name and Bounds:* — *Soil and Produce:* — *excellent Melons:* — *Rivers.* — *The Amû changes its Course.* — *The Khesil:* — *its Course turned.* — *Expeditions of Beckowitz to the Khesil.* — *The Khan's Artifice to ensnare him:* — *he is cut off.* — *Lake of Aral affords much Salt.* — *Situation and Extent.*

KARAZM, or Karezm, as this country is called by Abu'lghâzi Khan, and the Persian writers, is pronounced by the Arabs Khowârazm: which name is as ancient as the time of Herodotus, who calls it Khorasμία, and after him Ptolemy.

This kingdom at present is bounded on the north by the country of Turkestan, and the dominions of the Grand Khan of the Eluths, or Kalmuks; on the east by Great Bukharia, from which it is separated partly by the mountains of Inder ‡, and partly

\* Green's Coll. vol. iv. p. 476.

† The last is now subject to China.

‡ See Abu'lghazi's History of the Turks, &c. p. 364.

by the defarts of Karak and Gaznah; on the south by the provinces of Astarabad and Khorasan<sup>1</sup>, in Persia, from which it is separated by the river Amu, and sandy defarts of a vast extent; and on the west by the Caspian Sea.

It may be about 440 miles in length from north to south, and 340 from west to east; being situated between the 29th and 46th degrees of latitude, and the 71st and 78th degrees of longitude. The country, according to a late geographical author, consists mostly of very wide, extended, sandy plains, like those of Great Tatory, part of them barren defarts, and others affording excellent pasture, with but few mountains or rivers. There is good land in several provinces, where vines grow, of which wine is made; and the water-melons of Karazm are famous<sup>2</sup>. Bentinck says the country is extremely fertile where watered<sup>3</sup>.

The melons of this country, called by Abu'lghâzi, arbûs<sup>4</sup>, are the true water-melons, of the size of ordinary gourds, or pompions, commonly round, and green on the outside, but within of a much deeper colour than the common melons; though some are perfectly white, but they are not the best: their seed is quite black, shaped like that of the pompion, but rounder, transparent, and dispersed all through the fruit: the whole of which is eaten, excepting the rind and the seed. The substance is much finer, and better relished, than that of ordinary melons: it is exceeding cooling, and one may eat as much as he will without the least danger. This fruit will keep a long time; on which occasion our author observes, that they carry them from Astrakân (where they are near as good as in Karazm) to St. Petersburg, for the court of Russia; and that they are as good in the middle of winter, as in their season; but he adds, that they gather them green, and that they ripen afterwards<sup>5</sup>.

Karazm owes all its fertility, in a manner, to three rivers, and a great lake: the rivers are called Amû, Khêfel, and Sir. The Amû, as it is called by the Uzbeks and Persians, is the Jihûn<sup>6</sup>, of the Arabs, and Oxus of the ancients, has its source to the north-north-east of the kingdom of Kashmîr, toward the borders of Little Bukhâria, in those high mountains which separate it from the dominions of the Great Mogul. It crosses the southern part of Great Bukharia from east to west, then winding north-eastward along the borders of that country, enters Karazm, and crossing it obliquely forty leagues from its mouth, it divides into two branches; that on the left turning westward, discharges itself into the Caspian Sea<sup>7</sup>, towards the borders of the province of Astarabâd in Persia: but the right-hand branch, which passed heretofore by the city of Urjenz, and met the sea<sup>8</sup> twelve leagues to the north of the former, about eighty years ago quitted its ancient channel, six leagues from the place where it separated from the other arm; and changing its course more to the north, threw itself into the river Khêfel, on the other side of the little town of Tûk: so that its old channel, before the city of Urjenz, is at present quite dry, which has greatly hurt that city.

The Amû abounds with all sorts of excellent fish, and its sides are the most charming in the world. On its banks grow those excellent melons, and other delicious fruits, so much esteemed in Persia, the Indies, and Russia, whither they are carried.

The river Khêfel, Khêfil, or Kefil, as the Uzbeks name it, rises in the mountains, to the north-east of the province of Sogd, or Samarkant; and running north-west

<sup>1</sup> Kœmpfer confounds Khorasan with Khowarazm. Amœnit. Exot. p. 135. know the World, or a Compendium of Modern Geography, in octavo, 1745, p. 253.

the Turks, &c. p. 419. p. 433, et seq. place called Mankishlak

<sup>4</sup> P. 284, and by Jenkinson, karbus.

<sup>6</sup> So Abu'lghazi Khan calls it also, p. 119 of his history.

<sup>8</sup> It fell into the Gulf of Balkan.

<sup>2</sup> Short Way to

<sup>3</sup> History of

the Turks, &c.

<sup>5</sup> History of the

<sup>7</sup> Perhaps at a

between the Amû and the Sir, falls into the lake of Aral, fifty or sixty miles after it has been joined by the Amû. There is no appearance of this river in Kyrillow's map of the Russian empire. The sides of the Khefel are exceeding fertile wherever they are cultivated; but the greater part of them are neglected by the inhabitants; nor do they make use of the excellent pastures which border this river, though they are much better than those which they find along the Amû.

At present there is not one considerable town to be seen upon the Khefel: nay, the few small ones that occur are half desert, because the Uzbek Tatars, both of Great Bukhâria and of Karazm, chuse rather to be near the frontiers of the Persians, than of the Eluths and Kara Kalpaks; because there is more to be gotten by their inroads on one side, than the other.

The waters of this river are extremely increased by the junction of the Amû, before-mentioned: but of late years the Tatars of Karazm have also turned the course of the Khefel from the Caspian Sea<sup>1</sup> into the lake Aral, on the following occasion.

Peter the First, Emperor of Russia, being informed, that much gold ore<sup>2</sup> was found on the coast of the Caspian Sea, at the mouth of the river Sir, called also Daria; and judging that a new course of trade between Siberia and the southern parts of Asia, might be carried on by means of that river, ordered certain persons, skilled in maritime affairs, to accompany the Kossaks of Jaïk in several of their expeditions along the coasts of that sea, in order to find out the mouth of the Daria. These people finding that no considerable river discharged itself into the Caspian Sea, between the Yem, or Yemba, and Amû, except the Khefel<sup>3</sup>, concluded this must be the river they looked for; especially as the Kossaks assured them it was called Daria, not knowing that Daria is no more than an appellative, signifying a river in general among the Uzbeks<sup>4</sup>.

However that be, having founded the entrance of the Khefel, and observed several marks whereby to know it again, they returned and made their report: thereupon the Emperor, in 1719, sent one brigadier Beckowitz<sup>5</sup>, by the way of Astrakân, with two thousand five hundred men, to possess himself of the mouth of that river. He pitched upon that officer, because he was a Chirkassian, and understood thoroughly the Tatar language. The Tatars growing jealous to see him come several times on that errand, turned the Khefel by three channels, the lands being low, northward into the lake of Aral, and then stopped the entrance of it: so that Beckowitz arriving some time after with his vessels to the mouth of the river, found it quite dry.

Nevertheless, in obedience to his orders, he landed his troops, and began to build forts thereabouts, as well as the ground, which he found exceeding sandy, would permit. They were scarce in a condition of making resistance, when the Tatars of Khiva (so the Russians call the Uzbeks of Karazm<sup>6</sup>) came down upon him with great numbers of troops: but Beckowitz defended himself with such resolution, that the Khan who commanded them, despairing to conquer him by force, had him privately informed, that in his heart he was sincerely affected to the Russians, and that he desired nothing more than to see them settled in his neighbourhood; but that he was obliged to oppose them, to humour the princes, his relations and neigh-

<sup>1</sup> According to D'Anville's map it fell into Peter's Bay, in the north part of the eastern coast of the Caspian Sea.

<sup>2</sup> This was, probably, a story only invented to farther the design of carrying on trade by this new canal.

<sup>3</sup> For the Sir fell into the lake Aral, hereafter described.

<sup>4</sup> Also among the Persians.

<sup>5</sup> Webber says, he was a Circassian prince, captain of the Czar's guards: that he was immensely rich, and had married the most beautiful lady in all Russia; and that he had been sent before in 1715.

<sup>6</sup> From the Khan's camp called Khiva.

bours: that it was resolved to make a last effort next day, and in case they had no better success than before, he would try to bring about an accommodation.

Beckowitz gave the easier credit to the Khan, as he had caused protestations of the same kind to be made at the court of Russia, by an envoy sent for that purpose. Meantime the Tatars did not fail next morning to renew the attack with such vigour, that great numbers, contrary to custom, lighted off their horses: but having been repulsed at length with loss, the Khan sent two of his mufas to know on what account he had landed an army in his dominions, and what he wanted? Hereupon Beckowitz demanded that the sluices made in the river should be stopped up, and the mouth of it opened again, that the current might resume its former course.

The Tatars remonstrating, that it was not in their power to dam up the channels, the water ran into them with such rapidity; Beckowitz proposed, that they should give him a certain number of hostages, and he would go and do it with his own troops. As that was what the Tatars just wanted, they readily agreed to his demands. The Russian commander having left some men to guard the forts, set forward with the rest: but the hostages, who served for guides, led him through places quite desert, where there were only some holes of standing water, not sufficient for his troops: so that after five days' march, they found themselves quite destitute of water.

In this distress, their guides proposed to divide into several bodies, and march by different roads, that they might the more easily find a supply. Beckowitz was obliged to consent to this proposal, though he saw the danger of it. In short, the Russians having thus separated into parties, the Tatars surrounded them one after another; and slaying their leader<sup>1</sup>, with most of his men, carried the rest into slavery. After this, those who were left to guard the forts, reembarked, and returned to Astrakân.

The lake Aral, that is, of eagles, before mentioned, separates the province of Aral, to which it gives name, from the eastern provinces of Karazm. It is one of the largest in the northern Asia, being above thirty German leagues from south to north, about half as much from east to west, and above eighty in compass. Its waters are exceeding salt, yet breed great quantities of the same sort of fish which are found in the Caspian Sea, with which it does not seem to have any communication; nor does it overflow its banks, although it receives the waters of the Sir, the Khesel, and several other smaller rivers.

The Kara Kalpaks, who possess the northern coast of it, towards the mouth of the Sir, and the Turkmâns, of the country of Aral, in summer, convey the waters of this lake, by means of small canals, into the neighbouring sandy plains; whose surface, when the moisture is exhaled by the sun's heat, is covered with a fine crust of crystalline salt, with which the inhabitants of Karazm, and all Turkestan, are plentifully supplied<sup>2</sup>.

According to Kyri'llow's map of the Russian empire, this lake is shaped much like the Caspian Sea, and more than half as long; being three hundred and forty miles from south to north, and an hundred and sixty broad in the south part; though not half that breadth at the north end. But, possibly, these dimensions are too great, as its distance from the Caspian Sea, viz. two hundred miles, must needs be too much. However, we may presume, its figure is more exact than what we find it in other

<sup>1</sup> Webber says, that refusing to kneel on the red cloth, in order to be beheaded, they ham-strung and mangled him barbarously.

<sup>2</sup> History of the Turks, &c. p. 444. et seq.

maps, especially the north part of it; because several roads thither are traced down by the author. Into this great lake the Khéfel discharges itself on the south by three channels, and the Sir on the north by two: of which river, the reader will find an account hereafter in the description of Turkestân.

## SECT. II. — THE PROVINCES AND TOWNS OF KARAZM.

KARAZM is divided into many provinces, as appears from Abu'lghâzi Khan's history, who mentions several of them; which Bentiuk has succinctly described, as follows:

### 1. *Provinces.*

*Ogurza Province.* — *Pishga.* — *Karakizit.* — *Gilkupruk.* — *Gordish.* — *Kumkant.* — *Yanghi-shahr.* — *Burma.* — *Bayalkiri.* — *Kefilrabat.* — *Gardankhast.* — *Yanghi-arik.* — *Bakirgan.* — *Kuigan.* — *Ikzi-Kumani.* — *Kbika.* — *Tarkhan.* — *Bamaburinak.* — *Kogbertlik.* — *Aral.*

OGURZA is a large province, situate towards the coast of the Caspian Sea. It was very fertile before the northern branch of the Amû, which ran through it, took another course; since when it is become a desert for want of water. It takes its name from the abundance of cucumbers which it then produced; and are called Ogurza, both in the Tatar and Russian languages.

Pishga is a little province, situate to the east of the city Urjenz. It has been but thinly inhabited ever since the above mentioned branch of the Amû ceased to pass through it.

Karakizit is a small province, between those of Pishga and Ogurza, which is grown very thin of people since the river Amû passes no longer by Urjenz, to the west of which it lies.

Gilkupruk is a small province, situate to the south of the southern branch of the river Amû, bordering on the provinces of Khorasân, and Astarabâd, in Persia.

Gordish, a little province between those of Pishga and Kumkant. It is one of the most fruitful and best cultivated in all Karazm, as being watered by the Amû; which here quitted its old channel to join the Khéfel, as before mentioned.

The small province of Kumkant lies east of Gordish, towards the northern bank of the Amu; which, in the borders of these provinces, divides in two branches.

Yanghi-shahr<sup>1</sup> is a little province, near the right bank of the southern branch of the river, which is of no great consequence at present.

Burma is one of the largest provinces east of the town of Wazir, towards the borders of Great Bukhâria. It is very populous and fertile; producing the most delicious melons in all Karazm.

Bayalkiri is a little province to the north of the city Urjenz; but very sandy and desert, because it wants water.

Kefilrabat lies towards the banks of the Khéfil, or Kefil, and north-west of the town of Tuk. This little province is very populous, and produces plenty of all sorts of delicious fruits.

Gardankhast, which is a large province, situate between the towns of Khayuk and Hazarab<sup>2</sup>, has pretty good pasturage; and is almost wholly peopled by the Sarts, who are the ancient inhabitants of the country.

<sup>1</sup> In the French, Jangishar.

<sup>2</sup> In the French, Hassarassap.

Yanghi-arik<sup>1</sup> is a small province north of the Amû, and bordering on Great Bukharia, at the foot of the mountains which separate it from Karazm.

Bakirgan, a large province on the north side of the river Khefel, and north-east of the town of Tuk.

Kuigan, another large province, north of Bakirgan and the Khefel, extends as far as the frontiers of the Kara Kalpaks, and Kâlmuks (or Eluths). It consists, mostly, of vast plains, producing excellent pasture; like all the other sandy grounds of Grand Tatory.

Ikzi-Kumani<sup>2</sup> is a little province towards the southern bank of the Khefel, and west of the territory of Khayuk.

Khika, another small province on the south side of the Khefel, lies east of the territory of Tuk, and west of Ikzi-Kumani.

Tarkhan is a little province situate north of the Khefel, and west of Bakirgan. It abounds in excellent pastures; but lies uncultivated.

Bamaburinak is a little province to the north of the Khefel, towards the southern coast of the lake Aral, and west of Tarkhan province.

Koghertlik is a large province situate on the frontiers of Great Bukhâria, and north of the province of Yanghi-arik.

The province of Aral, towards the shore of the Caspian Sea, is very large, extending from the mountains of Abulk'an, north of the old mouth of the northern branch of the Amû, which is now dry, as far as the country of the Kara Kalpaks. This part of Korazm is, at present, almost solely inhabited by Turkmans, who find there, in many places, excellent pasture for their flocks: But generally, Aral, which takes its name from the lake before described, is mountainous, sandy, and barren<sup>3</sup>. Besides the provinces above described, Abu'lghâzi Khan mentions others in his history; particularly those of Abulkhân and Dehistân<sup>4</sup>.

## 2. The Towns of Karazm.

*Urjenz, the capital:—Its ruinous State:—Trade inconsiderable:—Its Names:—Not always the Capital:—Once great and populous:—Destroyed by Timur:—Present State miserable:—Its Latitude observed.—Mangustlove.—Sellizure—Fruits and Grain.—Tuk.—Wafir.—Kumkala.—Kabt.—Hazarazb.—Mankishlak—Excellent Port.—Other Towns.*

URJENZ, the capital of the country, is situate in a great plain to the north of the river Amû, twenty-five German leagues from the eastern shores of the Caspian Sea. This city was very considerable in the ages past; but since the Tatars became possessors of it, the northern branch of the Amû, which formerly ran by its walls, has taken another course. It has fallen so much to decay, that, at present, it makes but a pitiful figure, being no more than a great scrambling town, about a league in compass. Its walls are of sun-burnt bricks, with a kind of ditch, very narrow, and full of rubbish in several places. The houses are no better than paltry cabins of earth. It is true, there is a castle built with brick; but so ruinous, that scarce a fourth part of it is inhabitable. The brick mosques likewise are in almost as bad a condition: for the Tatars, in general, are very ready to destroy buildings, but neither to raise or preserve. The only thing which they take any care of at present is a great broad street towards

<sup>1</sup> In the French, Jangiarick.

<sup>2</sup> This seems to be a remains of the Komani, or Kumani, a warlike nation, who for a long time possessed the country along the north-side of the Caspian Sea, as far as the river Don, till conquered by Jenghiz Khan and his successors, in Kipjak.

<sup>3</sup> History of the

<sup>4</sup> P. 235.

the middle of the town, which, as the common market-place, is covered from one end to the other, to preserve the goods sold there from the weather. The desertion of the river has caused many of the inhabitants to forsake Urjenz, and rendered very barren the neighbouring country, which was formerly fruitful.

Although it is very conveniently situate for commerce, being the rendezvous of all the business carried on between the Bukhars and the countries on the west side of the Caspian Sea, yet, at present, the trade is very inconsiderable; because foreign merchants, finding no security among the Mohammedan Tatars, few will venture thither. The ordinary duties paid at Urjenz are only three per cent. but the extraordinary amount very often beyond the whole merchandizes.

The Khans of Karazm commonly winter in this town; but in summer they encamp on the banks of the Amû, or in some other agreeable place of the country, as best suits their conveniency<sup>1</sup>.

To the foregoing remarks of Bentinck on Urjenz, the English translator adds those which follow:

Urjenz seems to be the same city which was formerly called Karazm; and which De la Croix<sup>2</sup> observes, was, after the time of Jenghiz Khan, called Korkanj by the Persians, and Orkanj by the Moguls. In the tables of Abu'lfeda, Nassir addin, and Ulugh Begh<sup>3</sup>, we find two Korkanjs; Great Korkanj, or Nu-Korkanj, and Korkanj the Less, or Jorjaniyah<sup>4</sup> of Khowarazm, to distinguish it, likely, from Jorjaniyah of Persia. The first was capital of the country; and both were situate on the west side of the Jihûn, (or Amû) ten miles asunder<sup>5</sup>. Jenkinson calls it Urjence<sup>6</sup>: and Johnson, his fellow-traveller, after a merchant of<sup>7</sup> Boghar, (or Bokhara) Urjensh, and Urjense<sup>8</sup>, which comes near the name given by Abu'lghâzi Khân.

Urjenz has not always been the capital of Karazm. Abu'lfeda tells us, that Kath was formerly the metropolis<sup>9</sup>: how long it continued so, is uncertain. When the governor of Jorjan, in Persia, surprized him of Karazm, in the reign of Nuh-ibn-Manfûr, of the Sammân family, he found him in Kat<sup>10</sup>: but it does not follow from thence that it was the capital; nor, if it did, could we affirm, it continued so under the first dynasty of the Karazmian kings, contemporary with Mahmûd Gazni, neither can we be positive, upon what occasion the royal seat was removed: though, probably on account of the inundation which once ruined it<sup>11</sup>. This we are sure of, that the second dynasty fixed their seat at Urjenz; and it has continued the capital ever since, except now and then, that the Khans thought fit to reside for a-while at Wazir, Khayuk, or some other place.

Though at present so much reduced, it was once like all the other cities of this country rich and populous. In the year 1186<sup>12</sup>, when Soltân Shah besieged it<sup>13</sup>, the inhabitants, who had submitted to his brother Takash, were so numerous, that, to shew how much they despised his power, they kept their gates open in his view; and thirty-six years after, when Jenghiz Khan<sup>14</sup> took it in 1221, the Moguls put one hundred thousand, some say two hundred thousand, to the sword. Urjenz<sup>15</sup> began to flourish again under the family of the Sofis, and was a great city when Timûr Bek (or Tamerlan), having in 1379, taken it from Yufuf Sofi, and conquered the kingdom<sup>16</sup>,

<sup>1</sup> History of the Turks, as before. p. 438, et seq.

<sup>2</sup> Hist. of Geng. p. 240.

<sup>3</sup> Published

by Greaves. <sup>4</sup> Jorjan, or Jorjaniyah, comes near Urjenz, allowing for the different pronunciation of different nations.

<sup>5</sup> Abu'lfeda, p. 23. 26.

<sup>6</sup> Purchas, vol. iii. p. 236.

<sup>7</sup> The

English traveller, at the end of Tavernier, p. 115, says, some call it Yurjeach, others Jurjench.

<sup>8</sup> Hakl. Collect. vol. i. p. 335.

<sup>9</sup> Chowr. Descrip. p. 27, in Hudson's Lesser Greek Geographers.

<sup>10</sup> Teix. Hist. of Persia, p. 160.

<sup>11</sup> Chowar. Defec. p. 23.

<sup>12</sup> Of the Hejrah, §82.

<sup>13</sup> See D' Herbelot in Tacash.

<sup>14</sup> De la Croix's Hist. Gentch. p. 256.

<sup>15</sup> Korkanj Minor

was then the regal seat, according to De la Croix's Notes.

<sup>16</sup> Hist. Timur-sec, p. 306.

caused it to be razed in 1388, and the ground sowed with barley. It is likely it was repaired three years after, when, by Timûr's order, the country was re-peopled, and restored to its ancient splendour: but from that time, it may be presumed, Urjenz never was able to recover itself; and the government of the Uzbeks, which it has since fallen under, so hurtful to trade, joined to the inconveniences attending the river Amû's being turned off from the town, has completed its ruin<sup>1</sup>.

It seems to have been in no better a state when Mr. Jenkinson was there in 1558. His account of it is as follows: The city, or town, of Urjenz<sup>2</sup>, stands on level ground: its walls, as well as houses, are of earth, and, by estimation, four miles in compass. The buildings within it are ruined, and out of good order: it hath one long street that is covered above, which is the place of their market: it hath been won and lost four times within seven years, by civil wars; hence it comes, that there are but few merchants in it, and they so very poor, that he could not sell above four kerseys. The chief commodities sold there come from Boghar (or Bokhara) and Persia, but in small quantities, not worth mentioning. All the country, from the Caspian Sea to this city, is called the land of Turkman, and is subject to the Khan<sup>3</sup>.

The latitude of this city, as given by Jenkinson<sup>4</sup>, is forty-two degrees eighteen minutes; which seems the more exact, as it nearly agrees with that assigned by Albiruni the astronomer, a native of Karazm, and adopted by Uleg-beigh, viz. forty-two degrees seventeen minutes<sup>5</sup>.

The same English traveller, who travelled through Karazm in his way to Boghar, or Bokhara, mentions two or three other places in the country, as Manguslave, Sellizure, and Kait.

Manguslave<sup>6</sup> is a very good port in forty-five degrees of latitude, twelve leagues within a bay. Both governor and people proved very bad, doubling the price of carriages and provisions.

Sellizure<sup>7</sup>, twenty-four days' journey of the caravan from Manguslave, and two from Urjenz, was a castle, where then resided the king, called Azim Khan<sup>8</sup>, with three of his brothers. It is seated on a high hill. The palace was built of earth, not strong, and made a poor figure.

To the south of the castle the land is low, but very fertile, producing many good fruits, particularly one called a dinie: it is very large, and full of moisture, the people eating it after meat instead of drink. There is another called karbus<sup>9</sup> the size of a great cucumber, yellow, and sweet as sugar. Here is also a certain corn, called jegur, whose stalk is much like a sugar-cane, and as high, but the grain like rice, growing at the top like a cluster of grapes. The water that serveth all this country is drawn by canals out of the Oxus<sup>10</sup>; so that it falleth not into the Caspian Sea, as formerly; and in a short time all that land is likely to become a wilderness for want of water<sup>11</sup>; which prediction of the author has come to pass.

Tuk is a little town, six leagues to the north-east of Urjenz, at a small distance from the southern bank of the Khefel.

Khayuk lies toward the borders of Great Bukharia, half a day's journey from the river Khefel. It is the best town in all Karazm, next to Urjenz; yet the houses are no better than miserable cabins, being as inconvenient within as without.

<sup>1</sup> History of the Turks, &c. p. 440, et seq.      <sup>2</sup> He writes Urgence.      <sup>3</sup> Purchas Pilgr. vol. iii. p. 236, et seq.      <sup>4</sup> In a table at the end of his voyage, in Hakluyt, vol. 1. page 335, but omitted by Purchas.      <sup>5</sup> See the tables of Abu'lfeda, before-mentioned.      <sup>6</sup> This seems to lie near the mouth of the northern branch of the Amû. There is another port more to the south, not unlike it in name.      <sup>7</sup> Perhaps, Saltfaray, a pleasure house.      <sup>8</sup> In the translation of Abu'lg'hâzi's History, written Hadsim, or Hajim: but we are told, he resided at Wzir, and was that year made Khan.      <sup>9</sup> Or arbus, before described.      <sup>10</sup> Or, Amû.      <sup>11</sup> Purchas as before, p. 236.

The neighbouring country is fertile enough, but very ill cultivated. However, one sees there some vines, which the Sarts, who dwell in this town, take care of. They make also a sort of red wine, which is pretty good.

Wazir is situate towards the northern bank of the river Amû; but, like the rest of the towns, is at present very inconsiderable.

Kumkala is a small town in the middle of Karazm, to the north of Wazir; but not worth taking notice of.

The town of Kâht (Kâth, or Kât<sup>1</sup>) is situate on the north side of the Khêfel, towards Great Bukharia, and is of no consideration, but on account of its passage over that river, though once the capital city. There were two of the name.

Hazarab, situate upon the north side of the Khêfel, is also become inconsiderable since it fell into the hands of the Uzbeks.

Mankishlak is a small town upon the shore of the Caspian Sea, on the north side of the mouth of the southern branch of the river Amû. The town itself is inconsiderable, consisting of about seven hundred houses, or rather pitiful cabins, built of earth: but its port is magnificent, and the only one to be found in all that sea. As it is large, secure, and deep, it would, in any other hands but those of the Tatars, soon become a place of considerable trade; but, at present, seldom any ships arrive there. The town is inhabited only by Turkîmâns, who can bear the neighbourhood of the sea better than the Uzbeks<sup>2</sup>.

There are several other towns in Karazm mentioned by Abu'lghâzi Khan<sup>3</sup>: besides, the Uzbeks of this country have some others in Khorasan, which, by degrees, they conquered from the Persians; as, Duruhn, Nafay, Iburd, Mahana, Bagabâd, Yaurfurdi, and Maru. But, in all probability, Nadhir-shâh, the present king of Persia, recovered them all some years ago.

### SECT. III.—THE INHABITANTS OF KARAZM: THEIR MANNERS AND CUSTOMS.

KARAZM is inhabited at present by three sorts of people; the Sarts, the Turkîmâns, and the Uzbek Tatars. With regard to the first of these, our author, Bentinck, says only, that they are the ancient inhabitants of the country<sup>4</sup>, and support themselves, like the Turkîmâns, by their cattle and husbandry. But he is more particular in treating of the other two nations.

#### 1. *Of the Turkîmans.*

*Turkîmans, original:—Two Branches.—Oriental Turkîmans, once powerful;—Their Persons;—Way of living;—Character and Number;—Divided into Tribes.*

THE Turkîmâns, or Turkomâns, as our historians call them, came originally from Turkestân. They separated from the Kanklis, with whom they dwelt in that country towards the eleventh century, with an intent to seek their fortune somewhere else: and settled in Karazm long before the Tatars, as Abu'lghâzi Khan relates.

They divided into two parties; of which one went round the north side of the Caspian Sea, and settled in the western parts of Armenia; from thence called the country of the Turkomâns<sup>5</sup>. Bentinck will have it, that the Othmân Turks, if they be Turks, (for he says they are a mixture of several nations) must derive themselves from this

<sup>1</sup> Abu'lfeza calls it Kâth; Jenkinson, Kait; and only says it is a castle, where Soltân Sara-met resided, Purch. Pilgr. vol. iii. p. 237.

<sup>2</sup> History of the Turks, &c. p. 442, et seq.

<sup>3</sup> The same,

p. 235, and elsewhere.

<sup>4</sup> These fall under the denomination of Tajiks, implying traders, or a simple sort of people; a nick-name given by the Uzbeks even to the Persians.

<sup>5</sup> Or Turkomania.

western branch : but in this he seems to be mistaken, it being generally agreed, that they came into Persia with the family of Seljûk, and settled at Makhan, or Mahan, near Maru Shâhi-jehân in Khorasan ; from whence, upon the irruption of the Moguls, under Jenghiz Khan, about the year 1219, they removed towards Natolia, where their kingdom first began under Ortogrûl, or rather Othmân, in the year 1288<sup>1</sup>.

The second party turned south, and settled about the banks of the river Amû, and the shore of the Caspian Sea<sup>2</sup> ; where they still possess a great number of towns and villages in the country of Astrakân and Karazm. This branch of the Turkmans has been hitherto unknown to the European historians and geographers, although they are much more numerous at present than that of the western Turkmans. On this occasion, the English translator observes, that those who have given extracts from the eastern writers, take little notice of them ; and, that others relate no more of them than what occurs in the Byzantine, and such western historians who lived at too great a distance to be acquainted with their affairs.

He adds, that there sprung from this branch of the Turks, or Turkmâns, (for the Turkmâns and Turks, says the translator, seem to differ only as the wandering Arabs, called Bedwîns, do from those who dwell in cities) three great dynasties of princes, who had under their dominions all the countries from the Archipelago as far as the Indies ; namely, the three branches of the family of Seljûk, who reigned at the same time in Iran, or Persia at large, Kermân and Rûm, or Natolia ; to the last of which the Othmân Soltâns owe their greatness.

The Turkmâns of this latter branch, according to Bentinck, are shaped much like the former ; that is, are tall and robust, with square, flat faces, only they are much swarthier, and have a greater resemblance of the Tatars. In summer they wear long gowns of calico, or thick cloth : and in winter the like gowns of sheep-skin.

Cattle and husbandry afford them subsistence, according to the different parts they possess. In winter they dwell in towns and villages about the river Amû, and towards the shores of the Caspian Sea ; and in summer they encamp where they can find the best pastures and good water. They are all Mohammedans. Such of them as are settled in the country of Astrâbad generally followed the Persian sect ; but those who dwell in Karazm conform with the Uzbek Tatars in sentiments of religion : Though neither one nor the other give themselves much trouble about it.

They are exceedingly turbulent, submitting with great difficulty to the Tatar yoke. They are very brave, and, at least, as good horsemen, but not so great robbers, as the Uzbeks ; by whom being treated as conquered subjects, they are obliged to pay them tribute, and suffer several other impositions from those rigid masters ; to which, chiefly, is to be imputed that great animosity which they bear them : but the Turkmâns, who dwell under the dominion of the Persians, are much better treated. Both together may amount to about an hundred thousand families.

These people are still divided into tribes, like all the other branches of the Turkish nation ; and their chiefs enjoy the same prerogatives<sup>3</sup>.

Abu'lghazi Khan, who was a great enemy to the Turkmâns, and destroyed great numbers of them, from time to time, mentions them on several occasions, sometimes, according to the countries they inhabited, as, the Turkmâns of Mankishlak, Abu'lkhan, and Dehistan<sup>4</sup>, which last territory belongs to Persia ; but oftener by the names of their tribes ; of which the chief are ; 1. Adakli Khiffer-ili ; these dwell on both sides

<sup>1</sup> History of the Turks, as before, p. 423, et seq.

<sup>2</sup> Jenkinson found them possessed of all the coast from Manguslave, where he landed, till he left the shore, four days before he reached Sellizure.

<sup>3</sup> History of the Turks, &c. p. 426. et seq. and 397.

<sup>4</sup> P. 235 of his History.

of the Amû, from the province of Pifhga to that of Karakizet <sup>1</sup>. 2. Ali-ili, inhabiting from the province of Karakizet to the mountain of Abu'lkhân. 3. Ti-u-azi, who poffefs the reft of the banks of the Amû, from Abu'lkhân to the fea: thefe three tribes are furnamed Utzil <sup>2</sup>. Befides them we meet with the following, viz. Taka, Sarik, Yamut, Irfari, Khorafân-Saluri <sup>3</sup>, (thefe five, formerly, were but one tribe) Itzki Saluri, HafanIkdur, Dfaudur, Arabaz, Koklan, Adakli <sup>4</sup>, Karamit <sup>5</sup>, and fome others lefs confiderable <sup>6</sup>.

Jenkinson remarks, that all the country, from the Caspian Sea to Urjenz, is called the land of Turkman; and, that the inhabitants, between the fea and the caftle of Sellizure, and of all the countries about the Caspian, live without town or houfe in the open fields; removing from place to place in great companies with their cattle <sup>7</sup>.

## 2. Of the Uzbek Tartars.

*Name and Origin.—Uzbek Tribes.—Way of living.—Encamp for Conveniency of making Roads.—Their Money.—Their Cattle, and Diet.—Arms and Paftime.*

THE name of Uzbeks, which the Tatars of Karazm and Great Bukharia bear at prefent, is derived from Uzbek Khan of Kipjâk, as related by Abu'lghâzi Khan <sup>8</sup>, and this cuftom of affuming the name of the prince, to denote the univerfal affection of his fubjects, has always been in ufe with the inhabitants of Tatory. Witness the names of the Moguls, or Mongols, that of Tatars, and many others.

When Ilbars Soltân was invited by the inhabitants of Urjenz to come and take poffeffion of Karazm <sup>9</sup>, the Uzbeks poffeffed all the country of Kipjâk eaftward to the river Irtifh, and fouthwards as far as the river Sir; befides Great Bukharia, which they had newly fubdued under the conduct of Shâhbakht Soltân: this prince had alfo taken Urjenz, the capital of Karazm. However, only a fmall number of Uzbeks had fettled in the country; till Ilbars brought the reft of them out of Kipjâk.

The body of Uzbek Tatars, in Karazm and Great Bukharia, is compofed out of the four tribes of the Vigûrs, Naymans, Durmans, and Kunkurats. On this occafion, the Englifh tranflator obferves, that the two firft were of the four, given to Sheybani Khan, fon of Juji Khan, as related by Abu'lghâzi Khan; and, that if all the inhabitants of Kipjâk took the name of Uzbeks from Uzbek Khan, it is ftrange none but thofe four tribes fhould retain it. Nor is there any accounting why the Tatars of Krim are not called Uzbeks, but by fuppoſing either that the name extended only to thofe four tribes, or, that the reft of the Tatars changed it, according to their cuftom before-mentioned.

The Sarts and Turkmâns live by their cattle and husbandry: but the Uzbeks, for the moft part, by rapine; refembling, in all refpects, thofe of Great Bukharia, excepting that they are far lefs polite, and more reftlefs. They dwell in winter in the towns and vil- lages which are towards the middle of Karazm; and in fummer, the greater part of them encamp about the river Amû, and in other places where they can find good paftures for their cattle; waiting fome favourable opportunity to rob and deftroy. They are perpetually making incurſions upon the neighbouring territories of Perfia, or Great Bukharia; and neither peace nor truce can refrain them, in regard the flaves and plunder, which they carry off on thofe occafions, are all their riches.

<sup>1</sup> P. 236.

<sup>2</sup> P. 236, and 239,

<sup>3</sup> 238.

<sup>4</sup> P. 238.

<sup>5</sup> P. 256.

<sup>6</sup> P. 238.

<sup>7</sup> Purchas, Pilgr. vol. iii. p. 237.

<sup>8</sup> History of the Turks, as before, p. 197.

<sup>9</sup> See

Abulghâzi Khan's History of the Turks, &c. p. 226.

Though one finds excellent pasture in divers part of the country, towards the banks of the Khéfel; yet the Uzbeks rarely move thither with their cattle in summer, because there is nothing to plunder on that side: The Kara Kalpâks, who are their northern neighbours being as dextrous in the business as themselves; and that what they can steal from one another is not worth the trouble of going for: besides, the Mohan medan Tatars do not invade one another, unless at open war together. As for the Calmûks (or Eluths) who border on Karazm, to the north-east, they usually remove towards the beginning of summer from the borders of the Mohammedan Tatars, that they may not be exposed to their incursions; and do not return till winter, when the rains and snow have rendered the roads impassable on that side.

Wherefore, none but the Sarts and Turkmâns reap the benefit of the pastures. The former seek those which lie eastward, towards Great Bukharia; and the Turkmâns go in quest of them which lie towards the mouth of the Amû, and the shore of the Caspian Sea: but the Uzbeks often incamp about the sides of that river; where they are at hand to throw themselves into the Persian provinces on the first occasion which offers, and carry off wherewithal to make good cheer in winter. Although the Uzbeks have fixed habitations, yet, in travelling from one place to another, they carry with them all their effects of value, like the Eluths and Mongols, according to the way of living of their ancestors, before they had settled dwellings.

There is a piece of money called Tanga<sup>1</sup>, current both in Karazm and Great Bukharia. It is large, and, the author believes, the only silver money coined by the Khans of these provinces. This coin, which is pretty fine, and worth near the fourth part of a crown, is round; having on one side the name of the Khan, and on the other that of the country, with the year of the Hejrah. The rest of the money made in this country, consists in small pieces of copper of different sorts, which answer to our pence, halfpence, and farthings. The money of Persia passes also in these provinces, especially towards the borders of Karazm<sup>2</sup>. Jenkinson says, these people have not the use of gold, silver, or any other coin: but barter their cattle for necessaries: perhaps he speaks of the Turkmâns only.

The same author observes, that the inhabitants living between the Caspian Sea and Urjenz (including, without doubt, the Uzbeks as well as Turkmâns) have abundance of camels, horses, and sheep, both tame and wild. Their sheep are very large, with great tails, weighing sixty or eighty pounds. There are many wild horses, which the Tatars frequently kill with their hawks. These birds are lured to seize upon the head or neck of the beast; which being tired at length, with endeavouring to get rid of this cruel enemy, the hunter, who follows his game, then comes up and kills him. In all this land there groweth no grass, but a certain brush, or heath, which yet is very fattening.

They have no bread: they neither till nor sow. They are great devourers of flesh, which they cut in small pieces, and eat it greedily by handfuls, especially horse-flesh. Their chief drink is sour mare's milk, like that of the Nagays; with which they will be drunk. They have no rivers nor places of water in this country, from Mangushave, where the author landed, to the bay, where he arrived, twenty stages distant, except some wells of brackish water, more than two days' journey asunder. They eat their meat upon the ground, sitting with their legs double under them; which is their posture also when they pray.

The Tatars never ride without their bow, arrows, and sword; although it be in hawking or any other pleasure. They have no arts or sciences among them, but live an idle life; sitting round in great companies in the fields, and passing their time in idle discourse<sup>3</sup>.

<sup>1</sup> Abu'lghazi mentions it, p. 234. Pilgr. p. 237.

<sup>2</sup> History of the Turks, &c. p. 428, et seq.

<sup>3</sup> Purchas

## SECT. IV. — THE GOVERNMENT AND REVOLUTIONS OF KARAZM.

*The Khan's Authority. — Power of the Princes. — Factions in the State; — its Forces. — Antiquity of Karazm; — conquered by the Arabs, and Seljuk Turks, Karazmian Empire; — Conquest by Jenghiz Khan; — by the Uzbeks.*

THIS country is usually divided among divers princes of the same house, of whom, notwithstanding, only one bears the title of Khan, with a kind of superiority over the others, just as he has skill to improve it. His residence is in the city of Urjenz, though during the summer he commonly encamps on the banks of the river Amû; and as his camp is called Khiva, his subjects are commonly termed the Tatars of Khiva<sup>1</sup>. This Khan is sovereign in his own dominions, and does not, in any wise, depend upon him of Great Bukhâria, or any other power<sup>2</sup>.

Jenkinson observes, that when he was in this country<sup>3</sup>, in 1558, it was in the hands of six brothers, one of whom, called Azim<sup>4</sup>, had the title of Khan; but adds, that he was little obeyed, except in his own territory, and where he dwelt<sup>5</sup>: for that each would be king of his own portion, and one brother sought continually to destroy another, having no natural love among them, as being born of different women, and commonly the children of slaves. Every Khan and Soltan hath at least four or five wives, besides concubines. When these brethren are at war together (as they are seldom otherwise) the vanquished, in case he be not slain, flies to the desert with his followers, and there lives by robbing the karawans, and all they meet with, till he is strong enough to invade some of his brothers again<sup>6</sup>.

Nor is it very difficult to bring this about; for Bentinck takes notice, that as the Turkmâns, who were the first occupants, are always in opposition to the Uzbeks, the princes of the reigning house know how to make use of this jealousy, and draw to their side the faction which thinks itself neglected by the Khan; and it is to this extreme facility of making a party, that those troubles, which continually distract Karazm, are chiefly owing.

This state can, with ease, set on foot forty or fifty thousand good horse. What Abu'lghâzi Khan reports of his infantry, and musketeers<sup>7</sup>, shews, that he had profited by his imprisonment in Persia; for before his time, that way of fighting was quite unknown to the Uzbeks: nor do they seem to have retained that usage, since at present they go to war only on horseback, like the other Tatars, and it is very rare to see fire-arms with them<sup>8</sup>.

We meet with no connected account of the kings of Karazm, before the time of the Uzbeks, whose history is given at large by Abu'lghazi Khan. But the English translator has, in some measure, supplied the defect, by the following general sketch. In the days of Herodotus (according to our author) it was subject to Persia, being one of the provinces over which Darius placed Satrapas; but nothing material concerning it occurs, till it was possessed by the Arabs in the year 680<sup>9</sup>, and for a long time after, farther than that it had a governor, like the rest of the countries conquered by them: yet it is likely upon the declension of the power of the Khalifas, when the governors

<sup>1</sup> That is by the Russians, as before observed, p. 478. b.    <sup>2</sup> History of the Turks, &c. p. 423, et seq.    <sup>3</sup> He nowhere names it.    <sup>4</sup> In Abu'lghâzi's History, Hadim, or Hajim.    <sup>5</sup> He dwelt then at Sellizne, two or three stages west of Urjenz, of which last Ali Soltan was King, as he calls him.    <sup>6</sup> Purch. Pligr. p. 237.    <sup>7</sup> P. 357, of his History.    <sup>8</sup> History of the Turks, as before, p. 431.    <sup>9</sup> Of the Hejrah, 61.

feized the provinces under their care, that Karazm acted like the rest, and was as early as any of them in setting up for itself; though in the histories hitherto come to our knowledge, we meet with no king of that country before Mamûn-ibn Mohammed, who reigned some time after the year 995<sup>1</sup>: for a little while before that, we find<sup>2</sup> Abu Abdalla governor of it; but it does not appear for whom. At length it fell under the dominion of Soltan Mahmud Gazni, King of Khorasân, who, after the death of Mamûn-ibn Mamûn, in 1016<sup>3</sup>, took that kingdom from the usurper, and made it a province of his empire<sup>4</sup>.

Karazm continued in this state under the families of Gazni and Seljûk, successively, till upon the death of Malek Shah, otherwise called Jalal'addin, third Soltan of the Seljûk Turks, in 1092<sup>5</sup>: Kothbaddîn<sup>6</sup>, then governor, taking advantage of the broils which ensued upon the death of that great monarch, assumed the title of king<sup>7</sup>: but that title was better established by his son and successor Mohammed, surnamed Atfiz<sup>8</sup>; though not without great opposition from Soltan Sanjar, son of Malek Shah, who often reduced him to a dependency. But it was Takash, the sixth Soltan of this dynasty, who firmly established the empire of the Karazmians, by the fall of that of the Turks; which he put an end to in Persia, by the death of Togrul Arslan, in 1193, or 1196<sup>9</sup>; and added the dominions of that unfortunate prince to his own. His son, Kothb addîn Mohammed, extended the empire yet farther by the conquest of all Persia and Mawara'nahr; and was the greatest prince in Asia at the time that Jenghiz Khan invaded him in 1218<sup>10</sup>, and deprived him of his dominions.

As Jagatay Khan had but part of Karazm in his share of his father's dominions<sup>11</sup>, it looks as if the whole country had not been subdued, or at least, that part of it revolted, and became independent. Be that as it will, it is very probable, that on the declension of the power of the Khans of Jagatay<sup>12</sup>, upon the death of Ghazan Khan, in 1348<sup>13</sup>, if not before, Karazm either set up a king of its own, or fell a prey to some other power<sup>14</sup>: for, in the time of Timur-begh, we find it possessed by Husfayn Sofi, son of Yanghaday, of the hord of Kongorat<sup>15</sup>, one of the four Uzbek tribes which possess Karazm and Great Bukharia. What is still more remarkable, it is called a great empire<sup>16</sup>, and continued in that family till conquered by Timur, in 1379, and 1388<sup>17</sup>; when he razed the capital to the ground, and sowed it with barley, as before related: but, three years after, he restored both the city and kingdom to the condition it had been in before.

Karazm continued afterwards under the descendants of Timûr-begh, in Mawara'nahr and Khorasân, on which it was then dependent, till the famous Shahbakht Soltan subduing those two provinces, with his Uzbeks, about the year 1498<sup>18</sup>, it fell of course into the hands of that conqueror. Soon after, Shahbakht being defeated and slain by Shah Ismael Sofi, in 1510<sup>19</sup>, Karazm came once more under the dominion of Persia. But, about two years after, the inhabitants revolting against the governors, sent for Ilbars Soltan, who, coming with his Uzbeks (out of Turkestan) was proclaimed Khan,

<sup>1</sup> Of the Hejrah 385.    <sup>2</sup> Texeira, p. 260.    <sup>3</sup> Hejrah 407.    <sup>4</sup> Abu'lfaraj Hist. Dynast. p. 220; and D'Herbelot, p. 534.    <sup>5</sup> Hejrah 489.    <sup>6</sup> Who had succeeded his father Buftekin, formerly slave to Balkatekin, his predecessor; but advanced, by Malek Shah, in the government of Karazm.    <sup>7</sup> De la Croix's Hist. Jenghiz Khan, p. 129. D'Herbelot. p. 276    <sup>8</sup> D'Herb. art. Atfiz.    <sup>9</sup> Hejrah 590, or 593.    <sup>10</sup> Hejrah 615.    <sup>11</sup> History of Timur-begh, p. 307. History of the Turks, &c. p. 165.    <sup>12</sup> So the countries subject to Jagatay were called after him.    <sup>13</sup> Hejrah 749.    <sup>14</sup> History of Timur-begh, p. 147.    <sup>15</sup> Or, Kunkurat; in the original, Goukegrat. See De la Croix's History of Timur-begh, p. 147.    <sup>16</sup> History of Timur-begh, p. 148.    <sup>17</sup> Hejrah 781, and 790.    <sup>18</sup> Hejrah 904.    <sup>19</sup> Hejrah 916.

in 1512<sup>1</sup>, at Wazir<sup>2</sup>; and his descendants have continued ever since in possession of the country<sup>3</sup>.

SECT. V. — THE HISTORY OF THE UZBEK KHANS OF KARAZM.

*Abu'lghâzi Khan's History: — its Defects, and Advantages: — Use to Geography.*

INTRODUCTION. — The following account of the Uzbek Khans of Karazm is extracted from the history of Abu'lghâzi Khan, of the same country. It makes the ninth part of his history<sup>4</sup>, which is nearly equal to all the rest of his work; and as it is the most copious, so it is the most complete part of the whole. One would be apt to think, says the English translator, that no part of the Tatar history should be unknown to a Tatar prince, who professes to write the history of them: and yet it is plain, he was but little acquainted with the Khans, the immediate successors of Jenghiz Khan, in the empire of the Moguls, who reigned in Great Tatar, breaking off with Koplai Khan, the fourth emperor: he breaks off as abruptly with Amîr Timûr (or Tamerlan), without informing us who were his successors in Ma-wara'nahr, till it was conquered by Shahbakht Soltan, above fourscore years after.

Of all the Khans who had reigned in Kashgar of the race of Jenghiz Khan, he mentions none but Togalak Timûr Khan, and his son Kezra Khoja Khan, who succeeded Amîr Timûr: but as for those who came after Kezra Khoja Khan, he only observes, that they were of his posterity: nay, he confesses himself ignorant of the successors of Haji Gheray, Khan of Kipjâk (who died about 1475) farther than that the Khans of Krim are sprung from one of his sons; although the Khans of Karazm, and Great Bukharia, are collateral branches of the same family, being all descended from Juji Khan, son of Jenghiz Khan. One might have expected this author would have carried back the history of his country into its flourishing times, and given an account of the empire of the Karazmians, which continued for about one hundred and thirty-eight years, under seven, some say nine monarchs, and was not inferior to that of the Moguls for extent, when Jenghiz Khan invaded Soltan Mohammed.

There is also, in this history, an omission of several other successions, particularly those of Turkistan, the Kalmuks (or Eluths) and the Mongols; besides, the dates of reigns are very rarely mentioned: but these defects are recompensed by a recital of a great many particulars, which are to be met with no where else; for, besides a circumstantial history of the Uzbeks, his ancestors, who have reigned over Karazm since Shah Bakht Soltan conquered it, we have intermixed with it, in a good measure, that of Ma-wara'nahr also, on occasion of the almost continual wars between these two neighbouring states: by means of which we are able to rectify several mistakes in the history of the Uzbek Khans, who have reigned in that country, taken from the Persian historians<sup>5</sup>, and to bring them down to the time of our author. To this may be added several particulars, occasionally mentioned, relating to the form of government, manner of fighting, and other customs among the Tatars.

With regard to the geography of Karazm, to which before we were almost entirely strangers, there is not a town, or scarce any place of note in that country, but what is

<sup>1</sup> Hejrah 918; but in the original it is 911, which must be a mistake.

Turks, &c. p. 226.

<sup>3</sup> The same, p. 420, et seq.

<sup>4</sup> See Green, p. 407. note p.

<sup>5</sup> By

Teixeira, De la Croix, D'Herbelot, and some others.

mentioned upon occasion of some warlike action or other, or of the frequent partitions that have been made of them. We knew not, before this author discovered it to us, that the river Amû divides itself into two branches in the country of Karazm; and that one of them having quitted its ancient course to the Caspian Sea, turns northward, and throws itself into the lake of Aral. As in the second part there is a large account of the Turkish hords, so the ninth contains many notices relating to the Turkman tribes<sup>1</sup>. The reader will find, by this critique on our author, that when we have laid before him the following summary of the Uzbek Khans of Karazm, we shall have given him an abstract of the most valuable parts of his genealogical history of the Turks, or (as it is called by his translators) of the Tatars.

1. *The Khans of Kipjak, and Origin of the Uzbeks.*

*Zuzi Khan. — Batu Khan. — Burga Khan. — Mengu Timûr Khan. — Tuda Mengû Khan. — Uzbek Khan. — Janibek Khan. — Birdibek Khan. — Urûs Khan. — Toktamish Khan. — Kaverchik Khan. — Haji Garay Khan.*

TO deduce the history of the Uzbek Khans of Karazm with greater distinctness, it will be necessary to ascend as high as Zuzi, or Juji<sup>2</sup> Khan, eldest son of Jenghiz Khan, who, as it hath been already observed, settled in Kipjâk, and died before his father<sup>3</sup>. On the news of this accident, Jenghiz Khan sent his own brother to create Batu, Khan of that country, in his father Zuzi's stead. Soon after the conqueror himself dying, Batu (or Batu Saghin Khan, as our author names him) having left Togay Timûr, his youngest brother, regent, went with the other five to Karakoram<sup>4</sup>, to assist in the election of Ugaday, or Oktay Khan, whom they afterwards followed in his expedition against Kitay. Ugaday, pleased with the bravery of Batu, at his return gave him a numerous army to subdue the Urus's, Cherkas, and Bulgars<sup>5</sup>; which having done, and filled the west with the fame of his great exploits, he returned to Kok-orda, the capital of Dasht Kipjâk<sup>6</sup>, where he died some time after.

His brother Burga, who succeeded by the choice of his subjects (and reigned with much glory, dreaded by his neighbours) going some time after to visit Koplay Khan, whose consent he had obtained<sup>7</sup>, he was so touched with the discourse of some Bukharian merchants whom he met on the road, that at his return he ordered his subjects to embrace Mohammedism, having brought over his brother Togay Timûr on the way: but he died before he could accomplish his design, after a reign of twenty-five years.

He was succeeded by his brother Mengu Timûr, a prince of much courage and conduct. This Khan gave a branch of the tribe of Akorda to Bahâdur Khan, son of his brother Sheybani Khan; and to Oran Khan, son of Togay Timûr, the cities of Kaffa and Krim. After this, marching against the Bulgars, in two years he made considerable conquests on that side. Then turning towards Iran<sup>8</sup>, Abka<sup>9</sup> Khan, who reigned there, came to an amicable agreement with him, which continued during his life. After his death Ahmed, son of Hulaku Khan, who had embraced Mohammedism, having ob-

<sup>1</sup> History of the Turks, &c. pref. p. 12, et seq. <sup>2</sup> Written also Chuchi and Tushi. <sup>3</sup> See Green, p. 428. a; and 444. b. <sup>4</sup> In the original, Karakum. <sup>5</sup> Russians, Chirkassians, and Bulgarians, which last dwelt on the east side of the Wolga, about Samara. <sup>6</sup> Or, the plain of Kipjâk, this being a level country, like one extended large plain. It is called also Kipchâk, or Kapchâk. <sup>7</sup> Koplay reigned at Karakoram, and though the empire of Jenghiz Khan was divided into three or four parts, their Khans depended on him as the grand Khan, or Khaan, as some style him. <sup>8</sup> Or, Persia at large. <sup>9</sup> Or, Abaka, as others spell the name.

tained the crown of Irân, Argûn, son of Abka, slew him, and ascended the throne. At this news Mengu Timûr Khan sent an army of eighty thousand men towards the frontiers of that country; but being met by Argûn with all his forces, it was defeated at Karabagh; which so afflicted Mengu Timur, that soon after he died <sup>1</sup>.

His successor was Tuda Mengu, son of Batu Saghin Khan. As this prince overloaded his subjects with taxes, Toktagû, son of Mengu Timûr Khan, thought it his duty to represent to him the injustice of such conduct: but Tuda Mengu took it so ill, that the other was obliged to leave the country. However, returning not long after with a powerful army, Tuda Mengu lost both the battle and his life. Hereupon Toktagû got himself acknowledged Khan of the Kipjâks. He reigned six years with great applause, and conquered many neighbouring cities: but dying in the midst of his victories, he was buried at Sharifarayzik, pursuant to his last directions.

He was succeeded by his son Uzbek Khan; who, though but thirteen years old, reigned with great prudence. He introduced the Mohammedan worship throughout his dominions: and this it was gave rise to the name of Uzbeks, which his subjects took from him. He tried his fortune twice against Abufayed Khan of Irân to no purpose, and died at his return from the second expedition.

His son Janibek <sup>2</sup>, who was a good prince, fixed his court at Sharifarayzik. Malek Ashrâf, son of Timûr Tash, who had usurped the throne of Adhribijan, in Persia, reigning tyrannically, a priest, who had fled with others into Kipjâk, wrought so upon Janibek, by a minatory sermon, that the Khan, instantly assembling all his forces, marched against Ashrâf; who being overthrown and killed, his treasure, amounting, in gold and jewels only, to four hundred camel-loads, were divided among the Uzbeks. He died soon after his return, in 1356 <sup>3</sup>, having reigned seven years.

Birdîbek, his son, who had been left to govern the Persian provinces, repairing to Kipjâk, two years after, was received as Khan, pursuant to his father's desire. This prince giving himself up to tyranny and a brutish life, put to death all his relations, for fear any of them should attempt to dethrone him: so that dying in 1360 <sup>4</sup>, the effect of his debaucheries, there was none left of Mengu Timûr's posterity to succeed him.

Hereupon, Urûs Khan, the fourth in descent from Togay Timûr before mentioned, seized the throne, and reigned peaceably for some years; till, at length, Toktamish <sup>5</sup>, another descendant of Toga, in the same degree, attempted to dispossess him; but being beaten, fled to Amûr Timûr, who reigned at Samarkant in Mawara'nahr. Urûs Khan followed him at a great rate; of which Idighi Mangap <sup>6</sup> giving Timûr notice, he sent Toktamish with a numerous army; who gaining the battle, in which the Khan had lost his life, he found no difficulty of obtaining his ends in 1375 <sup>7</sup>. Yet, after this, taking the opportunity when Amûr Timûr was with all his forces invading Irân, he entered Mawara'nahr, and, having reduced Samarkant, caused many of the inhabitants to be slain. On the news of Timûr's approach he retreated; but was so hotly pursued by the other, that he was overtaken on the banks of the Atel (or Wolga) and his army defeated in spite of his resolution <sup>8</sup> and conduct.

Toktamish left eight sons; but Kaverchick, son of Urûs Khan, seized the throne. His son Barak succeeded him. After whom, Makhmat, descended from Togoy Timûr, by his son Awaz Timûr, got possession; but he dying, Abufayd, furnamed Janibek Khan,

<sup>1</sup> History of the Turks, &c. p. 193, et seq.

<sup>2</sup> In the translations, Dsanibek.

<sup>3</sup> Hejrah 758.

<sup>4</sup> Hejrah 762.

<sup>5</sup> Or, Tokatmish, as in the History of Timûr Bek

<sup>6</sup> He is called Aydeku

(or Idiku) in the history of Timûr Bek, vol. i. p. 182.

<sup>7</sup> Hejrah 777.

<sup>8</sup> This Khan beat the

Russians several times, and took from the Czar Demetrius Ivanowitz, the towns of Moscow, and Wolodimer, in 1382.

fon of Barak Khan, enjoyed the sceptre. He left nine fons; from the fifth of whom, named Janish Soltan, the Uzbeks say, the Khans of Turkestân are descended. His successor was Ghiathaddîn<sup>1</sup>, fon of Timûrtash, fon of Makhmat Khan; and after him reigned his fon Haji Garay, who had eight fons, viz. Dawlatyar, Nûr Dawlat Khan, Hayder Khan, Kutluk Samman, Kildish, Mengli Garay Khan, Yamgurzi, and Awaz Timûr. These, at their father's death, divided his dominions; but did not enjoy them long, for the Russians seized all the country of Kipjêk in 1553<sup>2</sup>: from which time we hear no more of the descendants of Haji Garay, farther than that the khans of Krim are sprung from him<sup>3</sup>.

2. *History of the Uzbeks, till their Settlement in Karazm.*

*Batu Saghin Khan; — his Conquests in Europ. — Sheybani Khan. — Abu'lgayir Khan. — Arabshâh. — Yedigâr Khan.*

ZUSI Khan<sup>4</sup> (eldest fon of Jenghîz Khan, who settled in Kipjak during his father's life) had formed the design of making war upon the Cherkas<sup>5</sup>, Bashîrs<sup>6</sup>, Urûs's<sup>7</sup>, and other bordering nations; and for that end had caused a prodigious quantity of provisions to be gotten ready: but death preventing him, Jenghîz Khan resolved, that Batu, fon of Zuzi, called by our author Batu Saghin Khan, should prosecute the affair; and the conqueror's death having also obstructed it, Ugada (or Okta) after his return from his expedition into Kitay, sent Batu<sup>8</sup> into those parts with a numerous army; who having taken many cities from the Urûs's, at length sat down before Moskow, near which the Urûs's, with their allies, the Nemetzs<sup>9</sup>, had intrenched themselves.

Batu having tried in vain, for three months, to force them, his brother Sheybani procured of him a reinforcement of six thousand men; then causing all his troops to alight, at day-break attacked the enemy behind, while Batu charged them in front with such bravery that they fled, after losing seventy thousand of their best soldiers. This great victory rendered the conquest of several other cities and provinces easy. After his return, loaded with riches and glory, Orda, surnamed Itzen, eldest fon of Zuzi, to reward Sheybani's good services, made him a present of fifteen thousand families: Batu did the like, and gave him all the places conquered from the Russians and their allies; with as many people out of the tribes of the Kuris, Naymans, Karliks, and Vigûrs, as were necessary for the guard of those towns, and support of his court: but on condition that, settling in the country, between his dominions and the lands of Orda-Itzen, he should pass the summer about the mountains of Aral, and the river Jaik; and the winter more to the south, about Karakum<sup>10</sup>, Arakum, and the rivers Sîr and Sara Sû. Accordingly he sent one of his fons to take possession of the Russian and Nemetzian cities, where he and his descendants dwelt; but, because of the distance, the author could not tell where they were situated.

Sheybani, who left twelve fons, was succeeded by Bahâdur his second; and Bahâdur Khan by Badakul, the eldest of his four. After Badakul Khan, his only fon Mengu Timûr (for his wit and courage called Kutluk Mengu Timûr,) ascended the throne.

<sup>1</sup> In the translations, Giasudin.    <sup>2</sup> Hejrah 961.    <sup>3</sup> History of the Turks, as before, p. 197, et seq.    <sup>4</sup> Called also Juji, and Chuchi.    <sup>5</sup> Chirkassians.    <sup>6</sup> Bashkirs, a tribe of Turks, or Tatars, called Paskatir by Rubruquis, dwelling in the north part of the kingdom of Astrakan.    <sup>7</sup> Russians.    <sup>8</sup> Batu, Khan of Kipjak, had accompanied Oktay in that expedition, with five of his brothers.    <sup>9</sup> By Nemetzs, are to be understood the Germans. The Arabs call Germans, Nemshah.    <sup>10</sup> Or, Black Land; some depart toward Kipjak.

He had six sons, from the last of whom, Bekkondi, was descended Kujum Khan<sup>1</sup>, who, after forty years' reign in the country of Turan<sup>2</sup>, becoming blind of age, was driven out by the Russians in 1594<sup>3</sup>, and retired to the Mankats<sup>4</sup>. Mengu Timûr dying, Fulad, his third son, succeeded. After whose death, his sons Dawlat Sheikh Oglân, and Arabshah, divided the dominions; dwelling in summer towards the river Jaïk, and in winter about the Sîr.

Dawlat Sheykh had a son named Abu'lgayir, who made himself formidable to all his neighbours. He had eleven sons. Shabadakh Soltan, the eldest, had two: the elder, called Mahamet<sup>5</sup>, surnamed Shah-bakht; the other Mahamet Soltan, whose son, Oheyd Khan, reigned in great Bukhâria. The second son of Abu'lgayir was Khoja Mahamet; but being exceeding foolish, the Uzbeks called him Khoja Amtintak. His son Janib-k was as foolish as his father, and Iskander Khan, Janibek's son, was no less silly than his father and grandfather; but he was very devout, and loved hunting and hawking. His son was Abdalla Khan, whose son Abdalmumîn Khan was the last of that branch of Sheybani Khan; of which two Princes, who were men of parts, mention will be made hereafter.

Arab Shah, son of Fulad, was succeeded by his son Haji Taulay, and had his son Timûr Sheykh for his successor. Timûr Sheykh Khan was a Prince of great hopes, but reigned not long, having been killed in a rencounter with two thousand Kalmuks<sup>6</sup>. Dying young, and without issue, all his subjects retired to other Princes, except the Vigûrs; who at length coming also to take their leave of the Khan's widow, she informed them that she was three months gone with child. Hereupon they resolved to stay till her delivery; when being brought to bed of a son, called Yadigar, they sent word to the Naymâns, who returned to their obedience, having hovered about in the interim to wait the event; and ever since the Vigûrs have complimented them with the left-hand, which is the most honourable post<sup>7</sup>.

Yadigar Khan had four sons. The first, named Burga Soltan, was a Prince of much courage. His breast was formed of one single bone. He lived in the time of Abu'lgayir Khan, above-mentioned, who yet was much older. Abufayd Mirza, descended from Amir Timûr, who then reigned in Mawara 'lnahr, after slaying Abdalatîf Mirza, over-ran the whole country, and forced his son Mirza Mahamet Zuki to fly for refuge to Abu'lgayir<sup>8</sup>, whose wife was Zuki's aunt. Some time after, news being brought that Abufayd had marched, with all his forces, towards Khorasân, and from thence to Mazanderân; Abu'lgayir sent thirty thousand men, under Burga Soltan, with Mirza Mahamet Zuki, towards Tashkant (or al Shâsh), which surrendered without opposition. Proceeding to Shah Rûkhiya (or Fenakant) it was soon taken. They then passed the Sîr, and turned towards Samarkant, whose governor Amîr Masîet, advancing to meet them, was entirely defeated. After this they took all the towns of the countries of Kuzin, Karmina<sup>9</sup>, and Mawara 'lnahr<sup>10</sup>.

Abufayd Mirza, who on the first news turned back, being arrived at Balkh, Burga Soltan was for preventing his passage of the Amû: but Zuki, contrary to his advice, repassed the Sîr, and got into Shah Rukhya, which after four months' siege, surrendered to Abufayd in 1455<sup>11</sup>. Some time after, Musabi, who lived in the dominions

<sup>1</sup> In the translation, Kutziun Khan.

<sup>2</sup> Rather Tura in Siberia.

<sup>3</sup> Hejrah 1003.

<sup>4</sup> Or,

Kara-kalpaks.

<sup>5</sup> The same as Mohammed, but much used in that form in Persia.

<sup>6</sup> It is this

nickname which the Uzbeks have given the Eluths, who in return call them Hassak-pûrûk.

<sup>7</sup> His-

tory of the Turks, &c. p. 205, et seq.

<sup>8</sup> This happened about 1449.

<sup>9</sup> Places in Great Buk-

hâria, towards Karazm.

<sup>10</sup> It is Arabic, and signifies Transoxana, or, literally, the country beyond the river, meaning the Jihûn, now Amû, and is restrained commonly to Great Bukhâria.

<sup>11</sup> Hejrah 860.

of Yadigar Khan, having been defeated by Khojash Mirza, another lord, fled to Burga Soltan for succour. Burga having first gotten his father to be proclaimed Khan, took the field with his troops; and though they suffered greatly, it being the depth of winter, he would not turn back till he had met with his friend's enemy, whom he defeated and killed.

Meanwhile Abu'lgayir Khan was become so formidable to all the neighbouring Princes, that uniting their forces, they declared war against him; and having defeated his troops, put him to death, with such of his children as fell into their hands. On this occasion Burga Soltan, desirous to fish in troubled water, appropriated to himself some lands and subjects belonging to Abu'lgayir Khan, notwithstanding the great friendship which had always subsisted between them; and that action cost him his life: for some years after Shah Bakht Soltan, returning to the dominions of his grandfather Abu'lgayir, all the ancient subjects of that Prince came and submitted to him. He, for a long time, dissembled his resentment, waiting for an opportunity of revenge.

At length, in 1481<sup>1</sup>, Burga Soltan having fixed his winter-quarters near his own, on the river Sir, Shah Bakht ordered a number of his people to attend him, under pretence of a hunting-match next day: but setting forward at midnight, he of a sudden turned towards Burga Soltan's camp, telling his soldiers that he was going to attack that Prince, and forbidding them to plunder till they had secured his person. Arriving thither at day-break, he pressed directly forward to his tents: but Burga, on hearing the noise, jumped out of bed, and wrapping himself in a robe of sable, passed out of one side of the tent as the soldiers entered the other. In this condition he fled to a pond at some distance, and hid himself in the reeds, but had wounded his foot in the way. His pursuers having met with a Vigûr of distinction, called Munga, he told them, that he was the person they looked for; and being asked by Shah Bakht, who easily perceived the deceit, his reasons for so acting, replied, "He had so many obligations to Burga Soltan, that he thought it his duty to risk any thing to deliver him out of danger; and judged that his personating him would create a delay that might secure his escape."

This answer exceedingly pleased Shah Bakht, and gave him a high idea of that man's virtue: however, he sent again to search after Burga Soltan; and, as it had snowed that night, the soldiers happened to discover the prints of bare feet, and following the tract, found at length drops of blood, which brought them to the place where he lay concealed. Shah Bakht caused him to be put to death immediately, and seized all his subjects<sup>2</sup>.

## SECT. VI. — THE UZBEK KHANS OF KARAZM; WITH THE SEVERAL REVOLUTIONS IN THAT STATE.

### 1. *The Khans from Ilbars to Avanaß Khan.*

*Shahbakh's Conquests. — Revolution in Karazm. — Ilbars elected Khan. — The Country subdued. — Soltan Haji Khan. — Hassan Kuli Khan. — Division of Karazm. — The Turkmans submit. — Buzuga Khan's Alliance with Shah Tamaß. — Avanaß Khan. — Din Mahamet Soltan kills Mahamet Ghâzi. — Ali Soltan slain. — Burga Soltan's Pestilence forced out of Karazm: — restored by Obeyd Khan. — Din Mahamet Soltan takes Kayûk: — attacks and defeats Obeyd Khan's Army. — An Uzbek Champion: — their Princes restored.*

BURGA SOLTAN left two sons, Ilbars and Bilbars, surnamed Bilikatz, because he became lame in his feet by a fit of sickness when young. These two brothers were

<sup>1</sup> Hejrah 886.

<sup>2</sup> History of the Turks, &c. p. 212, et seq.

very brave, and lived on lands belonging to their father's dominions as private men. Meantime Shahbakht Soltan, having grown powerful by a long train of victories over all the neighbouring Princes, subdued Mawara'nahr, driving out the descendants of Amîr Timûr<sup>2</sup>. Some years after Soltan Hossèyn Mirza, another of his posterity, who reigned in Khorafân, dying, Shahbakht entered his dominions<sup>3</sup> with a powerful army; and having conquered the greater part of it, put all his numerous family to death excepting two or three. Then he marched into Karazm, which depended on Khorafân; and taking Urjenz, fixed a governor there.

Five or six years after this second revolution<sup>4</sup>, Shah Ismaël of Persia having entered those provinces with a numerous army, Shahbakht Soltan met him near the city of Marû; but lost the battle, with his life<sup>5</sup>. Hereupon the governor of Urjenz flying, the Shah sent a governor to Khayuk and Hazarab, and two others to Urjenz and Wazîr. The governor of this last city, on his arrival, gave the principal inhabitants a sumptuous feast, and made them presents. Omâr the Kadi<sup>6</sup>, who absented himself, pretending to be indisposed, sent for some of them next day, and represented, that their religion was in danger from this governor, Shah Ismaël having changed the faith<sup>7</sup> thirteen years before. The citizens, alarmed at the thoughts of innovations, went, two years after, to a person noted for piety, in the province of Bakirgan, proposing to make him Khan, and cut the throats of the Persian garrison. But he rejected the offer, and advised them to elect Ilbars, son of Burga Soltân, whom he recommended for his good qualities; having often seen him in his annual journies into the country of the Uzbeks<sup>8</sup>, where he went to beg.

The burghers taking the holy man's advice, dispatched two of their number to Ilbars with a letter, inviting him to repair to Wazîr. Ilbars set out immediately with the deputies, and stopped near that city; while the conspirators, who were the principal lords, causing the inhabitants to take up arms, cut the throats of the governor and all his men. Next day they set out to meet Ilbars, who being joyfully received both by the Sarts and Uzbeks, was proclaimed Khan in the year 1505<sup>9</sup>, which is that called Koy<sup>10</sup>, or the sheep. Wazîr had then depending on it, of all its towns, only Tarfak and Yanghi-shahr; which last was given to Bilbars Soltân<sup>11</sup>.

Three months after, Ilbars Khan advancing to Urjenz, defeated the governor's army; and entering the city, put all the Persians, with the principal inhabitants, who had assisted them, to the sword: but finding he had not men enough to secure his conquests, most of the Uzbeks being subject to his uncles, he invited the sons of Abulak, and Amunak<sup>12</sup>, to share in his success; giving up to them Urjenz, and its dependencies, and returning to reside at Wazîr. The new-come Princes, by their incursions, so incommoded the governors of Khayuk and Hazarab, that they abandoned those towns. After this, they invaded Khorafân, on the death of Shah Ismaël, and took all the towns

<sup>1</sup> Called Shay-bek, and Shay-beg, by some authors.

<sup>2</sup> Mirza Babor, after being forced out by him, settled in India, where he founded the monarchy of the Mogols.

<sup>3</sup> In 1507. Hejah 913.

<sup>4</sup> In 1510. Hejah 916; according to D'Herbelot, at the instigation of Badi-azzamon, Hossèyn's son.

<sup>5</sup> This Prince, whom D'Herbelot, p. 771, calls Shay-bek Khan, laid the foundation of the Uzbek power in Great Pukhâria and Karazm. He entered those provinces with a powerful army in 1494, and in four years entirely subdued them. He reigned there twelve years, viz. from 1498 to 1510.

<sup>6</sup> Or, judge.

<sup>7</sup> Making Ali the true successor of Mohammed, instead of Abubeker, Omar, and Othmân, whom he reckoned usurpers: a point of vast importance among Mohammedans.

<sup>8</sup> They then inhabited all Kipjak, or Kapchak, from the Sir to the Irtysh.

<sup>9</sup> Hejah 911.

<sup>10</sup> See the Mongol kalendar, p. 400.

<sup>11</sup> History of the Turks, &c. p. 220, et seq.

<sup>12</sup> The brothers of Burga Soltan. Abulak had one son, and Amunak six.

Between Duruhn<sup>1</sup> and the mountains, west of the city Khorafân<sup>2</sup>. But they were vigorously opposed, as well by the Turkmâns, who possessed the towns on the borders of the provinces of Astrabâd and Khorafân, as those who dwelt towards Abulkhan and Mankishlak. Bilbars Soltan was in most of these actions; and though lame, led on his troops bravely, being carried in a light chariot, accompanied only with five or six chosen men.

The two brothers died within a little while of each other, and left several sons. Ilbars Khan was succeeded by Soltan Haji, son of Bilbars, who was eldest of all the family<sup>3</sup>, and proclaimed at Wazîr. But as he had only a few subjects, the power fell into the hands of Soltan Ghâzi, eldest son of Ilbars Khan, a Prince of great genius.

After the death of Haji Khan, Hassankûli, son of Abulak, who reigned in Urjenz, was declared Khan, as being the eldest Prince of the house of Yadigar Khan. But though they all obeyed one Khan, each had his own dominion: and as Hassankûli's revenue greatly exceeded theirs, they, at length, grew uneasy at it, and, joining their forces, laid siege to Urjenz. Famine having caused a great desertion of his men, at four months' end, the enemy gave a general assault; and taking the city, after a brave resistance, made a great slaughter. They likewise put to death the Khan and his eldest son, banishing the rest into Great Bukhâria.

They likewise agreed on a new division of the cities of Karazm. To the descendants of Burga Soltan fell those of Wazîr, Yanghi-shahr, Tarsak, and Duruhn, with the Turkmâns of Mankishlak. The posterity of Amunak had all the other towns, viz. Urjenz, Khayuk, Hazarab, Kât, Buldumfas, Nikitzkata, Boyunda, Bagabad, Nafay<sup>4</sup>, Iburdu<sup>5</sup>, Zabarda, and Mahana, with the Turkmâns of the countries of Abulkhan and Dehistan.

Hereupon Safian Soltan, eldest son of Amunak, who succeeded Hassankûli Khan, sent to tell those of Abulkhân, that unless they agreed to pay a yearly tribute, he would destroy their habitations. The Turkmâns voluntarily assenting themselves, sent him the sum as a free gift: but the Khan not content with such precarious contribution, sent next year forty men to levy it both in Abulkhân and Dehistan. These tax-gatherers having dispersed themselves through the countries, the Turkmâns cut all their throats at the same instant. Upon this news Safian Khan marched against them with an army, and arriving at the first habitations of them along the Amû, to the west of Urjenz, met, at first, with much resistance; but, at length, the Turkmâns fled to the mountain Dsu (or Ju), three stages north of Abulkhân; where being distressed, they submitted to pay forty thousand sheep yearly, viz. the tribes of Taka, Sarik, and Yamut, eight thousand; Irfari, and Khorafân Saluri, sixteen thousand each.

The other tribes agreed also to pay in the following proportions: Jtzki Saluri, ten thousand; Hafan, sixteen thousand; Ikdar and Dfaudar, twelve thousand; Arabaz, four thousand; Koklan, twelve thousand; Adakli, twelve thousand; besides a tenth more each, for the Khan's kitchen. As for the tribes called Utzil, or three branches, who dwelt on the Amû, it was stipulated, that Adaklikhiffer-illi should furnish yearly a certain number of soldiers for the Khan's service, while those of Ali-illi, and Tiuzazi, should pay their contribution in merchandizes<sup>6</sup>.

<sup>1</sup> Or, Daraan, and Dergan.

Bawerd, in latitude thirty-nine degrees.

except in extraordinary cases.

Turks, &c. p. 229, et seq.

<sup>2</sup> De l'Isle places this city, or the remains of it, near Abiwerd, or

<sup>3</sup> The eldest of the reigning family is always chosen Khan.

<sup>4</sup> Or, Nefa.

<sup>5</sup> Abiwerd, or Bawerd.

<sup>6</sup> History of the

Safian Khan dying, left five sons : but his brother Buzzuga Soltan succeeded him. Obeyd Khan <sup>1</sup>, who then reigned in Great Bukhâria, took about that time some towns of Khorafân, which his Uzbeks continually ravaged. On the other side, those of Iburdu, Nafay, and Duruhn, belonging to Karazm, no less annoyed the inhabitants of Khojan and Esferain <sup>2</sup>, towards the borders of Ghilkupruk province, Nafay being but one day's journey distant. Shah Tahmasp <sup>3</sup>, unable to remedy these disorders, because he was in war with the Soltan of Rûm <sup>4</sup>, resolved to make an alliance with the Uzbeks : accordingly he dispatched an envoy to Urjenz, to demand a Princess in marriage ; saying, his master thought it a great honour to wed a lady of the blood of Tenghiz Khan, after the example of Amîr Timûr ; who, on that occasion, got the name of Kuragan <sup>5</sup>.

Buzzuga accepting the proposal in favour of his niece Aysla-bika, daughter of Safian Khan, because he had none of his own, sent Akish Soltan, one of his brothers, and nine vassal lords, to the Persian court, to finish this alliance. The Shah received that Prince with great distinction, and made him a present of the town of Khojan. He sent to Buzzuga Khan ten wedges of gold, and as many of silver, each as large as a tile ; with ten fine horses, whose saddles and harness were trimmed with gold. To his spouse he sent nine pieces of cloth of gold, a thousand pieces of silks, and abundance of magnificent habits. After which, she was conducted to the Shah's court.

Buzzuga Khan dying, after a twenty-seven years' reign, Avanasli Khan, his brother, was proclaimed. His eldest son, Din Mahamet, who had an early genius for war, when he was nineteen years old, resolved to make an incursion with forty men towards Astarabâd. Passing the south branch of the Amû, at Sidalik Taka, he met a man belonging to a lord of Mahamet Ghazi Soltan, who resided at Duruhn, driving nine camels and thirty sheep. Observing a yellow goat among them, he begged it for his people's subsistence : but the fellow refusing him, he ordered them to beat him, and take all his drove. Din Mahamet pursued his journey, and had success : but on his return was met on the road by a party sent out by Mahamet Ghazi, who took all his booty of cattle, and himself prisoner, letting his followers go their way. Being brought before the Soltan, he, for a time, confined him ; and then having punished him, sent him, under a guard of six men, to his father Avanasli Khan, with orders to tell him, that he had sent him his Tugma <sup>6</sup>, after punishing him for invading the Persian territories, without his permission, and stripping some of his people.

Din Mahamet, impatient to be at liberty, from time to time made great outcries, that if any of his men had stopped on the road they might come to his assistance. On the other hand, every time he made a noise, the lord who conducted him bawled out Risha. This Din Mahamet taking as done to insult him, one day, when his guards were asleep in the country of Gordish, some of his men, who knew his voice, and had followed him, coming up, they cut all their throats, and buried their corpses out of the way. His father, who did not love him, on his return, having asked how he got out of the scrape, he answered that Mahamet Ghazi, who had been angry with him, being soon reconciled, had sent him back with a present of some horses, and habits ; which his father believed to be truth.

<sup>1</sup> He was the son of Mohammed Soltan, brother of Shah-bakht Soltan, who conquered Great Bukhâria, as before related. <sup>2</sup> This last place lies near the borders of Jorjan in Persia. <sup>3</sup> Or, Tahmasb : in the translations, Tamasp. This was Shah Tamas I. of Persia.

<sup>4</sup> So the Asiatics style the Othmân Emperor, because possessed of what they call the Roman empire. <sup>5</sup> Others write Kurkhân, and Gurkhân ; which signifies the son-in-law, and relation of the Khan.

<sup>6</sup> Tugma signifies a child born of a bought slave, as Din Mahamet had been.

After this Din Mahamet getting two seals engraved, one with his father's cypher, the other with that of his mother-in-law, who was sister of Mahamet Ghazi; he wrote letters to the Soltan, in both their names, to let him know that she was sick, and desired earnestly to see him. Her brother instantly set forward, and arriving in an evening when the Khan was out a hawking, went directly to his sister's apartment. Perceiving her to be very well, and she telling him she had sent no letter, he began to suspect some treachery, and left her that instant, with design to take horse again: but hearing much noise in the great street, which faced the castle, he made to the Khan's stables, thinking to escape by a back-door that opened into a bye-lane; which being full of people, he hid himself in a heap of dung that lay in a corner of the stable<sup>1</sup>.

Din Mahamet, who had seen the Soltan go up to his sister's apartment, followed with some of his forty men; and not finding him there, was told by the women slaves that he was gone towards the stables; where, after much search, one of them perceiving a bit of his scarlet robe sticking out of the dung, went and told Din Mahamet, who came and slew him on the spot. Upon this news, one of Mahamet Ghazi's men ran to Wazîr to inform his brother Soltan Ghazi; who, in revenge, slew Ali Soltan (son of Safian Khan) his wife's brother, just then come to visit her. Avanasb Khan being informed, at his return from the sport, of what had happened, and that Din Mahamet was fled, assembled his council: but they had scarce come to a resolution what was proper to be done on the occasion, when a courier arrived with the news of the murder of Ali Soltan, which threw them into farther confusion.

Meantime the Khan's nephews, being informed of what had happened at Urjenz and Wazîr, and foreseeing that a civil war was likely to ensue, repaired to Urjenz; from whence, on the other hand, Mahamet Ghâzi's people retired to Wazîr. Avanasb, for his part, had no inclination for a war; but his nephews, in some measure, forced him to raise an army, and march towards that city. On this news, Soltan Ghâzi sent to the descendants of Bilbars Soltan at Yanghi Shahr: but without staying for them, with what troops he had, advanced to meet the Khan as far as the province of Kunkant, to the west of Wazîr, where coming to an engagement, he lost the battle, and was there killed, with fifteen Princes descended from Ilbars Khan. His sons Omar Ghâzi Soltan, and Shîr Ghâzi Soltan, with two daughters, falling into the hands of Akattay Soltan, brother of the Khan, he sent them into Great Bukhâria.

The other Princes, who made haste to join Soltan Ghâzi, hearing of his disaster, fled also into Great Bukhâria, not daring to return to Yanghi Shahr. After which, the descendants of Amunak put to death all the posterity of Burga Soltan, who fell into their hands, excepting the women, whom they kept as captives. Thus was the race of Ilbars, once so numerous, almost extinguished, at least none of them were to be found in Karazm. After so great a revolution the country was divided among the descendants of Amunak; and Din Mahamet Soltan had for his share the city of Duruhn.

Meantime Omar Ghâzi Soltan, son of Soltan Ghâzi, arriving in Great Bukhâria, put himself into the service of Obeyd Khan<sup>2</sup>; and though but fifteen years old, signalized himself on several occasions. He bestirred himself so effectually in his own behalf, that at last the Khan, in conjunction with Juanmart, Khan of Samarkant, Barak, Khan of Tashkant, and the Prince of Hissar, entered Karazm with their united forces. On the news of their approach, the Princes possessed of Khayuk, Hazarab, and other neighbour-

<sup>1</sup> History of the Turks, &c. p. 239, et seq.

<sup>2</sup> He was nephew to Shah-bakht Soltan, and son of a grandson of Abu'lgayir Khan; which last is the common ancestor of the Uzbek Princes settled in Great Bukhâria.

ing towns, repaired with their troops to join Avanash Khan; but he not daring to wait the enemy's coming, retired into the deserts. The confederates arriving at Urjenz, detached some troops after the fugitive Princes; who being taken Obeyd Khan made a division of them; and as Avanash Khan fell to Omar Ghâzi's share, he instantly put him to death. The Khan gave Urjenz to his son Abdalazîz Soltan, and one of the four Uzbék tribes, who dwelt in Karazm, to each of the four invading powers, who having appointed their intendants over them, returned to their own dominions.

When Avanash Khan was made prisoner, his two sons, Mahmûd and Ali, took refuge with Din Mahamet Soltan their eldest brother, at Duruhn; whither also fled Yussuf and Yunus, two sons of Safian Khan, with other Princes and young men of quality: but Khal Soltan and Akatty Soltan, brothers of Avanash, were carried into Great Bukhâria, with all the children of the latter, except Hajim Soltan, who being then eighteen years of age, put on mean cloaths, and retired to an old domestic of his father's, whose horses he kept, as if one of his slaves; till the affair taking wind, his protector conveyed him to Duruhn.

Soon after this Din Mahamet, accompanied by all the refugee Princes, set out for Urjenz with two thousand men, whom he reinforced in the way by a thousand Turk-mâns: but when they came to the country of Pislîga, it appearing that their forces were too small to attack the city, and beside wanting boats to pass the Amû, they resolved to march to Khayuk: because on that side there was no need of boats, and they might hope to get thither undiscovered, as but few people dwelt on that road.

At their arrival, they took the city without much difficulty, and put to death the commander with some of his garrison. With this news the governor of Hazarasb repaired to Urjenz; and Abdal Azîz Soltan fearing to fall into Din Mahamet's hands, retired into Great Bukhâria. Obeyd Khan, on his son's return, immediately raised a numerous army, and marched toward Urjenz; but arriving at the Karamit Turk-mâns, stopped there with part of his forces, and sent the rest, amounting to forty thousand, under two generals to that city.

On the first advice of the enemy's march, Din Mahamet left Khayuk to go meet them: but as his forces did not exceed ten thousand, the Princes and lords who accompanied him, advised him to return to Duruhn; alledging that as soon as Obeyd Khan, who came only to secure Urjenz, perceived their retreat, he would retire also, and that then they might come back without noise, and take the city. But the Soltan persisting in his resolution to give them battle, two hundred and twenty of his principal followers alighted, and falling prostrate at his feet, entreated him to return. Having renewed their supplications in this manner three times, he at last falling into a passion, flung himself off his horse also, and taking up a handful of dust, scattered it on his head, crying out, "I devote my soul to God, and my body to the earth." Then turning to the lords who surrounded him, said, "I consider myself as a dead man, and if you esteem your lives more precious than mine, I shall not hinder you to return; but if you will share with me the glory which attends us, let us march." Hereupon remounting his horse, he continued his march, and all his army followed, shedding tears<sup>1</sup>.

Meantime Din Mahamet hearing of the enemies' approach, halted at a pond, since called Shikast-kuli, in the province of Gardankhast. He ranged his troops on the west side of the pond, which was then dried up; and having had notice before day by his scouts of the enemies' approach, divided them into two bodies, one commanded by himself,

<sup>1</sup> History of the Turks, &c. p. 249, et seq.

and the other by Juffof Soltan, which he posted on both sides of the road, and waited with profound silence. The Bukhârian army soon appeared, having at their head most of their commanders, with forty torches, which the Soltan let pass, and then fell all at once on the troops that followed; charging them so briskly, that they were soon broken, and obliged to fly, notwithstanding their great superiority.

Togay Bahadur, one of the chiefs of the Kunkurats, and the Soltan's vassal, killed sixty men in the battle with his own hand. Din Mahamet had advanced so far amongst the thickest of the enemy, that the bow fell from his side unknown to him; which Hajim Soltan, who accompanied him, having recovered, "My brother, said Din Mahamet, that which you have done to-day for me, shall be the knot of an everlasting friendship between us." He was then twenty-eight years old, and Hajim Soltan<sup>1</sup>, eighteen. This victory was complete: for besides the soldiers slain and taken, most of the principal officers of the enemy fell into the conqueror's hands; which enabled him to recover the captive Princes of the family by an exchange of prisoners. To this end the persons of distinction were suffered to go on their parole into Great Bukhâria, accompanied by Hajim Soltan; who executed his commission so well, that he brought back his father Akattay Soltan, Kahl Soltan and the rest, in<sup>2</sup> 1542<sup>3</sup>.

## 2. The Khans from Kahl Khan to Din Mahamet Khan.

*Kahl Khan.—Akattay Khan.—Yunus seizes Urjenz.—The Khan taken, and cruelly murdered.—Another Revolution.—New Division of the Cities.—Din Mahamet Khan.—His great Resolution.—Outwits Obeyd Khan's General.—His Character and Death.—Story of Abu'l Soltan.—Nâzr Mahamet Soltan dispossessed of all.—Sari Mahmûd Soltan.—Ali Soltan.—Makes Inroads into Khorasân—Defeats the Persians.—Death and Character.—His great Modesty.*

THE descendants of Amunak having recovered their possessions in Karazm, by the valour of Din Mahamet Soltan, they conferred the dignity of Khan on Kahl Soltan, who fixed his seat at Urjenz: Akattay Soltan had Wazîr; Hajim Soltan his son, Baghabâd; the descendants of Safian Khan<sup>4</sup> had Khayûk; the sons of Buzzuga Khan, Hazarâb; and Din Mahamet Soltan and his brother, the towns of Duruhn, Yaurfurdi, and Nafay.

Akattay Khan, who succeeded his brother, gave Kat to Sheykh Mahâmet and Shah Nasser, two sons of Kahl Khan<sup>5</sup>; Urjenz, with its dependents, to Ali Soltan, Avanash Khan's youngest son, continuing himself to reside at Wazîr. But he did not long enjoy the sovereignty.

Yunus Soltan, a prince of much ambition and courage, who had married the daughter of a Biyawl<sup>6</sup> of the Mankats, departed one day from Khayuk, with forty chosen men, under pretence of going to pay a visit to his father-in-law, who dwelt near Urjenz. Having passed Kât, and arrived at Tuk, which he knew then to be empty, all the inhabitants, both of the town and country, being gone towards Urjenz and Wazîr, he got upon a tower, from whence he could see Urjenz; and expressing a desire to be there, as being his native place, his men told him, they were ready to follow him wherever he pleased.

<sup>1</sup> Or, Hazim Soltan: Jenkinson writes Azim.      <sup>2</sup> Hejrah 949.      <sup>3</sup> History of the Turks, as before, p. 258, et seq.      <sup>4</sup> These were Yunus and Paluankuli, two sons of Safian.      <sup>5</sup> The *h* in Kahl seems to stand for the Arabic Alif; so in Kaht and Duruhn.      <sup>6</sup> A military charge among the Kara-kalpaks and Kafachia Orda, much like that of colonel in Europe.

Being arrived at the city about midnight, they entered the ditch on foot, and lay hid till the guards, with their torches, passed by: Then, by help of a long pole reared against the wall, they all mounted; and going directly to the house of Mahmûd Soltan (left governor by his brother Ali, who went to live at Nafay), seized and sent him to Wazîr, to the custody of Akattay Khan, whose daughter he had married. Mahmûd, who was a very wicked man, never ceased importuning the Khan to go take Urjenz, till he consented; especially, considering that Yunus had but forty men, and it was not likely the Uzbeks would assist him against their sovereign. But being advanced near the city, he there found Yunus, with a good body of troops, expecting him; and, coming to a battle, was put to flight.

Kassem, son of Yunus, by the daughter of the Khan, took upon him to pursue him; crying out, "Grandfather, where would you go in this hot weather? You had better rest yourself under some tree, and early to-morrow morning continue your journey." But Akattay Khan's answer was, "Your father has a heart as black as a pot; wherefore, if your intentions towards me be good, leave me to continue in my road, and do me no harm." Kassem finding fair means would not do, forced him to go with him to Urjenz.

Upon this news, all the Uzbeks about Urjenz having assembled tumultuously, acknowledged Yunus for their Khan, without consulting the other princes. Some days after, Yunus Khan sent to tell the four sons<sup>1</sup> of Akattay Khan, who lived at Wazîr, that though they had no desire to take him, yet they were obliged to convey him home with them, finding him quite spent with the cholic, which still violently afflicted him. Presently after, he sent four men to the house, which served for his prison, with orders to bind his hands and feet, and impale him alive, taking care that no marks of a violent death should be found on his body; which he sent to Wazîr, with many compliments of condolence to his sons; who, he supposed, would conclude their father died of the colic.

As soon as they heard of his death, they sent to their two brothers<sup>2</sup>, who resided at Baghabâd, which depended on Khorasân, to join with them in revenging the murder. They all set forward; but when Yunus found that they had passed the Amû, not daring to wait for them at Urjenz, he fled into Great Bukhâria with his brother, and the sons of Kahl Khan. On the road most of his men abandoned him, and his son Kassem lost his way, accompanied only with one man; who, under pretence of going for provisions, went to Urjenz, and betrayed him to Hajim Soltan. This prince immediately sent men to fetch him from the pond<sup>3</sup> where he lay hid, and caused him to be put to death: which revolution happened in 1549<sup>4</sup>.

The descendants of Safian, and Kahl Khan, having been thus stripped of all they enjoyed in Karazm, the children of Avanash Khan continued in possession of Duruhn and Yaurfurdî, which depended on Khorasân. The sons of Akattay Khan held Urjenz and Wazîr; and the three sons of Buzzuga Khan, Ish, Dost, and Burum, became masters of Khayuk, Hazarasb, and Kât. After which, they conferred the dignity of Khan on Din Mahamet Soltan<sup>5</sup>.

This prince, who could not sit idle, began to invade Khorasân; which obliged Shah Tahmasb to send an army thither, who took from him Yaurfurdî. As soon as the Persian troops were retired, the Khan posted to Kafwin, where the Shah resided, and prayed him to restore that city: But Tahmasb being deaf to his intreaties, he got his

<sup>1</sup> These were Fulat, Timûr, Alla-kuli, and Suleymân.  
then called Khan Zungali.

<sup>4</sup> Hejrah 956.

<sup>2</sup> Hajim and Mahmûd.

<sup>3</sup> Since  
<sup>5</sup> History of the Turks, &c. p. 261, et seq.

feal counterfeited, and then wrote a letter, in the Shah's name, to the governor of Yaurfurdi, ordering him to deliver it up to Din Mahamet Khan, and come himself to court. A few days after, while Shah Tahmasb was hunting, he slipt from the company, and, hasting with his followers to Yaurfurdi, delivered the letter; which the governor obeying, forthwith gave him up the town, and departed.

As soon as his back was turned, Din Mahamet Khan ordered the gates to be shut, and all the Persians put to the sword. At this news Shah Tahmasb set out, with a considerable army, to take revenge: but when he came to the little river Kara Su, near Mashhad<sup>1</sup>, he was informed, that the Khan was arrived in the camp with a retinue of fifty thousand horse. This news appeared so ridiculous to him, that he would not believe it, till they brought him word that prince was at his tent door. Din Mahamet Khan entering at the same time, fell on his knees before the Shah; who was so surprized at his extraordinary boldness, that, not content with putting his right hand on the Khan's left shoulder, he thrust the left into his bosom, to try if his heart did not beat; but perceiving no motion there more than what is usual, he could not avoid admiring the intrepidity of that prince. On which account, he pardoned him all that was past, and having feasted him magnificently, sent him home, next day, loaden with rich presents, conducting him in person some distance from the camp.

Some time after, Obeyd Khan, of Great Bukhâria, took Marû, and gave the command of it to Yulumbi, a chief of the Naymans: but the Khan growing jealous of him, through the suggestions of those who envied his good fortune, sent for him to court. As Yulumbi was not over hasty to obey those orders, Obeyd Khan, believing that he designed to revolt, sent an army of thirty thousand men to reduce him. Yulumbi, now put to his last shifts, had recourse for succour to Din Mahamet Khan, who set forward immediately: but having only a few troops, he ordered each of his men to cut down three small trees, and fixing one on each side of the horse, tie the third to his tail: thus they marched at a good distance from one another. The Bukhârian generals being informed, that the Khan was coming to Yulumbi's assistance, sent out their spies; who observing the marks of their march on the road, brought word, that he advanced with a very numerous army: hereupon the generals retreated as fast as they could, without seeing the enemy; and Din Mahamet having taken possession of the city, fixed his residence there for life.

Din Mahamet Khan, besides the other heroic virtues, which he possessed in a high degree, was extremely generous, gracious, and eloquent: he had withal, a peculiar brightness of wit. He died at Marû, in the year 1552<sup>2</sup>, called Sighir, or the Cow, aged forty. He left behind him two sons; the eldest called Saganda Mahamet: but, because he was not in his right senses, his brother, Abu'l Soltan, succeeded in all his father's dominions, and reigned with wisdom for several years. At length, he made an irruption with great forces into Khorafân; and, arriving at Mashhad, detached his only son, with most of the army, to penetrate deeper into the country. But having advanced as far as the river Kara Su, to the west of that city, he was met by a great army of Persians, and lost the battle, with his life; ten thousand men being slain. This news so afflicted his father, that he fell dangerously ill, beyond the help of a physician.

On this occasion, a woman at Marû produced a boy, four years old, which, she said, she had by the Soltan: who having sent for her one night to play on the harp, took a fancy to lie with her. Hereupon, one of his physicians, esteemed the most skilful in the country, ordered both the Soltan and the child to be undressed; then laying

<sup>1</sup> Or, Tus.      <sup>2</sup> Hejrah 960.

the boy on the belly of the dying prince, had a coverlet thrown over them, and began to cry out with all his force, Soltan, behold a son of yours! As he continued to do this three times a day, the sultan by degrees, recovered his former health: after which, he owned the child for his son, and called him Nûr Mahamet.

Abul Soltan dying, Nûr Mahamet succeeded him in all his dominions. But, some years after, the princes of the house of Hajim Khan united against him, under pretence, that they would not have the son of a strumpet for their brother. Nûr Mahamet finding himself unable to resist them, fled for protection to Obeyd Khan, and delivered up his four cities of Marû, Nafay, Yaurfudi, and Duruhn, imagining that the Khan would leave him in possession, and be content with receiving tribute: but finding himself deceived in his expectation, he quitted Great Bukhâria in discontent, and went to Urjenz, where he was well received by his late enemies, and lived with them five years.

At length Obeyd Khan dying, Nûr Mahamet set out to recover the four towns; in which having succeeded, he put to the sword all the Uzbeks whom he found in them, settling the Sarts and Turkmâns in their room. But Shâh Abbâs Mafi<sup>1</sup> of Persia, willing also to profit by the death of Obeyd Khan, came in person to besiege Marû, with a powerful army, and took it in forty days, with Nûr Mahamet, who had been so imprudent as to shut himself up there. After this he took the other three cities without difficulty, and sent Nûr Mahamet to Shirâz; where, with him, ended the posterity of Din Mahamet Khan, eldest son of Avanash Khan.

The second son of Avanash was Mahmûd, who being of a yellowish complexion (for all the other descendants of Amunak were of a fine brown) was called Sari Mahamet, or yellow Mahamet. This Prince was addicted to all sorts of vices: he loved liquor so well, that being one day at a house drinking braga, and somebody coming to tell him the enemy's troops were near; while the rest ran to their horses, he, with a great deal of unconcern, took a knife, and marked all the pots which had braga in them, bidding the host take care of them till his return.

Ali Soltan, the youngest of Avanash Khan's sons, possessed at divers times the cities of Nafay, Yaurfudi, Urjenz, Hazarab, and Kât. He used, every spring, to cross the Amû, and go encamp towards the borders of Khorasân; from whence he sent parties to pillage the Persians, and in autumn returned to Urjenz. He mustered the Uzbeks in his service every year, and gave each for his pay sixteen sheep, out of the contribution sheep which he received from the Turkmâns; and when they fell short, he supplied the defect by the booty-sheep taken from the Persians<sup>2</sup>.

Shah Tahmasb, on complaints made of these ravages, at length sent Bader Khan, one of his generals, with twelve thousand men, to seek out and fight Ali Soltan. This Prince, according to custom, had entered the country of Astarabâd with three thousand men, to oblige the Turkmân tribe of Okli-koklan to pay him contribution: which Bader Khan being informed of at Bastam, he turned that way. Ali Soltan was a little surprized at this news at first; but considering it was dangerous to retreat in the face of the enemy, went and possessed himself of the Kurgan. This river is very difficult to pass, being rapid as well as deep, and the banks extremely high, except in a few places where it is fordable. Our author, who often passed it, found the height of them, in many parts, above two cubits. He caused the horses and cattle to be tied behind, and employed the chariots or waggons to cover the front of his troops.

<sup>1</sup> This was Abbas the first.

<sup>2</sup> History of the Turks, &c. p. 271, et seq.

In this posture the Persians coming up, attacked him several times; but as they had only cavalry, they could get no advantage. Hereupon Ali-beg, a Turkmân chief, impatient to see no end of the fight, sallied out with three hundred men of the tribe of Okli, in order to charge the enemy behind, while Ali Soltan attacked them in front. When he was gone, some of the chief Uzbek commanders said, it was wrong to let him go, for fear of his joining the enemy: but Ali-beg, while they were speaking so much to his disadvantage, had already begun the fight; so that having been attacked three times vigorously by the Persians he must have been oppressed by their numbers, if Ali Soltan had not in time sallied out of his intrenchment, and charged them in front; which having put the enemy into disorder, they betook themselves to flight, after the greater part of them had been slain. The Soltan pursued them till far in the night, so that Bader Khan had much ado to escape, with a few of his men. So great a number of horses were taken, that Ali Soltan having made his esquire a present of every ninth, they amounted to seven hundred, not reckoning what fell in division to the officers and soldiers.

Fifteen years after, the Soltan having, in one of his expeditions, advanced as far as the Zenghel, or desert, to the south of Khojan, fell ill of a contagious ulcer, which broke out between his shoulders. As he would let nobody see it through bashfulness, the chiefs were obliged to use force, and cut the cloaths over the part affected, to come at it. Yet for all their care, he died of that distemper in the year 1571<sup>1</sup>, at the age of forty. Ali Soltan was a prince of so much merit, that his cousin Hajim Khan often said of him, that he had not his equal among the descendants of Yadigur Khan in bravery and liberality, sincerity, modesty, and, above all, the art of reigning. As in all his life he had never suffered any person either to see or touch his naked body; so he would not suffer a domestic to feel whether his legs began to grow cold when he was a dying. He did speedy justice to those who demanded it. In one of his expeditions, he hanged a man for taking two arbufes (or melons) out of a field. He left two sons, Iskander, who died the same year; and Sanjer, who being disturbed in his senses, reigned ten years at Nasay, under the conduct of a Nayman lord<sup>2</sup>.

### 3 *The Khans from Dost Khan to Abdallah Khan.*

*Dost Khan. — Ist Soltan takes Urjenz: — Revolut on thereon. — Hajim Khan. — Story of Timur Soltan. — Abdallah Khan's Invasion: Turkish Ambassador and Merchants plundered. — A new Invasion by Abaullah Khan. The Princes ensnared by a treacherous Peace: — Are all put to Death. — Hajim Khan retires to Persia: — Returns with his Sons, and recovers Karazm. — Khojuk retaken by Abdallah's Troops. — Bravery of a Prince. — Hajim Khan flies again: — On Abdallah's Death returns to Urjenz: — Resigns the Crown.*

AFTER the death of Din Mahamet Khan, the Uzbek Princes chose Dost Soltan, second son of Buzzuga Khan, for his successor at Khayuk, rather than Ist Soltan, the eldest brother, because, though courageous and generous, he was neither so wise and moderate. He was suspected also as to his orthodoxy in religion. Ist, who took this very ill, applied to his brothers for assistance, to take Urjenz: but arriving with his forces in the territory of Zilpuk, which belongs to the country of Kumkant, he found Hajim Soltan ready to fight him, with a much superior army. Hereupon securing his men behind with a small river, and with his chariots in front, Hajim, after an attack of eight days, was obliged to come to an accommodation.

<sup>1</sup> Called Sighir, or the Cow. Hejrah 979.

<sup>2</sup> History of the Turks, &c. p. 280, et seq. Some

Some years after, Ish Soltan having formed a new design against Urjenz, Hajim met him between that city and Tûk. Ish covered himself, as before, with his chariots; and having fought for seven days against superior forces, passed out of his intrenchments silently in the night, and seized Urjenz, to the great surprize of Hajim. As soon as he found himself master of the place, he ordered all the Vigûrs and Nanmans to retire to Wazîr, without any of their effects; but let those of other tribes, settled there, remain.

After this, each party having endeavoured to secure Ali Soltan, who resided at Nasay, in his interest; that Prince declared in favour of Hajim Soltan, whom he joined (accompanied with Abul Soltan, son of Din Mahamet Khan) and besieged Urjenz. Ish Soltan defended himself well at first: but the besiegers at length giving a general assault, while he was riding about from post to post, where his presence was necessary, a Durman, whose sister he had ravished, wounded his horse in the flank with an arrow. The beast hereupon capered, and threw the Soltan so violently, that he broke one of his legs; and the enemy, who had scaled the walls in the interim, coming up, slew him before he could be remounted.

After this the confederates took Khayuk, and put to death Dost Khan, brother of Ish Soltan, whose two sons were sent into Great Bukhâria; where dying without issue, the race of Buzzuga Khan became quite extinct. The afore-mentioned revolution happened in the year 1557<sup>1</sup>, called Ghilki, or the horse.

The same year Hajim Soltan, at the age of thirty five<sup>2</sup>, was declared Khan, and went to reside at Wazîr. As of all the posterity of Amunak, there were left only the children of Avanash Khan, and Akattay Khan, they gave the cities of Urjenz, Hazarab, and Kât, to Ali Soltan, youngest son of the former<sup>3</sup>. Of the four remaining sons of Akattay, Mahmûd Soltan lived with his brother Hajim Khan; Pulâd and Timûr had Khayuk between them, with two Turkmân tribes, for their share<sup>4</sup>.

These two brothers were both weak of understanding. The second, when he was fifteen, taking a ride, was invited in by a countryman, who killed a fat sheep to treat him, and at his going away presented him with a gigot of it. At his return, he went to offer it to his father: but Akattay Khan, offended at the occasion, reprovèd him, saying, "That he was fifty years old, and had never put any one to such an expence: that if the peasants were obliged to kill sheep to treat him when he was young, they must kill horses and cows for him when older; and that, as his vassals would follow his example, the poor subjects would soon be reduced to beggary." Hereupon ordering him to be stripped, he gave him thirty lashes with a rod, laying on so hard, that young Timûr Soltan's shirt was all bloody. His brother Hajim<sup>5</sup> meeting him as he came out, approved of what his father had done, but advised him to appear next day in that bloody condition before Akattay Khan; who repenting of his severity, after exhorting him not to do the like again, made him a present of the Turkmân tribe of Ti-u-azi, consisting of six thousand families. Hereupon Timûr made an oath never to go to eat with any body, nor would he suffer any of his people to do so.

On the death of Ali Soltan, Hajim Khan went to reside at Urjenz; his brother Mahmûd Soltan continued at Wazîr; Pulâd had Khayuk; and Timûr, Hazarab and Kât. Some years after, while Hajim Khan was invading Khorasân, Abdallah, Khan of Great Bukhâria, came with an army to besiege the capital: but after losing many

<sup>1</sup> Héjrah 965.      <sup>2</sup> He was born in 1523. Héjrah 930.      <sup>3</sup> An account has been given of him in the former article.      <sup>4</sup> History of the Turks, as before, p. 267. et seq.      <sup>5</sup> Hazim, or Azim Khan, as Jenkinson calls him.

men, was obliged to retire into the country of Yanghiarik, where he waited, securing the places he possessed on that side, till more forces arrived; but hearing Hajim Khan was returned with a great army to fight him, he thought fit to make a peace with Pulad and Timur, who were at Khayuk, and retired to his own dominions.

Some time after, the Soltan Khalifah of Rûm<sup>1</sup>, sent an ambassador to Abdallah Khan to engage him to attack the empire of Sheykh Oglu<sup>2</sup>, with all his forces, while he attacked him vigorously on the other side. Pialasha, who had spent three years in the voyage, going by way of the Indies, was desirous to return through Karazm, and cross the sea of Mazanderan<sup>3</sup> to Shîrwân, then subject to the Soltan of Rûm, that so he might get to Iftambul in four months. But when he came to Urjenz. Mahamet and Ibrahim, sons of Hajim Khan, stripped him of all, and then sent him to Mankishlak, where some Shîrwân merchants happening to be on their return, they carried him over to that province in their barks.

To this first cause of complaint there was joined another. Those of Great Bukhâria, who performed the journey to Mekka, in times of peace always passed through Karazm, and the dominions of the Shah of the Persians; but in war time were obliged to go far about, by the Indies. It happened, that some merchants relying on the peace, took their route through Karazm: but arriving at Khayuk, were stripped to their very shirts by Baba Soltan, son of Pulad, and sent home again on foot. These people, at their return, going to complain to Abdallah Khan, he told them, he could do nothing in it; for that Baba Soltan was as much sovereign at Khayuk, as himself could be in Great Bukhâria. Hereupon Haji Kûtas, head of the karawan, made answer, "That he would be his accuser before the throne of God, in case he let go unpunished an outrage done to the deity himself, in the persons of those who went to offer up their prayers to him at his holy house."

This bold remonstrance, joined to a desire of revenge for the loss of the four towns taken from Nûr Mahamet, determined Abdallah Khan to make war against Hajim Khan. The news of his preparations divided the Uzbeks of Karazm. One party was for making a vigorous resistance, the other was for submitting as soon as the enemy approached Urjenz; on a persuasion, that they would be employed by him, and well treated, even though he should carry them into Great Bukhâria. Hajim Khan finding by this, that he ought not to depend on his subjects, left his sons, Mahamet and Ibrahim, at Urjenz, and retired to Duruhn with his eldest son Siuntz Mahamet Soltan.

Meantime Abdallah Khan advancing with his army, Mahamet, son of Timur Soltan, marched, with his Uzbeks, from Hazarab to Khayuk; designing to make it the rendezvous of their troops, as his father had done in the former war, so as to baffle the designs of Abdallah: but on his arrival found Pulad Soltan resolved to quit the town, and go to Wazir. Hereupon they all set out together, with a large train of men and chariots (or waggons) at day break. But at noon, just as the last troops passed out of the city, those of Khojamkuli, one of Abdallah Khan's generals, entered at the opposite gate; and next day following the confederate Princes, with thirty thousand horse, on a great trot, overtook them at the borough of Almatish Khan,

<sup>1</sup> That is, the Grand Seignior, or Emperor of the Turks, who since the suppression of the Khalifah of Egypt, whom Soltan Selim, in 1516, carried to Constantinople, is qualified by the Mohammedan Princes of his sect, with the title of Khalifah, and assumes it himself. <sup>2</sup> That is, of the sons of the heykh; meaning Sheykh Sefi, or Ismael, King of Persia, by way of contempt. <sup>3</sup> So they call the Caspian Sea.

for they had not continued their march till the same morning. At his approach, they covered themselves with their chariots; but Khojam-kuli having forced that barricade, after a vigorous resistance, put them to the rout. As he lost many men in the action, he did not pursue the Princes who retired to Wazîr<sup>1</sup>.

At their arrival they resolved to make proposals of peace to Abdallah Khan, and drove from the city Baba Soltan, who had been the occasion of the war. Hereupon Pulâd Soltan, with his two other sons, retired to Hajîm Khan at Duruhn; while Mahamet and Ibrahim, Hajîm's sons, repaired to Wazîr, to join the confederates. Meantime Abdallah Khan, appearing before that city, besieged it in form: but finding, after two months' leaguer, that it would be difficult to come off with honour, he had recourse to craft. He sent to tell the confederates, that since they had thrust out Baba Soltan, whom he had chief cause to complain of, they might depend on being received by him as his allies and relations. The Princes deluded with these fair promises, entered into a capitulation with their enemy; who, at their request, sent five of his principal lords, attended by forty horse, to swear, in his name, not to meddle either with their persons or effects, and that he had no evil intention against them.

After taking the oath, the common people (who were against the Princes trusting to such weak security) desired that the five lords might be arrested, till such time as Abdallah Khan should raise the siege and begin his march. But Ali Soltan, who had the chief command in the city, and though little and crooked was a great wit, strenuously opposed this motion; alledging, that being the monarch's near relations, they had nothing to fear from him: that in case he should carry them into Great Bukhâria, he would settle them more advantageously than they were in Karazm; but that far from such a design he was persuaded, Abdallah, on the first application, would leave them in possession of Urjenz and Wazîr. These reasons being approved of by all the men of distinction, the people were obliged to be silent; and the Princes, accompanied with the Bukhârian lords, left the city to go to Abdallah Khan; who having put a guard over them, and divided their soldiers into troops of ten or twelve men, one of whom was to be responsible for the rest, he sent them all prisoners into Great Bukhâria, whither he followed with his army, after having put governors in all the towns of Karazm, which thus fell into his hands.

A month after this event Hajîm Khan, and the ten Princes of his house who were at Duruhn, resolved to retire towards Shah Abbas Mafi; only Pulâd Soltan, third son of Akattay Khan, thinking it would be very unbecoming of him, who was near seventy years old, to go look for a sanctuary among people of a different religion, chose rather to repair to Abdallah Khan, on a presumption that he would pity his condition, and give him a subsistence. But he was deceived: for that Prince, on his return to Bukhâria, caused him, and all the other descendants of Amunak, being twelve, who had fallen into his hands, to be put to death the same day in the town of Sagratz, besides some who were very young. After this he laid a yearly tax of thirty tanga a head on all the other prisoners above the age of ten; which constrained many to sell their children in order to raise the tribute.

Meanwhile Hajîm Khan set out for Duruhn, with the Princes, accompanied by three thousand horse: but they deserted so fast on the road that he arrived with a train of no more than one hundred and fifty, at the court of Shah Abbâs, who came in person to receive him, and gave him the best treatment imaginable: but Siurtz Mahamet Soltan and his son went on to the Soltan Khalîfah of Rûm<sup>2</sup>. This happened in the year Yilan,

<sup>1</sup> History of the Turks, &c. p. 287, et seq.

<sup>2</sup> Or, Turkey, for the reason already given.

or of the serpent. Two years after, in the year Koy, or the sheep, the same in which a comet appeared, Abdallah Khan sent before him his son Abdal-momîn Soltan, with part of his army, to besiege Esfarayn in Khorasân. On this news, the Shah left Kazwin with an army, accompanied by Hajîm Khan, and the other Uzbek Princes; who having learned when they came to Bastâm that there were but sixty of the enemy at Khayuk, and forty at Urjenz, judged they might profit by such negligence. But as for secrecy, this was to be done without the Shah's knowledge. Hajîm Khan and some others declined it, for fear of giving offence to that monarch; so that none but Arab Mahamet, and Mahamet Kuli, two of Hajîm's sons, and the three sons of Pulâh Soltan, engaged in the enterprize.

They took horse late one evening, and riding all night, arrived at the Turkmân tribe of Amîr; and from thence by noon at Astarabâd<sup>1</sup>. Next morning Hajîm Khan, having informed the Shah of their design, that Prince, who knew the activity of Abdallah Khan, and the improbability of recovering their possessions during his life, advised him to ride after them immediately, and bring them back. Hajîm overtook them at Astarabâd; but instead of bringing them back, they prevailed on him to continue with them, till he saw what success they should have, the Turkmâns having promised a powerful assistance. Departing from Astarabâd, they went towards the mountain of Kuran, where the tribes of Taka and Yamut lent them five hundred men. Then crossing the territory of Mankishlak, whose inhabitants had all removed to the country of Orda Kutuk<sup>2</sup>, they came to the tribe of Irfari, which granted them five or six hundred men, and thence proceeded towards Pishga.

Separating in this province, Hajîm Khan with his two sons took the road of Urjenz; and Baba Soltan with his two brothers went to Khayuk. On the news of Hajîm Khan's approach, Sari Oglân, governor of Urjenz, retired into the castle. But the Khan having entered by a passage carried under the wall in the night, he put the governor to death with his forty men. The Turkmâns after this returned home laden with plunder, leaving Hajîm Khan and his sons almost alone at Urjenz. Baba Soltan had no less success on the other side; for as soon as he appeared before Khayuk, the Sarts, who dwelt in the city, opened the gates to him: whereupon he, in like manner, slew the governor Menglish-bey with his sixty men: which coming to the ears of the commanders of Hazarâsb and Kât, they fled towards Great Bukhâria<sup>3</sup>.

Ten days after, Baba Soltan having dismissed all his Turkmâns likewise, except fifteen, went to Hazarâsb with his brother Paluankuli: but it being the vintage season, Hamza stayed at Khayuk, to drink his swill of new wine. Just as Baba entered Hazarâsb, he perceived two officers advancing on a smart gallop, at the head of an hundred and fifty horse. Suspecting them to be enemies, he endeavoured to shut the gate; but had scarce closed one side, before the first came up, and endeavoured with his lance to keep the other side open. However some of the inhabitants running thither in the nick of time they shut it also, and with their arrows obliged the enemy to march off. In their retreat they took a Sart, who having informed them of Hamza's stay at Khayuk, they turned on that side, and arrived there next day at noon, while the Soltan was taking the air; but not daring to use force with so few men, they lay concealed till the evening; when assistance coming to them, they made a passage into the town under one of the gates; at which having entered they put all to the sword: an event that much disconcerted the affairs of Baba Soltan.

<sup>1</sup> In the translation every where Istarabat. <sup>2</sup> Because of the quarrels they had with the Mankats (or Kara-kalpaks) on one side, and with the tribe of Irfazi on the other. <sup>3</sup> History of the Turks, &c. p 296, et seq.

To understand who these troops were, it must be observed that Abdallah Khan, having sent Khojam-kuli to support his son Abdalmomîn Soltan, while he followed leisurely to take the diversion of catching water-fowl beyond Zarjui, in Gordish; on the road met the commander of Hazarâsb, who having informed him what had passed in that city, he sent him with the news to Abdallah Khan, who ordered him to march in haste towards Khayuk, promising to follow close with his whole army. Hereupon Khojam-kuli marched towards that city; but found at his arrival, that the work had been already done by his van-guard, which determined him to march for Urjenz.

Meantime Mahamet Kuli Soltan, Hajîm Khan's third son, a Prince of much courage, having heard of his cousin Hamza's death, kept it very secret, resolving to go and join Baba Soltan at Hazarâsb. He took with him some trusty Turkmâns and Jagatays<sup>1</sup>, with two hundred Uzbeks newly escaped from Bukhâria. He began his march by the river of Urjenz: but coming near the little town of Zilpuk, he found himself of a sudden surrounded by the troops of Khojam-kuli; who imagining the Soltan could not possibly escape him, ordered his officers to take him alive. But Mahamet Kuli forming one large squadron, with his men rushed headlong on one of the enemy's wings, and breaking through them, retired into the country of the Mankats<sup>2</sup>; where he tried to draw Kuzuk Khan into his interest, by proposing to marry his sister: but that Prince fearing Abdallah Khan's resentment, in case he gave Mahamet Kuli protection, had him arrested, and sent to the Russians<sup>3</sup>, where he soon after died.

Hajîm Khan being informed of what had happened, left Urjenz, accompanied by his son Arab Mahamet, and some foldiers, designing to go to Mankishlak. But the enemy having overtaken him the third night after their departure, he was obliged to fight with them; and being worsted, endeavoured to retire. The enemy continuing still to follow him, he was forced next morning to a new engagement, in which he lost more than half of the few men he had with him: so that he was constrained, once more, to take refuge at Astarabâd, from whence he repaired to the Shah at Kazwin. Abdallah Khan went in person to besiege Hazarâsb; and having taken it, caused Baba Soltan and his fifteen men to be slain. After which he returned into Great Bukhâria, where he died<sup>4</sup> the last day of the year 1597, called Tauk, or the hen.

On the news of his death, Shah Abbâs Mafi having gathered a great army, came next year and encamped near Bastâm. There Hajîm Khan entreated the Shah to let him take a turn towards Bukhâria to try if Abdal Momîn, who had succeeded his father, would restore him one of his towns, that he might end his days in quiet. Shah Abbâs having given his consent he departed, accompanied by Arab Mahamet Soltan, and his grandson Isfandiâr Soltan, with a retinue of fifteen persons, leaving Burandu, son of Ibrahim Soltan, behind: but having lost his way the second stage, he found himself at length near the mountain Kuran, when he thought he was about Marû. As this mistake embarrassed him extremely, he rested there that night, to consider what he had to do: but going at sun-rise to sit in the shade to say his prayers, because it was midsummer, he saw two Naymans on horseback coming from towards Yaurfurdi; who, at their approach, wished him long life, and informed him, that Abdallah Momîn Khan, in his way from Khorasân to his own dominions, was slain at Zamin<sup>5</sup>, by his own people, and that they came in search of him to bring him the news.

<sup>1</sup> These were the old Mongols, who came with Jagatay Khan into these parts, from whom they took the name. <sup>2</sup> Or, Karakalpaks, who possess the west part of Turkestan. <sup>3</sup> Urus's in the original.

<sup>4</sup> So that Olearius must be mistaken, who says, that this Khan, with his brother, and three of his sons, were taken by Shah Abbâs, and put to death. <sup>5</sup> Or Zam, on the river Amû.

Hajim Khan, rejoiced at these tidings, made haste to Urjenz, where he arrived in eight days, and found the city without governor or garrison: for in the confusion which the affairs of Great Bukhâria fell into, after the assassination of their Khan, the enemy withdrew out of Karazm. Hajim kept Urjenz and Wazîr; he assigned Khayuk and Kât to his son Arab Mahamet, and gave Isfandiar, his grandson, Hazarab. Soon after, the Uzbeks made prisoners by Abdallah Khan took the opportunity to return home; as did, in the third year, Siuntz Mahamet Soltan; at whose arrival from the lands of Rûm<sup>1</sup>, his father resigned the dignity of Khan in his favour, and retired to lived at Khayuk with Arab Mahamet Soltan. But that Prince did not long enjoy the sweets of reigning: for he died a year after his return to Urjenz, and his son Abdallah Khan, who succeeded him, lived but another twelve-month. At length Hajim Khan died, in the year 1602, called Bars<sup>2</sup>, or the tiger<sup>3</sup>.

#### 4. *The Reign of Arab Mahamet Khan, and Isfandiar Khan.*

*Arab Mahamet Khan. — Invasions by Kofaks, and Kalmûks. — Plots against the Khan: — two of his Sons rise in Rebellion: — Matters accommodated: — rebel a second Time. — Abu'lghâzi Soltan's Proposal to kill them: — the Khan marches against his Sons: — is taken Prisoner: — slain by Ilbars. — Isfundiar's Attempt defeated by Perjury: — yet he recovers Karazm.*

ARAB<sup>4</sup> MAHAMET Khan succeeding his father, added Kât to his son Isfandiar's portion. Six months after, while he was passing the summer on the banks of the river Amû, the Russians of Jaïk<sup>5</sup> knowing there were no soldiers in Urjenz during that season, came with a thousand men; and after they had killed a thousand of the inhabitants, loaded as many chariots with the most valuable effects, burning what they could not carry away, and marched off with a thousand females. The Khan being informed of this in time, went to cut off their retreat at a certain defile, which he so well intrenched and palisadoed in haste that the enemy could not force him, till after an attack of two days: however, they were obliged to leave all their booty behind. Meantime the Khan, who did not design to let them escape him so cheaply, having gotten the start of them by cross roads, went to wait for them at another pass: which the Russians not being able to force, and water beginning to fail, so as they drank the blood of their slain, they made a last effort; which succeeded so ill with them, that scarce an hundred men escaped. These made over to the river Khefel, where they built a cabin a good way beyond Tûk, and there lived by fishing, waiting an opportunity to get back: but five days after, the Khan being informed of their abode sent men there, who slew them all.

Six months after a thousand Kalmûks<sup>6</sup> came to surprize some Uzbeks, who dwelt along the Khefel towards Kât, and having killed a great number of them, were, on their return, loaden with booty and prisoners. But Arab Mahamet Khan being informed thereof, pursued them so briskly that they had much ado to escape him, after leaving all which they had taken behind them.

Sometime after the Naymans, who never relished well the government of this Khan, brought secretly into Khayuk, Khifferan Soltan, descended of Ilbars Khan, with a design to kill Arab Mahamet, and set the other up in his room. But the Khan having timely notice of the plot, had the Soltan seized and put to death. As for Safi Mirza, the chief conspirator, his own brother Baba Mirza killed him, as a person unworthy to live after

<sup>1</sup> Or Turkey.

<sup>2</sup> Or Pars. See the Tartar Cycle, p. 400.

<sup>3</sup> History of the Turks, &c.

p. 305, et seq

<sup>4</sup> In the translation Arap, according to the Turkish pronunciation.

<sup>5</sup> In the

translation Uruffes. These were the Kofaks who dwell on the river Jaïk, or Yaïk.

<sup>6</sup> So the Uzbeks

call the Eluths in contempt, and from them the Russians have the name.

such an offence. Two years after, Sañh Mirza, with twenty Vigûrs, went from Urjenz to Samarkant and fetched from thence Seleh Soltan, a descendant of Hassankuli Khan; whereof the Khan being informed, he went forthwith to Urjenz, and put the new pretender to death, without inquiring farther after his accomplices, who, he said, might have been innocently drawn into the plot.

Ten years after, a thousand Kalmûks having invaded Karazm on the side of Bakirgan, plundered many habitations, and returned with a great number of prisoners, in spite of all the pains that was taken to pursue them.

Arab Mahamet Khan had seven sons by several wives, Isfandiar Soltan, Habash, Ilbars, Abu'lghazi Bahâdar, Shaûf Mahamet, Karazm Khan Soltan, and Augan. After that Prince had reigned peaceably for fourteen years, one day, when he was gone to Urjenz, several young men persuaded Habsh and Ilbars (the one sixteen, the other fourteen) to go with them from Khayuk to Urjenz, that they might be received in quality of their father's successors. Being advanced to a fountain in the country of Pishga (only one day's journey from that city) where they staid ten days, the Khan sent for them to come to him, and to tell them, that he would give them Wazîr for a portion. Their answer was, that they would come as soon as their men were gotten together. Arab Mahamet might have quashed this sedition at once, by only publishing his orders, that none should join the Princes, for he was much feared by his subjects: but neglecting this precaution, though at the same time he knew many went to see them, the people imagined what they did was by his own consent.

The young Soltans judging themselves strong enough, made an irruption into Khorasân; from whence they returned to their first camp laden with plunder, and sent two Persians as a present to their father. After this they dismissed all their troops excepting fourscore men. Hither the Khan sent again a Vigûr lord, to exhort them to come before him: but the Uzbeks between the countries of Darugan and Bakirgan, who had joined them, answered, that the Princes had no occasion to go to their father, and that they had nothing to do with him. As this language foreboded a rebellion, the Khan being seized with fear, departed instantly for Khayuk. Hereupon the two Princes went anew to ravage the Persian territories; and at their return seizing all their father's granaries, distributed the corn among their troops, which increased them considerably. Wheat was then so cheap, that two hundred weight might have been had for a tanga; for nothing but that grain was sown from the small town of Modekan, to this side of Bakirgan, and as far as the country of Kuigan. The Khan, who possessed a great extent of land on that side, caused the Khefel to be cut behind Tûk, and by means of that opening with several canals, watered his lands. After which the opening being shut, the river resumed its course to the sea of Mezanderân.

Arab Mahamet finding the mutineers multiply daily, came to an agreement with his sons, giving up to them Wazîr, and all the Turkmân depending on it. After which, the two Princes, followed by four thousand men, went to Khayuk, to salute their father.

Four years after, Ilbars Soltan assembled troops near Wazîr, under pretence of going to besiege Yaurfurdi; but hearing the Khan was on the road to Urjenz, he went and took Khayuk. Arab Mahamet being informed of this surprize, turned back, by advice of his lords, who were of opinion that on his approach Ilbars would quit the city. But being come to Khasgan, a little town near that place, the Soltan sent thither five hundred men, who entering in the night, seized him and all his retinue. From thence being carried to Khayuk, Ilbars detained them all as his prisoners, and distributed among his troops all the money his father had been hoarding for many years, as well as the effects

of the captive lords<sup>1</sup>. The other brothers being informed of that detestable action, resolved to make war on Ilbars, even Habash himself offered to accompany them: but they were diverted from that purpose by some of their lords, who judged that such a proceeding might put their aged father's life in danger; while Ilbars, if let alone, would release him of his own accord; as shortly after it came to pass.

The Khan being come back to Urjenz with his son Isfandiar, they resolved to seize Ilbars Soltan; but he discovering their design, fled to the desert with only five or six men: however, they ruined his habitations, and transplanted the greater part of his subjects. At their return from this expedition, Abu'lghâzi Soltan proposed to go kill his brothers Habash and Ilbars, who still closely corresponded, as the only way to secure his father's life: but the Khan would determine nothing till he had consulted Zin Haji Abu'lghâzi returning at the time appointed, and finding that lord did not approve of his proposal, put his father in mind how he had been deceived before by Zin Haji's magnifying the forces of those Princes to whom he was sent on their first revolt; which had obliged him to retire to Khayuk, when he might easily have seized them, but for that false representation<sup>2</sup>. He added, that as every body else he had consulted approved of his design, except Zin Haji, it confirmed him in the opinion he had all along entertained, that he and his brother Kurbauk were traitors; and held a criminal correspondence with Ilbars, by means of their two other brothers, who were the most intimate confidants of that Prince. In short, he told his father, that if he did not follow his counsel, he would repent it when it was too late.

For all this, the Khan refused to enter into his measures; nor would Isfandiar Soltan join with him. Meantime Habash being informed, by one of their spies, of Abu'lghâzi's project, never forgave it him. Five months after, Arab Mahamet Khan, beginning to repent his not having followed the author's advice, sent orders to Isfandiar Soltan and him, to join him immediately with their troops at Khayuk. In the interim he sent to tell Habash and Ilbars, that as they had ten persons about them who never ceased giving them evil counsel, in case they delivered them up to him, he could pardon all that was past; otherwise, he would own them no longer for his children. Upon their refusal, the Khan advanced with his troops to Kandum, a borough not far from Khayuk, where he waited for his sons. Abu'lghâzi, leaving his men to follow leisurely, rode before<sup>3</sup>; and being come to Kandum, proposed to his father to march along the right side of the river, while he, with his eight hundred men, should oblige the Turkmâns, who incamped in the desert, and were more than half of them his subjects, to join him; resolving to destroy those who belonged to his rebel brothers, in case they refused: for, without their assistance, they could not raise four hundred men. But the Khan not approving of his advice this time neither, as soon as Isfandiar arrived with his troops, they proceeded. When they were entered into the country of Ikzi Kumani, Abu'lghâzi set upon his father once more to make a diversion among the Turkmâns; but to as little purpose as before. In short, having advanced by slow marches as far as the little canal called Tashli Ghermish, the two Princes, who had time enough given them to get all their forces together, came and charged their father so vigorously, that his men began presently to fly, and left the unfortunate Khan a second time prisoner in the hands of his unnatural sons<sup>4</sup>.

<sup>1</sup> History of the Turks, &c. p. 312, et seq.

<sup>2</sup> Abu'lghâzi Soltan should have made use of this argument before, when his father proposed consulting Zin Haji, in order to have dissuaded him from that design.

<sup>3</sup> He left Kât in the morning: he came to Kandum late in the evening.

<sup>4</sup> History of the Turks, &c. p. 319, et seq.

In this battle, which was very bloody, Abu'lghâzi Soltan, being hemmed in by forty men, was brought off by six of his own, who came to his relief in the nick of time. On this occasion he received a shot with an arrow in the mouth; so that he was obliged, afterwards, to have some little bone of the jaw taken away on the fractured side. After this, he made towards a river, which he was obliged to cross by swimming; but had scarce got off his coat of mail, before the enemy came running after him, and crying, kill! kill! Hereupon plunging into the stream, which was very rapid, he with difficulty escaped drowning, by giving the horse his head, and holding fast by the main. Having gotten over with three of his men, he took the road to Kât, where he found ten more; and with them retired into Great Bukhâria, to Imâm Kuli Khan (the successor of Ab'dol Momin Khan) who received him very kindly at Samarkant<sup>1</sup>.

Isfandiar Soltan having retreated to Hazarâb with his brothers Sharîf Mahamet and Karazm Khan Soltan, Ilbars and Habash came and besieged them: but, at the end of forty days, coming to an accommodation, Isfandiar retired to the Shah of Persia's court, under pretence of making a pilgrimage to Mekka, leaving the city in possession of Sharîf Mahamet Soltan, who, four months after, retired into Great Bukhâria to his brother Abu'lghâzi Soltan. Karazm, by his departure, falling intirely into the hands of Ilbars and Habash, they divided it between themselves: the first had Khayuk and Hazarâb; the latter, Urjenz and Wazîr, with their dependencies. They assigned their father the little town of Kunkala, to live there with his three wives and two youngest sons: but a year after, Ilbars having sent for his father and two brothers, caused him to be put to death with Karazm Khan Soltan, and sent Augan Soltan to Habash with the same intent. This latter, without whose knowledge all the rest had been done, unwilling to imbrue his hands in the blood of his brother, had him conveyed to Russia, where he died. As to the two sons of Isfandiar Soltan, who were both infants, Ilbars had them educated at Khayuk. Arab Mahamet Khan lost his life in the year 1621<sup>2</sup>, called It, or the Dog, after having reigned twenty years.

The news of the Khan's death having reached the Persian court, the Shah gave Isfandiar Soltan three hundred chosen men, to try if he could recover his father's dominions. Having been joined on the road by a hundred and seventy Turkmans, of the tribes of Taka and Yânut, he advanced directly to the camp of Habash Soltan, near Tûk, but found him not there. That Prince was then feasting at the house of one of his lords; when hearing of a sudden the trumpet sound (which is forbidden on any account, except on the approach of an enemy) he instantly took horse, and fled to Ilbars Soltan. After this, all those who had any regard for the memory of the late Khan, as well as such as were the subjects of his other sons, came and joined Isfandiar, whose affairs were taking the best turn imaginable, when the artifice of one Nafar Khoja intirely changed the face of them.

This person, descended from a holy man, called Saghidata, being devoted to Ilbars, who had married his daughter, as soon as he saw the storm rising, sent to bid his son-in-law take courage, and tell him, that he would be with him in two days, with all the men he could get together. To this end, arming fifty men in haste, he went and seized the ford of the river Khesel on that side, in order to prevent any from passing who had a mind to join Isfandiar. After which he took the koran in his hands, and began to curse that Prince aloud, giving out that he had embraced the Persian sect, and that

<sup>1</sup> History of the Turks, &c. p. 333, et seq.      <sup>2</sup> Hejrah 1031. The author of the Description of the Countries bordering on the Euxine, and Caspian Seas, at the end of Tavernier's Travels, mentions this event, with some little variation.

wherever he came he put to the sword all the men, and condemned the women and children to slavery. As he backed all this with the solemnest oaths, many of the common people (who could not believe that a man of his birth would violate the most sacred laws purposely to impose on them) instead of repairing to Isfandiar, as they at first designed, went over to the two usurpers.

Ilbars and Habash, by this means, soon found themselves in a condition to go in quest of their eldest brother: and the two armies meeting, Isfandiar was forced, after a bloody action, to retire towards Mankishlak. However, in that place being joined by three thousand Turkmâns, and a great number of Uzbeks, who began to be weary of the government of the two princes, he went back again; and his brothers having advanced to meet him, with a considerable army, they continued fighting for twenty-two days successively: but, at length, Isfandiar gained the victory; and having taken his brother Ilbars prisoner, caused him forthwith to be put to death. Habash Soltan took refuge with Sharnik Mirza, a lord of the Mankats<sup>1</sup>, on the river Yem, hoping a good reception from the chief of that tribe, in return for having sent back all the Mankat prisoners within his domains, when he reigned at Urjenz: but that lord detesting his perfidiousness, caused him to be arrested, and sent him to his brother, who had him executed without delay, in the year 1622<sup>2</sup>, called Tongûs, or the Hog<sup>3</sup>.

##### 5. *The Reigns of Arab Mahamet Khan, Isfandiar Khan, and Sharîf Mahamet Khan.*

*Partition of the Towns. — Plot against the Turkmâns. — Vigûrs and Naymans slain: — stand in their Defence. — New attempt against the Turkmâns. — The Uzbeks defeated. — Abu'lghâzi's Valour. — The People deserting, he returns to Turkestan: — goes thence to Samarkant: — returns to Karazm. Uzbeks massacred. — Abu'lghâzi seized, and sent Prisoner to Persia. — Sharîf Mahamet Khan.*

THE news of this event coming to the ears of Abu'lghâzi and Sharîf Mahamet, at Samarkant, they took leave of Imân Zuli Khan, and returned to Urjenz. At their arrival they caused Isfandiar to be proclaimed Khan, and divided the dominions of their father among them. The Khan had for his share, the cities of Khayuk, Hazarâsb, and Kât; Abu'lghâzi Soltan, Urjenz, with its dependencies (being then just nineteen years old); and Sharîf Mahamet Soltan, Wazîr.

The year after, all the principal subjects of Isfandiar Khan having gone in autumn to pay their court to him, Abu'lghâzi Soltan, before he set out, invited Sharîf Mahamet with three of his sons, to his house; and, in presence of two of his own vassals, asked him if there was not some animosity between him and the Khan. On his answering in the negative, he enjoined all the six to secrecy by oath; and then told them, he could not comprehend what his brother meant by keeping the Turkmâns about him a whole year; that, possibly, his design was to destroy all the Uzbeks about Khayuk, for having always favoured Ilbars Soltan, in which case he would be sure to demand help of them: that, therefore, the best course they could take was, not to go to Khayuk, which might divert his intention: but that if they must needs go thither, it was his advice to kill all the Turkmâns they should meet on the road; and then present themselves before the Khan, with ropes about their necks, to implore pardon; excusing themselves on the usual treachery of that people, and the great occasions of complaint they have had against them in times past. But Sharîf Mahamet Soltan, not approving of such a proceeding,

<sup>1</sup> Nicknamed Kara-kalpaks.

<sup>2</sup> Hejrah 1032.

<sup>3</sup> History of the Turks, &c. p. 324, et seq.

proposed killing Isfandiar Khan himself, and causing Abu'lghâzi Soltan to be proclaimed in his room.

This proposal was approved by four of the lords : but Kurban Haji, a Vigûr, and one of Abu'lghâzi's vassals, not satisfied with rejecting it, declared, that if ever he heard any more mention of such a plot against the Khan's life, he would impeach them. So blunt a declaration having broken their measures, they went to Khayuk : but four days after, being about to return, Isfandiar Khan caused Abu'lghâzi to be arrested, and all the Vigûrs and Naymans, who were then in the city, to the number of five hundred, to be put to the sword. On this occasion an hundred Uzbeks, of other tribes, were slain, although he had forbidden that any of them should be touched. In like manner, the troops which were sent to destroy all about Khayuk belonging to those two tribes (whom he was determined to root out) contrary to his orders, slew all the Uzbeks, who dwelt from Hazarab as far as the high-stone tower where the river Amû divides in two arms<sup>1</sup>, not sparing the very infants at the breast.

The Khan, after this, sent Sharîf Mahamet Soltan to Urjenz, with orders to cause the throats to be cut of all the Vigûrs and Naymans depending on that city. Whereupon those people gave him to understand, that they were resolved not to suffer themselves to be massacred without selling their lives dear : but that they were ready to quit the country, or receive Abu'lghâzi Soltan and Mahamet Saynbeg (one of the Khan's most trusty servants) to have an eye over their conduct. These proposals appearing reasonable to Sharîf Mahamet, he sent them to the Khan, who pitched on the last expedient. Abu'lghâzi Soltan being arrived, went and resided on the side of the Khefel, whither Sharîf repaired to him, with eighty Turkmâns, who went over to Mahamet Saynbeg, as soon as he arrived. Meantime thirty of the most considerable of the Uzbeks, beyond the river, came to welcome him, and offered him a thousand choice men to be employed in his service against Isfandiar Khan. On this occasion, they proposed to begin by slaying Mahamet Saynbeg and his eighty men ; because they looked on the Turkmâns as the only authors of the late massacres of their brethren ; and then marching to besiege Khayuk, would put to the sword all such of that nation as they found in its neighbourhood.

But this project appeared impracticable to Abu'lghâzi Soltan, who knew that the Turkmâns would be so much on their guard, that on the least motion of the Uzbeks, they would take flight ; so that before they could reach Khayuk, all the rest of them would be removed with their effects ; and what was worse, the Kalmûks, in their absence, would come and carry off their wives and children. He was therefore of opinion, that they should treat Mahamet Saynbeg and his men kindly, and send them back laden with civilities, in order to lull the Khan asleep : that after this Sharîf Mahamet should go pass the winter in the little town of Kayuk, near Urjenz, whilst the Uzbeks, beyond the river, set about making an intrenchment for their security, as if in dread of the Kalmûks : That they should place guards along the two roads leading to the country of those Tartars, as though to observe what passed ; and that in spring a man should come running full speed from those countries, with news of a Kalmûk invasion : that on this advice they should assemble troops, under pretence of going to meet the enemy ; but in the way joining Sharîf Mahamet, they should turn

<sup>1</sup> One of the arms, called Tokay, passes by that tower : the other, which is greatest, having quitted its old bed, runs by a large channel into the Khefel near Tûk ; which had rendered Urjenz, when the author wrote, no better than a desert.

of a sudden towards Khayuk, surprize that city, where there could not be then above sixty men about the Khan, and put all the Turkmâns to the sword.

The Uzbeks, however, had no mind to depart from their design upon Mahamet Saynbeg, and his Turkmâns: but they finding it out, retired after night-fall, when every body was gone to rest. The Uzbeks arriving soon after, Abu'lg'hâzi Soltan told them, that as the shortest follies are the best, his advice was to send to assure the Khan, that they knew not the reason of Mahamet's sudden departure; and that if they had designed him any harm, they could easily have prevented him. But this advice was not relished by his brother, and the Uzbeks, who insisted that they had no other measures to take, but march to Khayuk. Arriving in two days at the bridge of Tash-kupruk, in the country of Khika, they halted there forty days, and killed some Turkmâns, the rest retiring to that city<sup>1</sup>.

Meantime the Kalmûks having surprized one part of the Uzbek camp, and carried a great number into slavery, many of them deserted the army, beginning to have a bad opinion of their success. On the news of this revolt, the Turkmâns, who dwelt about the mountain of Abu'lkhân and at Mankishlak, joining Isfandiar Khan at Khayuk, he took the field in his turn, and encountering the Uzbeks in the place above-mentioned, entirely defeated them. Abu'lg'hâzi Soltan seeing the battle lost, retired with five hundred and forty of his men, into the intrenchment, which they had raised to cover their baggage. In the evening Isfandiar Khan drew near; but the Soltan fallying on foot at the head of five hundred men, gave him such a warm reception, that he durst not make a second attempt, intrenching himself at some distance. After they had looked on one another in this manner for six days, without daring to engage, they came the seventh to an accommodation, which the Khan had set on foot only with a view to draw Abu'lg'hâzi into the open field, where he proposed to demolish him: but missed of his aim, in regard the Turkmâns had gone to pillage the borough of Khanaka, inhabited by the Sarts, just at the time his brother passed out of his intrenchment. However, at their return, he pursued him with five thousand men. The Soltan suspecting his design, formed in haste an inclosure with his chariots, and defended himself so well, that the Khan was obliged at last, to come to a second treaty. After this Abu'lg'hâzi, and his brother Sharif Mahamet, taking up their abode at Urjenz, all the Uzbeks, who dwelt before on both sides of the Amû, came to settle about that city.

Some time after a comet having appeared in the sky, the common people who were persuaded, considering the extraordinary animosities which reigned among their Princes, that it portended some great calamities, went off by troops, which they called Top, top, into other countries. Nor was it in the power of Abu'lg'hâzi Soltan to restrain their flight: for while he sent after the party which went out on one side, two or three others withdrew another way; some seeking shelter in Great Bukhâria, others in Turkeftân, with the Kafats<sup>2</sup> and Mankats: so that having thus, in a month's time, lost three considerable troops of his subjects, he was constrained to retire elsewhere, to avoid lying at the mercy of Isfandiar Khan. Sharif Mahamet Soltan, who was in the same case, went to Great Bukhâria: but Abu'lg'hâzi Soltan retired towards the Kafachia Orda, and went to visit Ishîm Khan at Turkeftân.

Three months after, Ishîm going to Tashkant, to pay his respects to Tursum Khan, the reigning Prince of those provinces, presented Abu'lg'hâzi to him; mentioning the

<sup>1</sup> History of the Turks, &c. p. 334, et seq.

<sup>2</sup> These must be the Kafatsia or Kafachia order, mentioned below, who possess the east part of Turkeftân. The Maukats, or Karakalpak, being masters of the west part.

obligations which they owed his house, on account of the protection given many of their relations, who had fled to Karazm for refuge. Hereupon Tursum Khan received him at his court, and treated him with much distinction. But two years after Ishîm having massacred the Khan, and all those of the Kataguns who were his ancient subjects, Abu'lghâzi seeing there was no less discord between their families than there was in his own, went into Great Bukhâria. On his arrival he found a very cold reception from Imân Kuli Khan, because he had applied first to Tursum Khan, who was his enemy.

For this reason he told the Uzbeks, who had retired thither before him, that he should be obliged to hearken to the Turkmâns, who promised to espouse his interest to the utmost, provided he would forget what was past. The Uzbeks upon this assured him, that though they had retired from him at the appearance of the comet, yet he might always depend on their zeal for his service: that, on the other hand, they flattered themselves that he would continue his protection to them; of which they said they had the more need, as they could not depend on the promise of his brother Sharîf Mahamet Soltan, who was naturally unconstant, and might one time or other side with the Turkmâns against them. Lastly, they advised him to go over to the Turkmâns on the first invitation, and promised to repair to him in proper time.

Shortly after, there came a new deputy from the Turkmâns, to let him know that Isfandiar Khan, being informed they had invited him to their quarters, had retired to Hazarâsb, fearing a surprize. Upon this Abu'lghazi Soltan, followed only by five or six persons, went directly to Khayuk, where he was immediately joined by numbers of people from all parts. Two months after he learned, that his brother Sharîf Mahamet being reconciled with the Khan, was arrived at Hazarâsb, and that they intended to turn all their forces against him. On this advice he took the field, with what troops he had, and the two armies coming to a battle, that of Abu'lghâzi Soltan had the better; which obliged his two brothers to make peace with him. Yet six months after they came unexpectedly, and besieged Khayuk with above fifteen thousand men, for all the Turkmâns thereabout joined them: but although Abu'lghâzi had only six hundred with him, he defended himself so vigorously that he obliged them at length to return with loss; the consequence of which was a new treaty<sup>1</sup>.

Sometime after three thousand families of those Uzbeks, who three years before had fled from about Khayuk to the Kafats and Mankats, to avoid the fury of Isfandiar Khan, returned and went to settle on the sea-coast, about the mouth of the river Amû. On this news eight hundred others set forward, on their return from Great Bukhâria, in order to settle in the country of Aral: but the Khan, who looked on the Vigûrs and Naymans as the cause of all the misfortunes of his family, being informed thereof, came upon them by surprize with some troops, on the banks of the Khesel towards Kât, and put them all to the sword, man, woman, and child.

Isfandiar Khan taking this occasion to invite his two brothers to court, under pretence of regulating with them what concerned the affairs of the Uzbeks, persuaded Sharîf Mahamet to repair to the country of Aral among those people, as it were of his own accord, and unknown to his brother. Next morning some of the principal Turkmâns coming to visit the Khan on that occasion, he solemnly protested Sharîf Mahamet had undertaken that journey without his privity; and to set them against Abu'lghâzi Soltan, pretended that it was done by his advice. He went farther, and told them, that it was this last, who had recalled the Uzbeks to settle in the country of Aral, with a design to make use of them against the Turkmâns, and that he had sent his brother thither to

<sup>1</sup> History of the Turks, &c. p. 341, et seq.

prepare them for that purpose : he concluded by saying, that, as from thence it appeared he was contriving some dangerous plot against them, their only course was to prevent him by seizing his person.

This advice having been approved of by all the assembly, he caused the gates of the castle to be shut, and sent to arrest Abu'lghâzi Soltan, who was still fast asleep. After this the Khan carrying him to Yaurfurdi, ordered the governor to send him under a strong guard into Persia : that officer for better security, conducted him in person to Hamadân, where Shah Sefi<sup>1</sup>, the successor of Abbâs, then was ; who ordered him to be conveyed to Ispahân, where he assigned him a house and ten thousand tanga<sup>2</sup> a-year, for his expences<sup>3</sup> ; but at the same time had him carefully watched, that he might not escape.

Isfandiar Khan died the first day of the year 1634<sup>4</sup>, after having reigned twelve years, and left two sons, Yushan and Ashrâf. He was succeeded by his brother Sharîf Mahamet Soltan, who fixed his residence at Urjenz. This Khan was much at variance with the Kalmûks (or Eluths), who in his time came and seized a great part of Karazm. He died in the year<sup>5</sup> 1642<sup>6</sup>, leaving, as it should seem, the throne vacant.

### 6. *The Reign of Abu'lghâzi Khan.*

*His Birth and Marriage : — escapes from Ispahân : — suspected at Bastam : — gets out of Persia : — received by the Turkmâns : — is proclaimed Khan : — attacks Khayuk, without Success : — afterwards takes it : — perfidious Dealing with the Turkmâns. — Kalmûk Invasions repelled by the Khan : — he invades Great Bukhâria : — makes great Ravages : — attacked in his Retreat by a great Army : — his brave Defence : — defeats the Enemy : — makes new Invasions : — resigns the Crown : — his Death. — Abu'lghâzi Khan's Character : — he is honoured in Persia. — Anusba Mahamet Khan leagues against Persia : — makes great Ravages. — Haji Mahamet Babâdur Khan's Embassy to Russia. — Revolution in Karazm.*

ABU'LGHAZI Soltan was born at Urjenz in the year 1605<sup>7</sup>, on Monday, in the month of Asfet, at sun-rise, forty-eight days after the defeat of the Kofaks before-mentioned<sup>8</sup> ; who having met with, near the river Jaïk, ten merchants of Urjenz, trading to Russia, slew eight, and made the other two serve as guides in their expedition. On this occasion his father Arab Mahamet Khan said, that child will be happy, because his enemies were defeated before he was born<sup>9</sup> ; and in regard his mother was descended from Soltan Ghâzi<sup>10</sup>, son of Ilbars Khan, he gave him the name of Abu'lghâzi Bahâdur, and when he was sixteen years of age, married him, granting him one half of Urjenz ; the other half of which he at the same time assigned to Habash Soltan. The year following<sup>11</sup>, upon some difference which happened between the two brothers, his father gave him the city of Kât for his portion ; and not long after the unfortunate battle was fought, wherein the Khan was taken prisoner, and put to death by his unnatural sons<sup>12</sup>.

<sup>1</sup> He ascended the throne in 1629, at the age of sixteen.

<sup>2</sup> Coin of Karazm.

<sup>3</sup> This happened

about the year 1630 ; for it was thirteen years before he was proclaimed Khan.

<sup>4</sup> Hejrah 1044,

called Ghilki, or the horse.

<sup>5</sup> Hejrah 1052.

<sup>6</sup> History of the Turks, &c. p. 329, and 347,

et seq.

<sup>7</sup> Hejrah 1015, called Taushtan, or the hare

<sup>8</sup> P. 502.

<sup>9</sup> The Tartars, in general,

are full of such superstitious whimsies.

<sup>10</sup> Here the author gives his genealogy from Adam, which

the reader may easily trace from this history as high as Jenghiz Khan, whose pedigree has been already set forth.

<sup>11</sup> This was in 1621. Hejrah 1031.

<sup>12</sup> History of the Turks, as before, p. 330,

et seq.

What passed from that time, till Abu'lghâzi Soltan was sent into Persia, has been already related. After he had remained there in the condition of a prisoner ten years, he formed the design to make his escape. This having been approved of by three of his domestics whom he acquainted with it, he called the person who had the guard of him, and after he had ordered him to take a horse, which had been sent him for his kitchen, to the butchers, gave him a thousand tanga, bidding him go buy a pretty slave, and pass the night with her. His ward being gone full of joy at his present, Abu'lghâzi, and his men, went in the evening to a neighbouring stable, and took out eight horses; after which he caused all their beards to be shaved: when every body was at rest, he made one of them who could speak the Turkish and Persian, to put on his best cloaths, because he was to represent the master: the second domestic was dressed as a sort of gentleman: the third wore the garb of a valet, and himself was disguised like a groom.

In this equipage leaving Ispahân, they got safe to Bastâm<sup>1</sup>: but three of their horses falling a little beyond that city, they were obliged to stop at a village on the road, called Boyish, inhabited by Saghits. He who passed for the master being seated on a carpet at the gate, with one of the valets standing behind him, while the other held the horses, Abu'lghazi entered into the place to swap the tired cattle. He presently got off two of them: but having asked one among the crowd who flocked about him, which was the way to the village of Maghi; an old man of seventy grew suspicious of him, telling his neighbours, that as scarce one in ten of themselves knew the way to Maghi, he judged this must be the Soltan of the Uzbeks, who was making his escape. He added, that as in case it was so, there would be couriers after him in a day or two: he advised them to seize and carry him to Bastâm, or at least not to exchange horses with him, in regard those who did would have a bad time of it. On this occasion the counterfeit groom, who spoke the language of the country perfectly well, by way of answer, told the old man a very formal story, too long to repeat here; which gaining the people on his side, he swapped the third horse, and got sufficient information about the road.

Having made great expedition to pass the borders of Khorasân, he arrived at length in the neighbourhood of Karakum<sup>2</sup>, at a place where the road dividing, one led to Mankishlak, the other to the mountain of Kuran. Resolving to keep the fields no longer (as till then he had done, to avoid meeting much people) he struck into the latter, and came to a village; which happening to be inhabited by Turkmâns, he asked a lad whom he saw near the road, what sort of people those were. The boy having answered, we are Kifilafaks; he demanded how they came there, since they belonged to Mankishlak? The youth replied, that the Kalmûks had driven them out of their habitations three years before, and named some families of the tribe of Irfari, known to Abu'lghâzi, who dwelt not far off.

The Soltan, glad to find himself out of the Persian dominions, went to the village, where he was received with extreme joy by the inhabitants, at whose invitation he staid there the winter; but in spring repaired to the Turkmâns of the tribe of Taka, who dwell near the banks of the Amû, at the foot of the mountain Kuran. With these he staid two years, and then went to Mankishlak, where he found no more than seven hundred families, who were reduced under the obedience of the Kalmûks<sup>3</sup>. The Khan of the Kalmûks being informed of the Soltan's arrival in his dominions, sent one

<sup>1</sup> In the province of Komes, and borders of Astarabad.  
of Karazm.

<sup>2</sup> A black sandy desert, on the borders  
<sup>3</sup> Or Eluth Mongols.

of his principal officers to invite him to court<sup>1</sup>. Abu'lghâzi accepting of the invitation, was treated with great distinction the whole year he remained with him: after which, having formed a design of going to Urjenz, the Khan suffered him to depart, with many marks of friendship.

He arrived at that city in the year 1643<sup>2</sup>; and six months after the Turkmâns proclaimed him Khan, in the country of Aral, towards the entrance of the river Amû into the sea of Mazanderan: this was in 1644, two years after the death of Sharîf Mahamet Khan. Yulhan and Ashrâf, the two sons of Isfandiar Khan, his predecessor, being in possession of Khayuk and Hazarâsb, the Turkmâns within their jurisdictions refused to submit to Abu'lghâzi Khan; and put themselves under the protection of Nadir Mahamet Khan of Great Bukhâria, after sending Ashrâf Soltan to the Persian court to be brought up there<sup>3</sup>.

Upon this Abu'lghâzi Khan having sent twice to pillage the habitations of the subjects of Khayuk, Nadir Mahamet Khan placed commanders and strong garrisons in that city, and Hazarâsb, and sent Isfandiar Khan's widow to dwell in the country of Kanski; having afterwards conferred the government of those two places on his grandson Kasim, son of Khifferan Soltan, Abu'lghâzi Khan resolved to pay him a visit. To this end he embarked his infantry in the country of Aral, to ascend the river Khêfel, as far as the bridge of Tash Kupruk, and followed by land with his cavalry. Being arrived at the place of rendezvous, he marched with some of his foot to the borough of Kandum, and passing a brook which lay between him and the city, hid an hundred and eighty of his men in a valley: then with sixty bowmen and twenty musketeers, advanced up to the place, ordering them not to fire till they saw him fire.

The enemy perceiving them coming, made a sally with a thousand men, of whom seven hundred had coats of mail, though not above five of the Khan's were so accoutred. That Prince, without being dismayed at their numbers, drew them dexterously to the place where he designed; and then marching up, gave them so rude a salutation with arrows and bullets, at twenty paces distance, as allayed much of their first fury; while those who lay concealed coming to charge them at the same time in flank, they fell into confusion, and fled towards Khayuk. The Khan, who was not able to pursue for want of horse, returned, and sent his troops into quarters.—Here Abu'lghâzi Khan breaks off his history, having been hindered from finishing it by a grievous sickness of which he died. What follows was added by his son and successor, Anulha Mahamet Bahâdur Khan.

Some time after Nadir Mahamet Khan, of Great Bukhâria, having recalled his grandson Kâssim Soltan from Khayuk; sent Yakûb, one of his lords, to Hazarâsb, to govern what he possessed in Karazm: but having, in the interim, been dethroned by his vassals for his harsh treatment of them, they set up his son Abdallaziz Soltan. On the news of this revolution, Abu'lghâzi Khan marching to Khayuk, in the year 1646<sup>4</sup>, found no difficulty to possess himself of it: after which he caused proclamation to be made, that all the Turkmâns who had quitted their habitations on account of the late troubles, might freely return home, on his promise never to think of their past faults.

On these assurances, those who dwelt beyond Hazarâsb, sent deputies to the Khan; who ordered, that they should all repair to him before that city, which he was going to

<sup>1</sup> The author makes no mention where the Khan of the Kalmûks kept his court, or whether any part of Karazm was then under his dominion. It was at this time that the author learned the Mogul language, in which he wrote his history. See History of the Turks, &c. p. 31. <sup>2</sup> Hejrah 1053, called the Ghdan, or the serpent: elsewhere Yilan. <sup>3</sup> History of the Turks, &c. p. 349, et seq. <sup>4</sup> Hejrah 1056 called Tawk, or the lion

take possession of, and there tender him their faith and homage. The Turkmâns being assembled, according to his orders, he sent to desire them to provide his kitchen with milk and cattle, for that he intended next day to make a great feast. This having been performed to the Khan's satisfaction, he treated them very splendidly; but towards evening caused them all to be killed, to the number of two thousand persons, and then sent to plunder their habitations.

Next year<sup>1</sup> marching into the country of Tarkhan, in quest of the Turkmâns, who had quitted Khayuk after Hajim Soltan's departure, he put to the sword those whom he found; but the greater number fled into the province of Bamaburinak, whither he went to dislodge them, in the year Zizkan, or the mouse<sup>2</sup>. Such as knew not where else to go sent their wives and children into the country of Aral, and intrenched themselves under the ruins of some old walls. The Khan finding them in this situation, made them some proposals; but as they durst not trust him, they marched out a foot, and threw themselves desperately on his troops, but were so well received, that not one of them escaped. After this Abu'lghâzi Khan, being resolved to reduce the Turkmâns so low, that they should not be able to raise disturbances for the future, made several expeditions against them, wherein he chastized them severely.

In the year of Saghir<sup>3</sup>, a lord of the Kalmûks coming with some troops to Kât, caused many people to be killed, and others to be carried into slavery. Soon after another arriving to traffic, the Khan let them finish their business, and then following them, defeated their rear in the country of Yuguruk-bash: after which, coming up with the body of their troops, he put them to flight, leaving their effects behind them. Three years after<sup>4</sup>, Abu'lghâzi Khan having been informed, that the Kalmûks hovered upon the frontiers both of Great Bukhâria and Karazm, with strong parties, and made terrible havoc wherever they came, sent Abdolaziz Khan notice to be upon his guard. Meantime three lords of the Torgauts invaded the lands of Hazarab, where they destroyed the village Yefdus, and took out of another, called Danugan, much cattle and people.

Upon this advice Abu'lghâzi Khan took horse immediately to pursue them, contrary to the request of his officers; and though they were ten days' march a-head of him, yet by riding day and night, he at length came up with their rear, near the mountain Irder, whom he defeated; then pursuing the rest, overtook them in the country of Segheri-rabat, where they were so well intrenched, that it was impossible to force them: but, on the other hand, as they durst not fall yorth to continue their journey, they sent all the plunder they had taken, with their bows and arrows to the Khan, intreating pardon for the offence; pretending they did not know the above-mentioned villages belonged to him, and promising never to invade his dominions for the future. Hereupon he sent them back their arms, and suffered them to return home in peace<sup>5</sup>.

After this, Subhan-kuli Khan of Bâlk, who had married his brother Sharif Mahamet Khan's daughter, sent to intreat his aid against Abdolaziz Khan, who had taken the field with an intent to deprive him of his dominions<sup>6</sup>. Abu'lghâzi Khan, willing to assist his near relation, and revenge the injuries done his house by Abdallah Khan, advanced in the year Koy, or of the sheep<sup>7</sup>, into the province of Koghertlik,

<sup>1</sup> 1647, called It, or the year of the dog.

was the year 1648.

answering to 1652.

<sup>3</sup> Or, of the cow, 1649.

<sup>5</sup> History of the Turks, &c. p. 357.

<sup>6</sup> Fernier informs us, that Abdolaziz, assisted by Aureng zeb, sent by the Great Mogul, Shah Jehan laid siege to Bâlk; but suspecting Aureng-zeb might keep the city, when taken, he struck up a sudden peace with the Khan, and marched home.

<sup>7</sup> Answering to the year 1655.

bordering on Great Bukhâria; and sent a body of ten thousand men to plunder the city of Karakul, while he went in person against that of Siuntz-bala, which he destroyed with thirty or forty neighbouring villages. After this he returned, for a while, to Khayuk; and then, in a second invasion made the same year, plundered Karakul afresh. Thence passing on to the province of Gordish, he defeated an army of fifteen thousand men (sent by Abdolaziz Khan, who was then at Karshi) scarce a thousand of them escaping. A great part of these threw themselves into Karakul; but the Khan following them, took prisoners all who were not slain, and burnt the few houses that remained in that town.

In the year Bizin, or the ape<sup>1</sup>, he took the town of Zarjui<sup>2</sup>, which he entirely destroyed, and plundered the country round it. Next year he went and ravaged the province of Yayzi<sup>3</sup>, which extends from the city of Karakul to that of Nersem; and having taken much plunder, was gone back to his own frontiers, at the same time that Abdolaziz Khan, accompanied by Katim Soltan, was on the march, with a numerous army, to make a diversion in the province of Koghertlik. But as soon as he heard of Abu'lghazi Khan's return to Korazm, he retreated with so much precipitation, that many of his men killed their horses, though no one had thoughts of pursuing them. Abu'lghazi Khan, who in the mean time had taken a turn to Khayuk, made another invasion the same year, with twenty-five thousand men, into Great Bukhâria; and having taken the city of Karmina, gave it to be pillaged, returning with considerable booty, and many prisoners.

But in his retreat having passed a river over a bridge, he caused his tents to be set up there, and believing himself very secure in that place, ordered that the baggage should begin to march at midnight, and that the army should follow at day-break, keeping about his person no more than his usual guard of an hundred men. Next morning, some hours after the army had decamped, one of his principal officers entered his tent, and finding him still fast asleep, cried to him, "Rise, sir, is this a time to sleep here?" but the Khan made answer, "Whom is it you would have me afraid of, since we have not heard of any enemy troops in all this province?" At the same time one came to inform Abu'lghâzi Khan, that troops of the enemy appeared on the other side of the river: and in reality it was Abdolaziz Khan himself at the head of sixty thousand men; who having been informed, that the Khan of Karazm was going to besiege Karmina, by a beggar, whom that prince gave an alms to on the road, set forward immediately, with all his forces.

Abu'lghâzi Khan, on the enemy's approach, retired leisurely towards his troops; which being about to pass a little marshy brook, he sent orders for them to halt on this side. Mean time a thousand horsemen in coats of mail, began to press him at the heels: on which the Khan, having gained a pass, made his hundred men alight (as he did himself) the better to make use of their muskets, and sent to order his army to return. After this he detached Yadigar Atalik (the first lord of his court) with thirty men, to attack the thousand horse at the entrance of the defile, while he stood ready to support him with the rest. Yadigar executed his orders with so much conduct, that having first stunned the enemy, by a clever fire made on them near at hand, he knew so well afterwards how to manage his small forces, by retiring or advancing, as occasion served, that he disputed the pass till Anulha Mahamet Bahâdur Soltan (the Khan's son, then but fourteen years of age) came to his father's assistance, at the head of six hundred horsemen, with three hundred foot soldiers behind them.

<sup>1</sup> 1656.<sup>2</sup> In the translation, Zardfui.<sup>3</sup> In the translation, Jaizi.

Abu'lghâzi Khan, upon this reinforcement, marched out of the defile to receive those thousand men: but as in the interim the enemy's army had time to approach, they were quickly supported by a great body of troops; which having furrounded the Khan on all sides, would, doubtless, having mauled him severely, if he had not ordered his son, Anusha Mahamet, with four hundred men, to fall furiously on the right of a great squadron, which blocked up the road to their army, while he attacked the left with the six hundred that remained. This was executed with so much success, that having forced the enemy's troops on both sides, they made their way through them, and rejoined their own, which advanced in haste, to rescue their Khan from the danger he was in.

As soon as he had put himself at the head of his army, he caused it to march forward, under command of Anusha Mahamet, to attack the enemy's forces, which began to appear; and as soon as the rest of his troops arrived, he made them advance to the right and left of his son, in order to sustain him. Then the engagement becoming general, they fought a long time with equal fortune: but at length the juvenile courage of Anusha Mahamet prevailing (although the first time he was at such an entertainment) the army of Abdolazîz Khan was defeated, notwithstanding its great superiority, and pursued as far as the above-mentioned river<sup>1</sup>. The rout was so signal, that a great number of the enemy, who could not gain the bridge, were drowned in the stream; and their Khan himself, though much wounded, was obliged to pass it by swimming, to avoid being taken.

Abu'lghâzi Khan returning to Khayuk with a great number of prisoners, gave a splendid feast to all his lords and great officers; and after he had in public extolled the valour of his son, resigned to him the city of Hazarab, with subjects for its defence. Next year<sup>2</sup> the Khan again entered Great Bukhâria, and took the city of Wardanû; and causing it to be sacked, returned loaden with plunder and prisoners. Four years after<sup>3</sup>, he made another expedition thither; and advancing to the very walls of Bokhâra, the capital of the whole country, caused all the villages within its jurisdiction to be destroyed: after which he encamped before the gate Namosga, with an intent to take the city; but considering that there would be no glory in such an exploit, at a time when the Khan was absent at Samarkant, and that there were none but women and Tajiks, or burghers, in the place, he laid aside the design till another opportunity, and returned with much booty, and many prisoners.

Abu'lghâzi Khan being now sixty years old, began to consider, that there was blood enough shed to satisfy the passion of revenging the murder of the Princes of his house committed by Abdallah Khan; and that it would be acting against the dictates of conscience to persist any longer in giving disturbance to a Prince, who was of the same religion with himself, while he could more usefully employ his arms against the Kalmûks and Persians. Guided by these sentiments, he sent ambassadors to Abdolaziz Khan, with proposals of peace; which having been accepted, he recalled his troops from the border of Great Bukhâria, and sent them towards the country of Khorasan. After this, he resigned the throne to his son Anusha Mahamet Bahadur Soltan, with a design to spend the rest of his days in serving God: but he died not long after, in the month of Ramadhân, in the year 1074<sup>4</sup>, having reigned twenty years<sup>5</sup>.

<sup>1</sup> It is much this river is not named, nor are the distances and situations of places marked distinctly enough to be of such service in geography as might have been expected.<sup>2</sup> Being that called It, or the dog; answering to 1658.

<sup>3</sup> In that called Bars, or the tiger, corresponding with 1660.

<sup>4</sup> 1663, called Tawshkan, or the hare.

<sup>5</sup> History of the Turks, &c. p. 364, et seq.

Chardin gives Abu'lghâzi, or Abu'l Kazi<sup>1</sup>, (as he writes the name) a very advantageous character. He says, that Prince knew so well how to disguise the natural barbarity of the Tartars, that you would have taken him for a Persian, he behaved with such a grace and affability on all occasions; so that Shah Sefi (for distinction sake called Mazi<sup>2</sup>) observing him endowed with so many rare qualities, admitted him into his mejels, or royal assemblies, where he ranked him equal with the grandees of his kingdom, and for his maintenance assigned him pensions no way inconsiderable.

The same author informs us, that on his being brought<sup>3</sup> to Ispahân, Sefi looked on him not as a robber, but a prisoner of war, and paid him all the honours due to a person of royal birth; assigned him a revenue of fifteen hundred tomans, amounting to six thousand pounds; gave him a stately palace, richly furnished, with a suitable number of officers and retinue to attend him, during the ten years he continued there. After his return<sup>4</sup> to Karazm, he proved a constant friend to Persia, keeping Subhân-kuli Khan<sup>5</sup>, and Abdo'laziz Khan<sup>6</sup> of Bokora, in such awe, that as soon as either of them entered Persia, he was in the bowels of their territories.

But after his death, the crown descending to his son, Enuh Khan<sup>7</sup>, Abbâs the second withdrew his pension, which in kindness he had given his father: but the son, who looked on it as a kind of tribute, paid by the Persian monarch to the King of Kareshm, or Orkenj, to keep him from plundering his dominions, thought the surest way to recover it, or at least to make himself amends for the loss, would be to ravage the frontier provinces. To this purpose he enters into a league with the two other Khans against Persia, espousing the sister of the Prince of Bâlk, and giving his own in marriage to him of Bokora.

However, Abu'lghâzi Khan having been of the Shiyah sect, of which the Persians are, and not of the Sunni persuasion, such as the Uzbeks<sup>8</sup> profess; Enuh Khan made open profession of the latter: but his allies, as a proof of his sincerity, required, that he should begin the war first, promising next year to assist him with all their forces. Hereupon the Prince of Orkenj entered Persia in the year 1665, but met with a powerful resistance: for Abbâs having been informed of the conspiracy of these petty Kings, set forward with a great army, resolving to conquer their territories, and annex Bâlk to his own dominions. The Uzbeks terrified at his approach, thought it best to desist; and next year sent their ambassadors to beg a peace.

On the death of Shah Abbâs II. which happened soon after, the Tartars taking heart again, the Prince of Orkenj, in 1667, entered Merve Sava, with his Uzbeks<sup>9</sup>; who finding no resistance, made strange havock; nor could the governors have prevented it, if they had force enough, considering with what swiftness those people invade a country, and retire. Persia being then governed by a young unexperienced Prince,

<sup>1</sup> The author says, the name signifies Father Arbitrator: but Abu'lghâzi signifies the father of one who conquers on account of religion. <sup>2</sup> That is, the passed reign. <sup>3</sup> According to Chardin, he was made prisoner after a battle, in which the Uzbeks lost twelve or eighteen thousand men.

<sup>4</sup> The circumstances of his escape are differently told by Chardin. <sup>5</sup> That is, the Prince, the slave of the praiseworthy, meaning god. <sup>6</sup> Chardin writes Abdulhazize Kaan, which signifies the servant of the Majesty, meaning divine Majesty.

<sup>7</sup> That is, the lord of profit, the same with Anusha Mahamet Bahâdur Khan. <sup>8</sup> Chardin writes them Yusbeks; which, according to the Persians, signifies an hundred lords, to shew that they are governed by many Princes. He adds, that the Yusbeks reject this etymology as false and injurious, saying, it is compounded of Yusuf, he, and bek, lord; as who shall say, he the lord, or he is the lord: as if these were the only people on the earth, who are truly lords.—Coronation of Soleyman III. p. 115. But in all likelihood this must be a mistake, since, according to the Uzbek history, they take their name from Uzbek Khan, agreeable to a common custom among the Tartars in general.

<sup>9</sup> This must be the territory of Marû, so often mentioned before, and for a time belonging to Karazm.

preparations to repel the enemy went on very slowly. At last two great lords set forward with four thousand men, to join the forces already in Khorasân. Six weeks after, money was sent to pay the troops in that province, under a convoy of two hundred men: but the Uzbeks getting intelligence of it, sent out a party three thousand strong; who took their measures so well, that they carried off all the treasure, in spite of the troops that were detached to overtake them<sup>1</sup>.

From this time we find but little mention in authors about the affairs of Karazm, till 1714, when, according to Bentinck, Haji Mahamet Bahâdur Khan, grandson of Abu'lghâzi Khan, sent a minister to Petersburg, to treat of an alliance with the court of Russia<sup>2</sup>. Webber mentions this Prince, but calls him only the Khan of Uzbek, and says, the design of the embassy was to prevail on Peter I. to oblige Ayuka Khan<sup>3</sup>, his vassal, not to join with the Princes his neighbours, or stir them up against him. On which condition he offered to assist the Tsar with fifty thousand horse, at any time, and allow his karawans a passage through his dominions to China; which journey might be performed on a good road in four months, whereas that through Siberia was very long and troublesome<sup>4</sup>. He proposed also to enter into a treaty of commerce with Russia, which would prove of great advantage.

The ambassador was Acherbi, about fifty years of age, of a lively and venerable aspect, wearing a long beard, and an ostrich feather on his turban, which none but the chief lords wear. He said his Khan was turned of twenty, and the year before married the King of Persia's eldest daughter: that his country was called Uzbek<sup>5</sup>, and residence Khiva, which consisted only of tents and huts, but never fixed to a certain place<sup>6</sup>: that the Khan is a sovereign prince, but his authority limited by a sort of senate: that he was able to raise two hundred thousand horsemen; in which number the Tsar judged were included all his male subjects, old and young: Lastly, that the country of Uzbek bordered on China, Hindûstân, and Persia. Among other things it is mentioned, that the Tsar liked the ambassador's music well enough<sup>7</sup>, on which occasion it must be observed, that the inhabitants of Karazm were formerly very famous for their proficiency in that art<sup>8</sup>.

Bentinck informs us, that between 1714 and 1724, when he wrote, there happened a revolution, of which he knew not the particulars<sup>9</sup>. Perhaps that mentioned by Nacchi the Jesuit<sup>10</sup>, may relate to it. This missionary takes notice, that some years before he wrote, he saw the Prince of the Uzbeks pass through Aleppo, in his way to Mohammed's tomb, with an intention to live there a private life. His son had rebelled, and having seized him, caused his eyes to be put out, that he might have no longer hopes of re-ascending the throne. He marched on horseback with his eyes bound up, conducted by fifty guards. But since that time we understand, says Nacchi, that the son died miserably, and his father was restored<sup>11</sup>.

It may be presumed, that Haji Mahamet was the unnatural child, although the title of Haji, or pilgrim, better suits the blind Prince: but Mahamet seems too young to have had such an enterprising son. However that be, in 1719 the Uzbeks of Karazm ought to have had a Khan of an enterprising genius, and who could see well to command in person the expedition against Beckowit.

<sup>1</sup> Chardin's Coronation of Soleyman, p. 116, et seq.    <sup>2</sup> History of the Turks, &c. p. 373, in the note.  
<sup>3</sup> See before, p. 401. a.    <sup>4</sup> But should that road be deserted, it would hinder the peopling of Siberia.  
<sup>5</sup> The author mistook the name of the people, for that of the country.    <sup>6</sup> That is, his summer camp is not fixed: but his winter residence is Urjenz, or some other city.    <sup>7</sup> Present state of Russia, vol. i. p. 20, et seq.  
<sup>8</sup> De la Croix's history of Genghiz Can, p. 240.    <sup>9</sup> History of the Turks, &c. as before, p. 373.  
<sup>10</sup> He wrote between 17.0 and 1724, when his memoirs were printed, in the fourth tome of the *Mémoires des Missions en Syrie, et en Egypt.*    <sup>11</sup> See Journey from Aleppo to Damascus, p. 80, et seq.

## CHAP. V. — A DESCRIPTION OF GREAT BUKHARIA.

BOKHARIA, Bukhâria, Bogaria, Bokaria, or Boharia, as it may be variously written, is the name given at present to all the country or tract of land between Karazm, and the great sandy desert bordering on China. It signifies the country of the Bukhars, which Abu'lghâzi Khan informs us, is a Mongol word, implying a learned man : because, adds he, all those, who have a mind to be instructed in the languages and sciences, go into Bukhâria<sup>1</sup>. Hence it appears that this name has been imposed by the Mongols, who conquered this region in the time of Jenghiz Khan. The same author mentions the Bukhars elsewhere<sup>2</sup>; but in those places the term seems to be restrained to the inhabitants of the city of Bokhara. This vast region is divided into two parts, the Great, and the Little Bukhâria : but it is observable, that although Abu'lghâzi Khans frequently speaks of the former, he never once mentions the latter ; which name, possibly, may not be so much in use with the Uzbeks ; or may have come in use only since the Eluths, or Kalmûks, conquered the countries comprized under that denomination in the last century. Both names are in use with the Russians, from whom they came to us.

## SECT. I. — THE NAMES, EXTENT, SITUATION, AND PROVINCES OF GREAT BUKHARIA.

*Names, Bukhâria. — Mawara'nahr. — Turân. — Uzbeks Country : — Its Situation and Extent : — Soil and Produce : — Division.*

THE country of Great Bukhâria is nearly the same with that, called by the Arabs, Mawara'nahr : which signifies, what lies beyond the river, meaning the Jihûn or Amû, by the Greeks, Oxus ; and is little other than a translation of Tranfoxana, the name given by the same ancients to those provinces. Under this appellation was comprehended all the space of country those powers possessed beyond that river, which, at different times, was of different dimensions. Although generally Mawara'nahr signified all the lands between the Jihûn, and the Sihûn<sup>3</sup>, now called Sîr, which separated them from those of the Turks ; who, during the dominion of the Arabs in these parts, spread very far over Grand Tartary. However, Abu'lghâzi Khan, though in some places he seems to use the words Great Bukhâria and Mawara'nahr, to denote the same country ; yet, in other places, the first name seems to be more limited, and even restrained to the territories of the Khan of Bokhara, one of the three powers into which Great Bukhâria is divided.

Great Bukhâria is also comprized under the name of Turân<sup>4</sup>, or the country of the Turks<sup>5</sup> ; which is likewise given, by the Arabs and Persians, to the countries north of the Amû, in opposition to Irân, or Persia at large, situate to the south of that river ; and includes a considerable part of what fell in division to Jagatay Khan, second son of Jenghiz Khan, from whose descendants the Uzbeks conquered it. But here it must be observed, that Abu'lghâzi Khan uses the word Turân in a different

<sup>1</sup> See history of the Turks, &c. p. 108.

<sup>2</sup> The same, p. 142, et seq.

<sup>3</sup> By the Greeks,

Jaxartes. <sup>4</sup> Abu'lfeza says, the name of Turân is given to all Mawara'nahr, that is, the countries belonging to the Hayatelah. So those people were called by the Arabs : but by the Persians, Abtelah, or Water of Gold. These are the Ephthalites of the Byzantine historians.

<sup>5</sup> Or of Tûr, from whom the Persians say the Turks are descended.

sense, namely, to denote the countries lying between the river Sîr, and the Icy Sea<sup>1</sup>, or, perhaps, more particularly Siberia: For he tells us, that Kuchum, or Kujum Khan was driven by the Russians, out of the country of Turân<sup>2</sup>; and it appears from the Russian history, that he resided at Siber (near Tobolskoy) then the capital of Siberia<sup>3</sup>. However, we incline to think with the English translator, that instead of Turân, in that place it should be written Tura: and this opinion<sup>4</sup> seems confirmed, by a passage in Abu'lghâzi Khan's history, where the country of Tura is expressly mentioned, together with Russia and Bulgaria; without doubt, to signify the country about the river Tura, in Siberia, which falls into the Obi, over against Tobolskoy.

As our early geographers gave this country the name of Zagatay, or Jagatay, from Jagatay Khan, to whose share it fell, so the more modern call it Uzbek, from its present possessors; as if the name of the conquerors must necessarily pass to the conquered dominions. But if any part of this great continent (adds the translator) ought to be called so, it should be that situate between the rivers Jaik and Sîr; from whence the Uzbeks came, and to which Mirkond refers, when he tells us<sup>5</sup>, Shaybek Khan came from Uzbek, and drove Mirza Babor, the first Great Mogul, out of Mawara'nahr. After all, continues he, these are names given by foreign historians, and geographers, to countries, and which are entirely unknown to the natives<sup>6</sup>.

Great Bukhâria (which seems to comprehend Sogdiana and Baktriana of the ancients, with their dependencies) is situate between the thirty-fourth and forty-sixth degrees of latitude, and between the seventy-sixth and ninety-second degrees of longitude. It is bounded on the north by the river Sîr, which separates it from the dominions of the Eluths, or Kalmuks: on the east by the kingdom of Kashgar, in Little Bukhâria on the east: the dominions of the Great Mogul and Persia on the south; and the country of Karazm on the west: being about seven hundred and sixty miles long from west to east, and seven hundred and twenty broad from south to north.

According to Bentinck, nature has denied nothing to this fine country to make living in it agreeable. The mountains abound with the richest mines; the vallies are of an astonishing fertility, in all sorts of fruits and pulse; the fields are covered with grass the height of a man; the rivers swarm with excellent fish; and wood, which is so scarce all over Grand Tartary<sup>7</sup>, is found here in great plenty in several parts. In short, it is the best cultivated and inhabited of all the northern Asia. But all these blessings are of very little use to the Tartar inhabitants, who are naturally so lazy, that they would rather go steal, or rob and kill their neighbours, than apply themselves to improve the benefits which nature so liberally offers them<sup>8</sup>.

Great Bukhâria is subdivided into three great provinces, viz. those of Proper Bukhâria, Samarkant, and Bâlk. Each of these three countries hath commonly its particular Khan; but at present the Khan of Bukhâria is in possession of the province of Samarkant: so that all which lies to the north of the Amû, and also the eastern<sup>9</sup> part of what lies to the south of that river, being in his hands, makes him a very powerful Prince.

<sup>1</sup> History of the Turks, &c. p. 141.

<sup>2</sup> The same, p. 209.

<sup>3</sup> The same, part 2. p. 622.

<sup>4</sup> The same, part 1. p. 131.

<sup>5</sup> Teixeira's history of the Kings of Persia, p. 319.

<sup>6</sup> See

history of the Turks, as before, p. 452, et seq.

<sup>7</sup> The author says, over the rest of Grand Tartary,

thus making Bukhâria a part of it; but improperly, we think.

<sup>8</sup> History of the Turks, as before,

p. 455.

<sup>9</sup> Rather, we should think, the western part.

1. *The Province of Proper Bukhâria.*

*Proper Bukhâria.*—*Provinces, Duruganata:—Gordish:—Kuzin and Karmina.—Bokhara City.—The Water unwholesome.—High Priest.—The Khan.—Religious Wars.—The Coin.—Commerce there, with other Nations:—Easy Duties.—Karmina.—Wardansi.—Karlb.—Zamin, or Zam.—Pass of the River Amû.*

THE province of Proper Bukhâria, or Bokhara, is the most western of the three, having on the west Karazm; on the north a desert, called by the Arabs, Gaznah; on the east the province of Samarkant; and, on the south, the river Amû. It may be about three hundred and eighty miles long, and three hundred broad.

Abu'lghâzi Khan, in the history of his wars, mentions several provinces and towns in Proper Bukhâria, some of which the French editor gives an account of. With regard to the provinces, that author speaks of four, viz. Duruganata, Gordish, Kuzin, and Karmina.

The country of Duruganata is a large province, bordering on that of Yanghiarik in Karazm. Gordish, a large province also, towards the frontiers of Karazm, is one of the most agreeable and fruitful in Great Bukhâria: it is also very populous, and well cultivated. Kuzin and Karmina, are two little provinces, situate towards the middle of Proper Bukhâria<sup>1</sup>. The towns of Proper Bukhâria, or Great Bukhâria, mentioned by Abu'lghâzi Khan, are chiefly Bokhara, Zam, Wardansi, Karakul, Siuntzala, Karfhi, Zarjui, Nerfem, and Karmina.

The city of Bokhâra, or Boghar, according to Jenkinson, is situated in the lowest part of all the country, and, by his observation, in thirty nine degrees ten minutes latitude, twenty stages from Urjenz. It is of great extent, and fortified with a high wall made of earth. It is divided into three parts, whereof the castle of the Khan, who resides here, and what depends on it, takes up one: the murfas, officers of the court, and those belonging to that Prince's retinue, the second part: the third, which is biggest, being possessed by the burghers, merchants, and other inhabitants. In this last division, every trade, or profession, has its particular quarter. The houses, for the most part, are of earth; but the temples, and many other structures, as well private as public, are of stone<sup>2</sup>, sumptuously built and gilt; especially the baths which are so artfully contrived, that the like is not in the world.

The water of the little river that runs through the city, is very bad, breeding in the legs of those who drink it, worms an ell long, between the flesh and the skin; which working out about an inch every day, are rolled up, and thus extracted: but if they break in the operation, the patient dies. For all this inconveniency, it is there forbidden to drink any other liquor, but water and mares' milk: such as break that law being whipped through the markets. There are officers appointed to search all houses for aqua vitæ, wine or brag<sup>3</sup>; and in case they find any, to break the vessels, spoil the drink, and punish the owners: nay, often, if a man's breath smells with strong liquor, he incurs a good drubbing.

This great strictness is owing to the metropolitan (or head of the law) in Bokhâra, who is more obeyed than the King: nay, he deposes him at pleasure, as he did the King, who reigned when Jenkinson was there, and his predecessor, slaying him in his chamber in the night-time.

<sup>1</sup> History of the Turks, &c. p. 462.  
bu'lghâzi Khan's history.

<sup>2</sup> Bentinck says, they are of brick.

<sup>3</sup> Or, braga, as in

The King hath no great power, or riches. His revenues are but small, and he is maintained chiefly by the city: for he takes the tenth of all things there sold, to the great impoverishment of the people; and when he wants money to pay his debts, sends his officers to take goods from the shop-keepers upon credit, whether they will, or not. Thus he acted to pay Jenkinson for nineteen pieces of kersey. However, that gentleman was very civilly treated by him who reigned in 1559. He often sent for, and discoursed with him about the laws, religion, and power of the European countries. At his instance likewise, he sent an hundred armed men in pursuit of robbers, who had attacked his karawan: four of whom being taken, were hanged, and part of his goods restored.

The country of Boghar was formerly subject to the Persians, and the Persian language is there spoken: but the Bogharians are continually at war with those neighbours, on account of religion, although both nations are Mohammedans. They likewise quarrel with them, because they will not cut the hair off their upper lips, as they and all other Tartars do. This they reckon a great sin, and for that reason call them Kafirs, that is, unbelievers, as they do the Christians. Ten days after Jenkinson left the city, the king of Samarkant came and besieged it, in absence of that Prince, who was at war with one of his kinsmen.

They have no gold coin at Bukhâra, and but one piece of silver<sup>1</sup>, worth twelve-pence English. Their copper money is called pooles, whereof one hundred and twenty go to the silver-piece; which is not so commonly used in payment as the copper, the King causing it to rise and fall every other month, and sometimes twice a month.

As to the trade of Bukhâra, Jenkinson observes, that in his time there was a great resort of karawans from India, Persia, Bâlk, Russia, and other countries: but he adds, that the merchants are so poor, and bring so few wares, which yet they must wait two or three years to sell, that there is no hopes of any trade there worth following. The Indians brought nothing but white calicos, and carried back wrought silks, red hides, slaves, horses, and such like; but would not traffic for kerseys, and other cloth.

The Persians brought kraska, woollen and linen cloth, wrought silks, argomaks, and the like; carrying from thence red hides, with other wares of Russia, and slaves of divers countries. The cloth they had from Aleppo in Syria, and other parts of Turkey; therefore would buy none of Jenkinson's. The Russians carried red hides, sheep-skins, woollen cloths, wooden vessels, bridles, saddles, and such like, which they exchanged for calicos, silks, kraska, and other wares; but the vent is very small. Formerly karawans came from Kathay<sup>2</sup>, when the way was open. They were nine months on the journey, and brought musk, rhubarb, fatin, damask, and other goods: but that commerce had been obstructed for two or three years, by the wars which continued to distract the countries of Tasken and Kafgar<sup>3</sup>, two cities that lie in the way<sup>4</sup>.

Bentinck, who seems to have taken his description of Bokhâra wholly from Jenkinson, observes further, that this city is conveniently situated for trade with the above-mentioned countries; and that the duties commonly paid there are very moderate, not amounting to quite three per cent. But that on account of the extraordinary oppression, which the foreign merchants continually meet with there, the trade is very small at present. However, from hence the dominions of the Great Mogul, and part of Persia, are supplied with all sorts of dried fruits, of an exquisite flavour<sup>5</sup>.

<sup>1</sup> Bentinck says, the money of Persia and the Indies is current here also. <sup>2</sup> Or, China. <sup>3</sup> Or, Tashkant and Kashgar. Those people, who were at war with Tashkant, now the capital of the Eastern Turkestan, were the Koffaks. <sup>4</sup> Jenkinson's voyage to Boghar, in Purch. Pilgr. vol. iii. p. 239, et seq. <sup>5</sup> History of the Turks, &c. p. 465, et seq.

The same author gives some account of three or four more of the cities belonging to Proper Bukhâria. Karmina is situate in the province of the same name, towards the frontiers of Karazm, to the north-west of Bukhâra; and is but inconsiderable at present.

Wardansi lies to the west of the same city, near the borders of Karazm. It is a pretty large, scrambling town, inhabited by the Bukhârs, who traffic into Persia and Karazm.

Karshi is situate on the north side of the Amû<sup>1</sup>, and is at present one of the best towns in Great Bukhâria, being large, populous, and better built than any other in that country. The neighbouring lands are exceeding fertile in all sorts of fruits and pulse, and its inhabitants drive a great trade in the north parts of the Indies.

Zamin<sup>2</sup> is a small town upon the right (or north) side of the Amû, towards the borders of Persia. It is remarkable for nothing but its passage over that river, which is of great advantage to the Uzbeks of Great Bukhâria, in their expeditions on that side<sup>3</sup>.

## 2. The Province of Samarkant.

*Bounds and Extent:—Samarkant City:—The Castle:—Famous Academy:—The River:—Silk Paper:—Fruits.—Otrar, or Farab.—Kojand and Termed.—Kâsb—Anghien.—Map of Bukhâria.*

THIS province, called Mawara'nahr, by Bentinck, lies to the east of Proper Bukhâria, and north of Bâlk. It extends as far as the borders of Kashgar in Little Bukhâria; being about five hundred and forty miles long from west to east, and five hundred broad from south to north.

This country, formerly, was full of flourishing cities; most of which are now ruined, or much decayed. The chief of all is Samarkant, or Samarkand<sup>4</sup>, situated on a river and valley called Sogd<sup>5</sup>, in the latitude of thirty-nine degrees, thirty-seven minutes, twenty-three seconds, according to the observation of Ulugbeg, who reigned here in 1447. It is seven days' journey to the north-east of Bokhâra. It falls short, at present, says Bentinck, of being so splendid as it was in times past: yet it is still very large, and well peopled. It is fortified with strong bulwarks of earth<sup>6</sup>, and its buildings are much in the same condition with those of Bokhâra, excepting that one finds several private houses built of stone, there being some quarries<sup>7</sup> about the town.

The castle appointed for the residence of the Khans, is one of the most spacious: but as at present this province has no particular Khan, it falls insensibly to ruin; for when the Khan of Great Bukhâria comes in the summer to pass some months at Samarkant, he usually encamps in the meadows near the city.

The academy of sciences in that city, is one of the most famous among the Mohammedans, who resort from all the neighbouring countries to perform their studies there.

The little river, which passes by the town, and falls into the Amû<sup>8</sup>, would be of great convenience to the place, by opening a communication with the neighbouring

<sup>1</sup> It lies between Bokhâra and Samarkant. Timûr-beg usually encamped with his army near this city. Karshi signifies a palace, a name given to Nakshab, or Nefes. It stands on the river Tûm. <sup>2</sup> Called also Samin. and Zam. <sup>3</sup> History of the Turks, as before, p. 464, et seq. <sup>4</sup> Written by some, Samarakand. <sup>5</sup> Hence the Sogdiana of the ancients. <sup>6</sup> Abu'lfeda says, it had a wide ditch round the walls. <sup>7</sup> The same author says, they are dug in a hill called Kubak, and that the streets are paved with stones. <sup>8</sup> To the south-west: others make it to rise a few miles east of the Amû, and fall into a lake to the east of Samarkant.

dominions, if the inhabitants had but the industry to make it navigable<sup>1</sup>. But for trade to flourish, there would require another kind of master than the Mohammedan Tartars.

It is said, that Samarkant furnishes the beautifullest silk paper made in all Asia, which makes it in great request throughout the east. The country produces pears, apples, raisins, and melons, of an exquisite taste, and in such plenty, that it supplies the empire of the Great Mogul, and a part of Persia with them.

The other remarkable cities in this province were Otrar, Zarnuk, Kojand, Kash, Saganian, Washjerd, and Termed: but of these we meet with scarce any account in modern travellers. Otrar, called by the Arabs, Farab, is the most distant city from the capital, and lies almost due north. It stands in the most north-west part of the province, on a small river, which two leagues thence falls northward into the Sir<sup>2</sup>. This place is famous for the death of Timûr-beg, or Tamerlan, in 1405; and though not considerable at present, was the capital of Turkestân, when that kingdom was in its flourishing state under Kavar Khan, before-mentioned.

Kojand, or Kojend, lies seven stages to the north-east of Samarkant, and four south of Tashkant, or Alshâsh, on the river Sir, being a famous passage over that river, as Termed is over the Amû. Saganian and Washjerd are seated on the river Saganian, that falls into the Amû. Kash lies not far to the east of Karshi, and south of Samarkant. Timûr-beg was Prince of this city before he rose to his greatness.

To these places may be added Anghien, which is the most eastern town of note in Great Bukhâria, standing near its borders towards Kâshgar, and not far from the source of the Sir, on whose northern bank it is situate, in the latitude of forty degrees; according to the Jesuits maps of Tibet, drawn from the journals of Chinese and Tartar travellers. For exhibiting the country from thence, to the Caspian Sea, those missionaries transmitted memoirs, which were put into the hands of Mr. Danville, in order to make a general map of Tatory: but as those memoirs are not published with the rest by Du Halde, nor any marks inserted in this map by roads, or otherwise, whereby one may trace or distinguish the places to which those memoirs relate; we are quite at a loss to know how far they were of use to that skilful geographer, in drawing the part which concerns Great Bukhâria, more particularly as to the course of the Sir with the countries and rivers to the north of it, wherein his map differs so widely from and seems to excel all others.

### 3. *The Province of Bâlk.*

*Bounds and Extent:—Soil and Produce:—Inhabitants civilized.—City of Bâlk:—The Khan's Castle: Its Trade.—Anderâb.—Lapis Lazuli Quarries.—Badâg-shân.—Mines of Gold, Silver, and Rubies.—Belûr-tâg.*

THE province of Bâlk or Bâlkh, lies to the south of the province of Samarkant, and east of that of Proper Bukhâria. It is about three hundred and sixty miles long, and two hundred and forty in breadth.

Bentinck observes, that although this part is but small, in comparison of all the rest, which is in the hands of the Khan of Bukhâria; yet being extremely fertile, and thoroughly cultivated, the Prince, in whose possession it is, draws a fair revenue out of it. This province particularly abounds with silk, of which the inhabitants make very pretty stuffs.

<sup>1</sup> Abu'lfeda says, the water was conveyed by leaden pipes into the city. See his Deser. Chorasmia, &c. p. 62. <sup>2</sup> Called, formerly, Jihun, and Alshâsh.

The Uzbeks, subject to the Khan of Bâlk, are the most civilized of all who inhabit Great Bukhâria, to which the large trade they have with the Persians and Indians, in all likelihood, contributes much; excepting in this, and that they are less thievish, and more industrious, they differ in nothing from the other Tatars<sup>1</sup>.

The country of Bâlk is divided into several provinces: the most remarkable are Khotlân, or Katlân, Tokharestân, and Badagshân. Its chief cities are Bâlk, Fariyab, Talkân, Badagshân, and Anderâb.

The city of Bâlk is situate towards the borders of Persia, about fifty miles to the south of Termed, on the river Dehask, which about forty miles thence to the north-west falls into the Amû. Bentinck informs us, that Bâlk is at present the most considerable of all the towns possessed by the Mohammedan Tatars, being large, fair, and well-peopled: most of its buildings are of stone, or brick; and its fortifications consist of bulwarks of earth, fenced without with a strong wall, high enough to cover those employed in its defence.

The Khan's castle is a great building, after the eastern fashion, built almost wholly of marble, dug out of the neighbouring mountains, which afford fine quarries of it. It is jealousy alone which has hitherto preserved this Prince in the possession of his dominions, as it is sure to find him a support from one of the neighbouring powers, when the other appears disposed to seize his territories.

All foreigners having free liberty to transact their affairs in this city, it is become the resort of all the business carried on between Great Bukhâria and the Indies; to which the fine river above-mentioned, which passes through its suburb, contributes not a little. Merchandizes pay two per cent. going in and coming out; but those who only travel as passengers, pay nothing at all in this place.

The town of Anderâb is the most southern, which the Uzbeks possess at present; being situate at the foot of the mountains which separate the dominions of Persia, and the Great Mogul from Great Bukhâria. As there is no other way of crossing those mountains towards India with beasts of carriage, but by the road through this city, all travellers and goods from Great Bukhâria, designed for that country, must pass this way; on which account the Khan of Bâlk constantly maintains a good number of soldiers in the place; though otherwise it is not very strong.

The neighbouring mountains afford very rich quarries of lapis lazuli, in which the Bukhâr inhabitants drive a great trade with the merchants of India and Persia. For the rest, Anderâb is very rich, and well peopled, considering it is but small. Merchandizes pay there four per cent. for liberty of passing.

Badagshân is situate at the foot of those high mountains<sup>2</sup> which separate the dominions of the Great Mogul from Grand Tartary. It is a very ancient city, and exceeding strong, by its situation in the mountains. It is dependent on the Khan of Proper Bukhâria, and serves him for a kind of state prison, where he shuts up those from whom he thinks it convenient to secure himself.

This town is not very big; but it is well enough built, and very populous. The inhabitants are enriched by the mines of gold and silver, as well as rubies, which are in their neighbourhood; those who dwell at the foot of the mountains gathering a great quantity of gold and silver dust in spring out of the channels, made every year by the torrents, which fall in abundance from the top of those mountains, when the snow melts<sup>3</sup>.

<sup>1</sup> History of the Turks, &c. p. 466.

<sup>2</sup> These are called Belûr Tag, or the dark mountains.

<sup>3</sup> History of the Turks, &c. p. 466, et seq.

Those mountains are called, in the Mongol language, Belûr Tâg, or the dark mountains : in them rises the river Amû, there called Harrat ; on the north side of which Badakhân stands, about one hundred miles from its source. Its distance, from Bâlk, is about two hundred and thirty ; and from Anghien, in the province of Samarkant, two hundred and ten. It is a great thoroughfare of the karawans designed for Little Bukhâria, or China, which take the same road.

SECT. II.—THE INHABITANTS OF GREAT BUKHARIA, THEIR MANNERS AND CUSTOMS.

THE inhabitants of Great Bukhâria are, 1. The Bukhârs, or Tajiks, who are the ancient inhabitants. 2. The Jagatays, or Mongols, who settled there under Jagatay, second son of Jenghîz Khan : and, 3. The Uzbek Tartars, who are the present possessors.

1. *The Bukhârs, or Tajiks.*

*The Bukhârs:—their Persons.—Men's Dress—Women's Habit.—Religion.—Trade.—Averse to War.—Their Origin unknown.*

ALL the towns, both of Great and Little Bukhâria from the borders of Karazm as far as China, are inhabited by the Bukhârs ; who being the ancient inhabitants of those provinces, have that name given them throughout the east : but the Tartars commonly call them Tajiks ; which word, in their language, signifies nearly the same as burges<sup>s</sup>, or citizen.

The Bukhârs are commonly of the ordinary size, but well set, and very fair complexioned, considering the climate. They have, for the most part, large eyes, black and lively ; are hawk-nosed ; their faces well shaped : their hair black and very fine ; their beards thick : in short, they partake nothing of the deformity of the Tartars, among whom they inhabit. The women, who are generally large, and well shaped, have fine complexions, and very beautiful features.

Both men and women use calico shifts and drawers : but the men wear, besides a kaftan (or vest) of some quilted silk or calico, which reaches to the calf of the leg ; with a round cloth bonnet, shaped much after the Polish fashion, having a large fur border : some also wear turbans, like the Turkish. They tie their kaftans about the middle with a girdle of a kind of silk crape, which goes several times round the body ; and when they go abroad throw over it a long cloth gown faced and even lined in winter with fur. Their boots are made like the Persian buskins, but not altogether so neat ; and they have the art of preparing horse hides for the purpose, after a very singular manner.

The women wear long gowns of calico or silk, which are pretty full, and hang loose about the body. Their slippers are shaped like those worn by the women in the north of the Indies ; and they cover their heads with a little flat, coloured bonnet, letting their hair hang down the back in tresses, adorned with pearl and other jewels.

All the Bukhârs profess the Mohammedan religion, nearly after the Turkish form, except in some few ceremonies. They subsist entirely by following mechanic trades or commerce, which is wholly in their hands, neither the Kalmûks nor Uzbek Tartars meddling with it. But as seldom any foreign merchants arrive among them, especially

<sup>s</sup> In contempt for their living wholly in towns, and following merchandize : whereas the Tartars prefer the field, and treat commerce as a base, mean employment.

in those parts where the Mohanniedan Tartars are masters, the Bukhârs go in crowds to China, the Indies, Persia, and Siberia, where they trade to very considerable advantage.

Although they possess all the towns of these provinces, they never meddle with arms upon any account, and trouble themselves only about their own affairs; paying the Kalmûks and Uzbek Tartars, who are in possession of the country<sup>1</sup>, a certain tribute, regulated yearly for every town and village. On this account the Tartars despise them extremely, treating them as cowardly, simple people, as may be observed in several places of Abu'lghâzi Khan's history before inserted.

The Bukhârs themselves are utterly at a loss whence they draw their origin<sup>2</sup>. However they know by tradition, that they are not originally of Bukhâria, but came thither from some distant country. They are not divided into tribes, like the Tartars, and many other eastern people: whence those who labour to reconcile sacred history with profane, take occasion to surmise, that they are the descendants of the twelve tribes of Israel<sup>3</sup>, whom Salmanasser, King of Assyria, carried into the kingdom of the Medes<sup>4</sup>. To support this conjecture it is observed, that the Bukhârs have much the appearance of Jews, and many customs not unlike theirs<sup>5</sup>: but the author thinks such similitudes too weak for being convincing proofs<sup>6</sup>.

### 2. *The Jagatay Tartars.*

EVER since the time of Jagatay Khan, second son of Jenghîz Khan, who had for his share Great Bukhâria and Karazm<sup>7</sup>, those provinces bore the name of Jagatay, and his Tartar (or Mongol) subjects, whom he brought along with him, that of Jagatay Tartars; till Shabakht Soltan, having driven out the descendants of Tamerlan, the name of Jagatays gave place to that of Uzbeks: which, says the author, our geographers do not observe, continuing still to give the name of Jagatay to Great Bukhâria, although it has ceased above two hundred years ago. However, it is still used to distinguish the Tartars who first possessed that country, from those who are the present masters of it, although both, making now but one mixed body, are comprized under the general name of Uzbeks. On the other hand, the troops of the Great Mogul of India are called Jagatays by the Orientals; because they were the Jagatays who conquered it<sup>8</sup>, under Soltan Babor, after he had been expelled out of Great Bukhâria.

### 3. *The Uzbek Tartars of Great Bukhâria.*

*The Uzbeks: — their Dress, Diet, Language, Arms: — robust and brave: — the Women warlike: — their Horses: — always at War: — few dwell in Towns.*

THE Uzbeks who possess this country, are generally reputed the most civilized of all the Mohammedan Tartars, notwithstanding they are great robbers, like the rest. As low as their boots, which they wear very clouterly, they are clothed, men and women, after the Persian fashion, but not at all so cleverly; and the chief among them wear a plume of white heron's feathers on their turbans.

<sup>1</sup> The Uzbeks are in possession of Great Bukhâria, and the Kalmûks of the Lesser. <sup>2</sup> The author would have done well to have satisfied his readers, whether the Bukhârs be the same people with the Sarts of Karazm, or not; and if not, to have mentioned in what respects they differ. <sup>3</sup> Methinks their not being divided into tribes, is an argument against, not for, this idle notion.

<sup>4</sup> 2 Kings, xviii. <sup>5</sup> It cannot be otherwise, in consequence of their being Mohammedans. <sup>6</sup> History of the Turks, &c. <sup>7</sup> Rather the east part of it, containing Kat and Kayuk, with the country of the Vîgurs, or Oylghûrs and Kashgar, which comprizes Little Bukhâria. <sup>8</sup> History of the Turks, &c. p. 455, et seq. p. 458, et seq.

Pillaw (which is boiled rice, after the fashion of the Orientals,) and horse-flesh, are their most delicious victuals; kumis and arack, both made of mares'-milk their common drink.

Their language is a mixture of the Turkish, Persian, and Mongol tongues: yet they are able to understand the Persians, and the Persians them.

Their arms are much the same with the rest of the Tartars, viz. the sabre, the dart, the lance, and the bow of a larger size than ordinary, which they make use of with much strength and dexterity. They have begun, for some time past, to use muskets, after the Persian manner. When they go to war, a great part of their cavalry wear coats of mail, and a little buckler to defend them.

The Tartars of Great Bukhâria pique themselves on being the most robust and brave of all the Tartars; and they must needs be a courageous people, seeing the Persians, who are naturally very brave, are yet in some measure afraid of them. The women also of this country value themselves on account of their bravery. Bernier relates to this purpose a very romantic account, which was given him by the Khan of Samarkant's ambassador to Aureng Zeb. The truth is, that the Tartar women of Great Bukhâria go often to war with their husbands, and do not fear coming to blows upon occasion. They are, for the most part, very well made, and tolerably handsome; nay, some of them may pass for perfect beauties in any country.

The horses of these Tartars make but a very sorry appearance, having neither breast nor buttocks, the neck long and strait, like a stick, and the legs very high, and no belly. They are, besides, of a frightful leanness: for all this, they are exceeding swift, and almost indefatigable. They are easily maintained; a little grass, though ever so indifferent, and even a little moss, satisfying them in case of need: so that these are the best horses in the world for the use the Tartars make of them.

They are continually at war with the Persians, the fine plains of the province of Khorasân favouring their incursions: but they cannot penetrate into the dominions of the Great Mogul, for the high mountains which separate them, and are inaccessible to their cavalry.

Such of them as feed upon their cattle, live under huts, like their neighbours the Kalmûks, encamping sometimes here, sometimes there, according to their conveniency: but those who cultivate the lands, dwell in the villages and hamlets, very few of them living in the cities or towns, which are all possessed by the Bukhârs, or ancient inhabitants<sup>1</sup>.

### SECT. III. — THE KHANS OF GREAT BUKHARIA.

INTRODUCTION. — As we do not propose to give a complete history of the several races of the Kings of this country, but only of such as descended from the famous Jenghîz Khan; we shall refer our readers for those who preceded the times of that Khan, to the translations of Almakî and Abu'lfaraj<sup>2</sup>, with the extracts given by Teixeira and D'Herbelot<sup>3</sup>, from other Oriental historians. The succession of the Mogul Khans is divided into two races, or branches: the first that of the Jagatays, or those who descended immediately from Jagatay, second son of Jenghîz Khan: the second that of the Uzbeks, who derive their origin from Juji, eldest son of that conqueror. Of the first

<sup>1</sup> History of the Turks, &c. p. 458, et seq.

<sup>2</sup> Both from the Arabic: the first by Erpenius, under the title of "Historia Saracenica;" the second by Dr. Pocock, and styled "Historia Compendiosa Dynastiarum."

<sup>3</sup> The first in the History of Persia; the second in his "Bibliothèque Orientale."

Abu'lghâzi gives a regular history, though in brief, and not accompanied throughout with the dates and lengths of the reigns. Of the Uzbek Khans of Great Bukhâria, he treats only occasionally, on account of the wars, or alliances, that happened between them, and the Khans of Karazm.

1. *The Khans descended from Jagatay Khan.*

*Jagatay Khan. — Kara Hulaku Khan. — Doyzi Khan. — Yafun Timûr Khan. — Ali Soltan Khan. — Kazan Khan. — Amîr Kazagan. — Seyruk Tamîsh Khan. — Toglûk Timûr Khan. — Amîr Timûr Khan.*

JAGATAY Khan had something so very severe in his aspect, that every body was afraid to look at him : but he had a vast deal of wit, on which account it was that Jenghîz Khan gave him, for his share, all the country of Mawara'nahr, and half of Karazm, as well as the Vigûrs<sup>1</sup>, and cities of Kashgar, Badagshân, Bâlk, and Gasmah, with their dependencies, as far as the river Sir-indi, or Indus. However, he never resided in his dominions, but with his brother Ugaday (or Oktay, at Karakoram) leaving proper persons to govern in his absence. He had seven sons, Mutugan, Muzi, Balda Shah, Saghin-lalga, Sarmans, Buffu-munga, and Baydar.

Jagatay dying in 1242<sup>2</sup>, he was succeeded by his grandson Kara Hulaku, son of Mutugan ; who deceasing while his son Mubarak Shah was yet very young, his mother, Argata Khatun, took the regency till he attained the age which qualified him to reign by himself. After the death of Mubarak Shah, Algu, son of Baydar, came to the crown, and had for his successor Barak Khan, who in the third year of his reign embraced Mohammedism, and took the name of Jelal-addîn. He dying, the dignity of Khan was conferred on Beghi, son of Sarmans ; who was succeeded by Buga Timûr, a great grandson of Mutugan.

Buga Timûr had for his successor Doyzi Khan, son of Barak Khan ; who was succeeded by his son, Konza Khan. Konza dying, Baliga also, a grandson of Mutugan, ascended the throne, and was succeeded by Ifan Boga, second son of Doyzi Khan. After him, his brother Dwi Timûr held the sceptre of Mawara'nahr, which was possessed next by his brother Tarmashir ; who embraced Mohammedism, and restored that worship, which had almost become extinct since the time of Barak Khan.

Tarmashir Khan was slain by his brother Butan Khan, who afterwards seized the throne, and had for his successor his nephew Zangshi. Yafun Timûr, brother of this Khan, envying him the dignity, resolved to make him away also : but their mother suspecting his design, advised Zangshi Khan to be on his guard ; who immediately taking the field against Yafun Timûr, had the misfortune to lose the battle, with his life : after which, the victor caused his mother's belly to be ripped up, in revenge for having given his brother the information above mentioned.

During his reign, Ali Soltan, a Prince descended from Ugada Khan, became so formidable, that after his death he brought Mawara'nahr under his subjection : but Ali dying, Kazan Soltan restored the possession to the house of Jagatay Khan. He was a very cruel Prince. He at first carried on a war successfully against Amîr Kazagan, whom he defeated : but afterwards having taking up his winter-quarters about Karshi, the weather proved so severe, that most of his horses perished. On this ad-

<sup>1</sup> Rather, we presume, the country of the Vigûrs ; which seems to have been that part of Little Bukhâria containing the countries of Turfan and Hami, or Khamil, with the adjoining parts of Tartary northward.

<sup>2</sup> Hejrah, 640.

vice, Amîr Kazagan returned immediately; and the Khan meeting him with his forces, now reduced to infantry, he was slain in the battle, in the year 1348. Kazan was the last of the sixteen Princes of the posterity of Jagatay, who reigned with the full power and dignity of Khans: for those who succeeded him had only the name, without the authority, each head of a tribe assuming the liberty of acting according to his own fancy.

After Kazan's death, Amîr Kazagan, descended of Ugaday Khan, mounted the throne; but was slain when he had reigned two years, nobody knows by whom. On this Bayan Kuli, son of Surga, son of Doyzi Khan, of the line of Jagatay, seized the sceptre, although Kazagan left several sons; one of whom, called Abdallah, he caused to be slain, on suspicion of having a criminal correspondence with his wife. Timûr Shah, son of Yafun Timûr Khan, succeeded Bayankuli. His successor was Adil Soltan, son of Mahamet Pulad, son of Konza Khan. Among the vassals of this Prince there were two heads of tribes, Amîr Timûr, son of Taragay, of the tribe of Burlas; the other Amîr Hufseyn, nephew of Abdallah Khan, descended from Ugaday Khan. These two lords conspiring against Adil Soltan, seized his person, and, having bound him hands and feet, drowned him. They nominated in his room Kabul Soltan. In his reign they seized the city of Balk, and slew the Khan, who governed there.

On Kabul Khan's decease these two lords set up Seyruk Tamish, son of Danishmanza, descended from Ugaday Khan; and, after his death, his son, Mohammed Soltan, was invested with the dignity, but possessed no more of the power than his predecessors, since the time of Kazan Khan. Whilst the government was on so unsteady a footing, Amûr Timûr made war against all the Mongol tribes, in the country of Mawara'nahr, getting sometimes the better, at other times the worst. Togalak (or Togluk), Timûr Khan of Kashgar, who was become very formidable during these troubles, perceiving so favourable an opportunity to enlarge his dominions, entered Mawara'nahr with a great army. At his approach one part of the inhabitants, tired with their civil wars, submitted to him; another part, who resisted, was put to the sword; and the rest retired with Timûr and Hufseyn into Karazm.

Togalak Timûr Khan having staid a whole year in the conquered country, gave the government to his son Ilyas Khoja, and went back to Kâshgar, where he died the year following. On this news those two lords returning, constrained Ilyas Khoja to retire to Kâshgar. After this, they divided the sovereign authority between them, and lived for some time in good understanding: but, at length, falling at variance, they came to a bloody battle near Bâlk; in which Hufseyn being slain, left his rival sole master of the country. It is true, Mohammed Soltan Khan always bore the title, but it was Amîr Timûr who in fact reigned; and the Khan was so far from envying him, that he continually prayed for his life. Timûr having reigned in this manner for thirty-three years, at the age of sixty, entered into the country of Rûm, and fought with Soltan Bayazîd a bloody battle, which lasted from morning till late in the night. The Soltan seeing his army entirely destroyed, fled: but Timûr sending the Khan in pursuit of him, his few followers were slain, and himself taken prisoner.

After a year's stay in those parts, Timûr returned to his own dominions, and put to death not only Soltan Bayazîd, but also the good Mohammed Soltan Khan; and then caused himself to be proclaimed Khan. This done, he undertook an expedition against Kitay; but got no farther than the city of Otrar, where he fell sick, and died in the year 1404, after he had reigned thirty-six years, and lived sixty-three. Abu'lghâzi Khan's design having been only to speak of those Princes who descended from Jenghîz Khan,  
he

he gives no account of the successors of Amîr Timûr, because they were of his race; whom, at length, the Uzbeks, under Shahbâkht Soltan, dispossessed of their dominion in Mawara'lnahr, or Great Bukhâria.

## 2. *The Uzbek Khans of Great Bukhâria.*

*Introduction.* — *Shâbbakht Khan.* — *Kushanji Khan.* — *Abufayd Khan.* — *Obeyd Khan defeated by Din Mahamet.* — *Iskander Khan.* — *Abdallah Khan subdues Karazm.* — *Abdul momin Khan.* — *Imâm kuli Khan.* — *Nadir Mahamet Khan.* — *Abdalazîz Khan.* — *Disagreement of Historians.*

WE have in Teixeira, D'Herbelot, and other extracts from the Oriental authors, some account of the Princes who reigned in Great Bukhâria since the Mohammedan conquests, under the several dynasties of the Arabs, Persians, and Turks. The same authors treat also of the successors of Jenghîz Khan in that country; but speak very little, and confusedly of the Uzbek Princes who governed there. They neither give us all their names in order of succession, nor the dates or lengths of their reigns, and put an end to their dominion above two hundred years ago. In short, the best account of the Uzbek Khans of Great Bukhâria to be met with any where, is that which Abu'l-ghâzi Khan has inserted occasionally in his History of Karazm, on account of the wars that happened from time to time between those two countries, of which, chiefly, the following is an abstract.

1. Shahbakht (or Sheybeg) Khan, in the year 1494, invaded Great Bukhâria, from whence he drove out Soltan Babor, with the Jagatays; who retiring into India, made some conquests, and settled there. After this he entered Khorafân, and subdued that province also, from Soltan Husseyn Mirza. These conquests he finished in 1498, from whence his reign commences. In the year 1507, Soltan Husseyn raised an army at Herât, the capital of Khorafân, with a design to invade Great Bukhâria: but dying by the way, his son Padi Azzamon succeeded him. This Prince, unable to withstand Shaybeg, retired to Khandahâr; where raising forces, he returned to meet the Uzbek: but being defeated, fled into Persia to Shah Ismaël Sofi. This Prince espousing Padi Azzamon's cause, marched against Shaybeg in the year 1510; and meeting him at Marû, a bloody battle was fought, wherein Shaybeg's army was defeated, and himself killed, after he had reigned twelve years.

2. Kushanji Khan, the successor of Shaybeg, is reckoned the most noble and powerful of all the Uzbek Princes who reigned in Mawara'lnahr. In 1512, Soltan Babor returning out of India, and being joined by Ahmed Isfahani, passed the Jihûn (or Amû) and ravished the country about Karshi. In short, they had almost reduced the whole country, when Kushanji Khan, setting forward with an army, met and defeated them. The Persian general was killed on the spot, and Babor fled back to India. In 1529, Kushanji Khan marched into Persia against Shah Tahmasb, son of Ismaël; but was defeated, and retired to his dominions. After this he returned to Marû, and would again have broken into Persia; but a peace being concluded between the two monarchs, he went back to Samarkant, where he died the same year, after a reign of twenty-eight.

3. He was succeeded by his son, Abufayd Khan; who reigned four years, without doing any thing remarkable, and died in 1532.

4. Obeyd Khan, his successor, was the son of Mohammed Soltan, brother of Shâhbakht, who conquered Great Bukhâria. This Prince entering Khorafân, took some towns; while the Uzbeks of Karazm, doing the like on their side, Shah Tahmasb thought

thought fit to make peace with the Uzbeks. Stirred up by Omar Ghâzi Soltan, who fled to him from Karazm, this Khan, in conjunction with the Khans of Samarkant and Tashkant, enters that country in 1542; which they over-ran, seizing Avanash Khan, and all the Princes of his family, whom he divided, together with the towns, among his confederates. Din Mahamet Soltan, eldest son of Avanash Khan, as soon as Obeyd Khan was withdrawn, invading Karazm, retakes Khayuk and Urjenz. On this news, Obeyd Khan returns with a numerous army; but being met by Din Mahamet the same year with much inferior forces, was entirely defeated, and the Princes, his relations, restored by an exchange of prisoners.

About the year 1550, Obeyd Khan entering Khorafân, took Marû from the Persians; but growing jealous of the governor, and sending an army to displace him, that officer surrendered it to Din Mahamet, then Khan of Karazm. After this, Nûr Mahamet Soltan, grandson of Din Mahamet Khan, being envied the possession of his grandfather's estate in Khorafân, the Princes of his family combined to take it from him: whereupon he delivered up his four cities of Marû, Nafay, Yaurfurdi, and Duruhn, to Obeyd Khan: imagining that Prince would leave him in possession, and be content with receiving tribute from him; but found himself deceived. The time of Obeyd Khan's death is not mentioned. Teixeira and D'Herbelot, after Mirkond, place it in 1540, allowing only six years to his reign: but this must be a great mistake. According to Abu'lghâzi Khan, he must have reigned above fifty years, and died about 1584, or 1585.

5. Obeyd Khan seems to have been succeeded by Iskander Khan, son of Janibek, son of Khojah Mahamet, son of Abu'lgayir Khan, who reigned in Kipjak. There is nothing remarkable mentioned, relating to this Prince, who was not right in his senses. On the death of his predecessor, Nûr Mahamet went and recovered his four towns out of the hands of the Bukhârian Uzbeks. Shah Abbâs I. also willing to profit by that event, went and took Marû from him. We find nothing to give light into the beginning, end, or length of his reign.

6. Abdallah Khan, son of Iskander Khan: when he began his reign is likewise uncertain; only we find, that some years after the death of Ali Soltan, which happened in 1571, Abdallah invaded Karazm, but retired on the approach of Hajim, or Azim Khan. Some time after, the sons of this latter having stripped a Turkish ambassador at Urjenz, who was on his return from Great Bukhâria, Abdallah Khan enters Karazm a second time, with a great army; and having conquered it chiefly by fraud, carried ten Princes of the Khan's family into Bukhâria, where he put them all to death.

Meantime Hajim Khan retired into Persia to Shah Abbâs in the year of the Serpent. Two years after, Abdallah Khan invading Khorafân, Hajim Khan took the opportunity, while Shah Abbâs marched against that invader, to surprise Urjenz and Khayuk; but they were soon recovered again by the troops of Abdallah Khan, who in person besieged Hazarab, and subdued it. After this he returned into Great Bukhâria, where he died the last day of the year 1597, called Tauk, or the Hen. According to Teixeira, and D'Herbelot, this active Prince died in the year 1540, and reigned but six months.

7. Abdolmomîn Khan, son of Abdallah Khan, by a daughter of Mahamet Khan of Karazm, succeeded his father. Being at that time in Khorafân, he set forward to return home, but on his way, at Zamin, on the river Amû, was slain by his own people.

8. Iman Kuli Khan, son of Yar Mahamet Soltan, succeeded Abdolmomîn Khan. In the year 1620, Arab Mahamet Khan, of Karazm, having been defeated by his two rebellious sons, Abu'lghâzi Soltan, who had joined his father, fled, after the battle, into Great Bukhâria, and was received kindly by the Khan. In 1622, Isfandiar Soltan hav-

ing recovered Karazm, and put his two rebellious brothers to death, Abu'lghâzi returned to Urjenz: but his subjects leaving the country on the appearance of a comet, a year or two after, he retired to Turkestan, where he staid two years at the court of Tursum Khan, and then went into Great Bukhâria to Imâm Kuli Khan; who receiving him but coldly, because he had first taken refuge with his enemy, he returned again to Karazm on the invitation of the Turkmâns. Imâm Kuli Khan died about the time that Abu'lghâzi Soltan was proclaimed Khan of Karazm.

9. He was succeeded by his brother Nadir Mahamet Khan. In 1644, the Turkmâns about Khayuk and Hazarab, in Karazm, refusing to submit to Abu'lghâzi, upon his being proclaimed Khan, put themselves under the protection of Nadir Mahamet Khan, who conferred the government of those two places on his grandson, Khifferan Soltan: but soon after recalling him, he sent Yakub, one of his lords, to command in his room. In the mean time he was dethroned in 1646, by his vassal lords, for his harsh treatment of them.

10. He had for his successor his son Abdalâziz Khan. This Prince having formed a design to conquer the country of Bâlk, Subban Kuli Khan, its sovereign, sent to intreat aid of Abu'lghâzi Khan; who laying hold of so fair an opportunity to revenge the injuries done to his family by Abdallah Khan, entered Great Bukhâria for several years successively, destroyed several towns, and committed great ravages. At length, in 1658, a peace was concluded between them, as hath been already related more at large. Since that time we have no regular history of the Khans of this country.

The Persian historians, according to Teixeira and D'Herbelot, make Abdallâtif, the son of Kufhanji, to succeed Abdallah Khan, in 1540. The first says he died the next year, and that in him ended the sovereignty of the successors of Jenghîz Khan in Mawara'Inahr. But this is probably some mistake committed by Teixeira, since D'Herbelot says, from the authority of the Lebtarikh, that Abdallâtif was living in the year 1541, when that book was written. However that be, the reader finds a wide difference between the account given by Abu'lghâzi Khan, and the Persian historians; though he can be at no loss to determine which he ought to rely on.

THE  
 VOYAGES AND TRAVELS OF MR. ANTHONY JENKINSON,  
 FROM RUSSIA TO BOGHAR, OR BOKHARA, IN 1557.

TO WHICH ARE ADDED,  
 SOME INFORMATIONS OF OTHERS, CONCERNING THE ROAD THENCE TO KATAY, OR CHINA<sup>1</sup>.

INTRODUCTION.

MR. JENKINSON, a very intelligent merchant, was sent by the Muscovy Company, by way of Russia, to discover the road to Boghâr, or Bokhâra, in Great Bukhâria, and settle a trade, if advantageous and convenient, in that country. He left Gravesend the 12th of May 1557, chief captain of a fleet of four tall ships, accompanied in the Primrose by Osep Nepea Gregoriowich, the Emperor of Russia's ambassador, and his retinue, whom he had orders to convey home. Sailing round Norway, they arrived at St. Nicholas in Russia the 12th of July, from whence they travelled to Moskow. There having obtained the Emperor's letters to several Princes, through whose dominions he was to pass, he proceeded for Boghâr, with three servants, Richard Johnson, Robert Johnson, and a Tartar Tolmach, with several sorts of merchandizes.

This gentleman was the first who led the way to the Uzbek Tartars; but, indeed, was not seconded till of late by the Russians, hitherto without success. He afterwards made three other voyages to Russia; one of them in quality of ambassador from Queen Elizabeth. These voyages and remarks, written by way of letters to the Muscovy Company, and others, are inserted both by Hakluyt and Purchas, in their collections. They contain a great many curious observations, and are particularly valuable for the latitudes, which the author took of the principal places he was at. We shall begin our journey at Moskow, or more properly at Astrakhân<sup>2</sup>; reserving what relates to Russia till we come to treat of that country. And as his servant Johnson procured certain informations, while at Boghâr, concerning the road thence to Katay, we shall add them as a proper appendix, together with those given by Haji Mehemet, a Persian merchant, to Ramusio.

SECT. I. — *The Author's Voyage over the Caspian Sea, and Journey to Urjenz.*

*They leave Moskow: — come to Astrakhân: — that City described: — the Trade poor: — enter the Caspian Sea: — sail North-east. — The Blue Sea. — Island Bauleata. — River Jaik. — Serachik. — Boarded by Pirates: — lucky Escape. — The River Yem. — Port of Munguslave: — ill Treatment there. — Duties levied on the Road. — Author's good Luck. — Come to a Gulf. — Course of the Oxus. — Sellizure, or Shayzure. — City of Urjenz. — Land of Turkman. — The Khan's Authority.*

THE 20th of April 1558, they left Moskow by water; and the 29th came to the city of Kazan, on the river Wolga, conquered nine years before from the Tartars: from thence to the Caspian Sea, there is no place of trade. They departed the 13th of June. Fifteen leagues lower the Kama falls into it. The country between, on the left (or east side) is called Vachen; the inhabitants Pagans. On the right hand, opposite the Kama, are the Cheremizes, half Gentiles, half Tartars: and all the land on the left, from thence to Astrakhân, and so along the Caspian shores to the Turkmen,

<sup>1</sup> Green, Vol. iv. p. 630.

<sup>2</sup> The voyage between those two places being but briefly touched on, by way of introduction.

is named the country of Mangat<sup>1</sup>; or Nogay; whose inhabitants, while the author was at Astrakhân in 1558, were all destroyed by civil wars, famine, and pestilence, to the number of an hundred thousand, and great satisfaction of the Russians.

All the country on the right side of the Wolga, from the Kama to Astrakhân, is called Krîm<sup>2</sup>. They are Mohammedans, and live like the Nogays; are always at war with the Russians, and supported by the Great Turk. The 28th of June they came to the ruins of a castle of the Krîms, on a hill, in the latitude of fifty-one degrees forty-seven minutes, half way from Kazan to Astrakhân, which are about two hundred leagues distant. The 14th of July passing by an old castle, which was old Astrakhân, on the right, they arrived at New Astrakhân, which the Emperor conquered in 1552; being the last place he hath taken from the Tartars towards the Caspian Sea<sup>3</sup>.

This city is situate in an island on the side of a hill. It has a castle within it, fenced with earth and timber; neither fair nor strong; but a good garrison is kept on foot. The town is also walled with earth: the buildings and houses, except those of the governor's and a few others, very mean and poor. Fish, especially sturgeon, is the only food; flesh and bread being very scarce. These they hang up in their streets and houses to dry; which makes this place, more than any other, swarm with flies, and occasions the air to be so bad. In the plague and famine before mentioned, the Nogay Tartars came to seek relief from their enemies the Russians; who bestowed their charity so ill, that they died in heaps over the island; the rest the Russians sold, or drove from thence. That was a proper time to have converted them, if the Russians themselves had been good Christians. The author could have bought thousands of pretty boys and girls of their parents, for a sixpenny loaf a-piece; but had more need of victuals at that juncture. The trade is very trifling, although there is a good resort of merchants.

The chief Russian commodities are red hides, red sheep-skins, wooden vessels, bridles and saddles, knives and other trifles, with corn, bacon, and other victuals. The Tartars bring divers kinds of silks and cotton-cloths: the Persians from Shamakki, coarse sewing-silk, silk-girdles, krasso, coats of mail, bows, swords, and the like: sometimes also corn, and walnuts; but all in such small quantities, that there is no hopes of trade in those parts worth following. The foresaid island of Astrakhân, which is destitute of wood and pasture, and will bear no corn, is in length twelve leagues, and in breadth three; lying east and west, in the latitude of forty-seven degrees nine minutes<sup>4</sup>.

The 6th of August they embarked with their goods on the Wolga, in company with certain Tartars and Persians, Jenkinson having the whole care of the navigation down the river, which is very crooked, and full of flats toward the mouth. The 10th they entered the Caspian Sea, on the eastern side of the river, which has seventy mouths, being twenty leagues from Astrakhân, in the latitude of forty-six degrees twenty-seven minutes<sup>5</sup>.

The wind being brisk, they kept the north-east shore; and the 11th, having sailed seven leagues east-north-east, came to an island with a high hill on it, called Akhurgar, a good mark at sea. From thence east ten leagues, they fell in with the island Bawhiata, much higher than the former. Within these two islands to the north, is a great bay, called the Blue Sea. From thence sailing east by north ten leagues, the wind contrary, they came to an anchor in a fathom water, and so rid till the 15th, having a great storm at south-east; then the wind coming north, they ran south-east that day eight leagues.

<sup>1</sup> Or the Mankats, the same with the Karakalpaks.

<sup>2</sup> In Purchas, Crimme.

<sup>3</sup> Purchas Pilgr. vol. iii. p. 232.

<sup>4</sup> Olearius puts it in four.

<sup>5</sup> Purchas Pilgr. p. 233.

Thus proceeding forwards, the 17th they lost sight of land, and sailed thirty leagues, next day twenty, winding east, and fell in with a land, called Baughleata, seventy-four leagues from the mouth of the Wolga, in the latitude of forty-six degrees fifty-four minutes <sup>1</sup>, the coast lying nearest east-by-south, and west-by-north. At the point of this island is the tomb of a Tartar saint, where the Mohammedans pay their devotions <sup>2</sup>.

The 19th, winding east-south-east, they sailed ten leagues, and passed by a river, called Jaik, which rises in Siberia, near the foresaid river Kama, and runs through the land of Nogay. One day's journey up it, is a town called Serachik <sup>3</sup>, subject to Murfa Smille, the greatest Prince in all Nogay, which is now in friendship with the Russians. There is no trade in this country, the natives having no money, but cattle, and living by robbery.

On the 20th, as the bark lay at an anchor before this river, all the men being ashore except Jenkinson, who was sick, and five Tartars (whereof one, called Azi, was reputed a holy man, because he had been at Mekka) there came a boat with thirty men well-armed, who beginning to enter the bark, Azi asked them what they would have, and said a prayer. Upon this the rovers desisted, declaring that they were gentlemen banished from their country, and came to see if there were in the vessel any Russians, or other Kafirs <sup>4</sup>, so they call Christians: but the good pilgrim swearing stoutly, that there were none, they departed. Thus the author observes, that by the fidelity of that Tartar he, with all his company and goods were preserved. Soon after, leaving this place, they sailed that day sixteen leagues, winding east and south-east.

The 21st they crossed a bay six leagues, and fell with a cape, having two islands over to the south-east. Doubling the cape, the land trended north-east, and made another bay, into which falls the great river Yem, rising in the land of Kolmak <sup>5</sup>. Three days they lay at anchor. The 25th the wind proving fair, they sailed twenty leagues, and passed by a low island, about which are many flats and sands: to the north of it there runs in a great bay. Hence they ran ten leagues, winding south to come into deep water: then east-south-east twenty leagues, and fell with the main land, full of copped hills. They passed along the coast twenty leagues, the land growing higher the further they sailed.

The 27th they crossed over a bay, whose south shore was the higher land, and fell with a high point, where there arose a violent storm at east, which continued three days. From this cape they passed to a port called Manguflave. The place where they should have arrived, at the southermost part of the Caspian <sup>6</sup> Sea, is twelve leagues within a bay: but they were driven by the storm to the other side of the bay, opposite to Manguflave, to a place where never bark nor boat had before arrived.

From this haven they sent some of their men ashore, to know of the governor, if they might safely land with their goods, and get camels to carry them to Sellizure, twenty-five days' journey distant. The messengers returning with very fair promises, the 3d of September they landed, and at first were civilly entertained: but at last they shewed their evil dispositions, for they were always fighting with them, stealing, or begging from them. They raised the price of horses, camels, and victuals, double what it used to be, and forced them to buy the water they drank: so that for every

<sup>1</sup> Only fifteen minutes more south than the mouth of the Wolga.

<sup>2</sup> Purchas, as before, p 234.

<sup>3</sup> In Purchas, Serachicke.

<sup>4</sup> In the original, Caphars, Kafr is an Arabic word, signifying infidels.

<sup>5</sup> Rather the country of the Kalmuks.

<sup>6</sup> From this circumstance, as well as the course and distance from the river Yem, Manguflave should be more to the south, than the latitude, viz. forty-five degrees, given by our author, places it; but for which we should judge it to be the same with Minkishlak, often mentioned by Abu'lghazi Khan.

camel's lading, being but four hundred weight English, they agreed to give three hides of Russia, and four wooden dishes; and to the Prince or governor of the people, one ninth, and two sevenths; namely, nine several things, and twice seven several things; for they use no money.

The 14th they departed, being a karavan of a thousand camels, and in five days came to the dominions of Timûr Soltan, another Prince, governor of the country of Mangu-flave, where they intended to have carried their bark, but for the storm. In the way they were met by some of his Tartars; who, in his name, opened their bales, and took a ninth of such things as they thought best, without money<sup>1</sup>.

Jenkinson having wrangled with them in vain, rode to the same Prince, requesting his favour, and passport to travel through his country, that he might not be robbed by his people: the Soltan received him very kindly, granted him his request, and ordered him to be well feasted with flesh and mares'-milk: for they use no bread, nor other drink, except water. In lieu of the goods, worth fifteen rubles<sup>2</sup>, he gave him a horse worth seven, and his letter. Jenkinson was glad to get away so well; for he was reckoned a mere tyrant, and had given orders to rob and destroy the author, in case he had not gone to him.

This Soltan lived in the fields, without castle or town. Jenkinson found him sitting in a little round house made of reeds, covered with felt, and hung with carpets; accompanied by the great metropolitan of that wild country, revered like the Pope, and other chief men. They asked him many questions, concerning his country, laws, and religion; as also the cause of his coming into those parts.

Proceeding on their journey, they travelled twenty days in the wilderness from the sea-side, without seeing town or habitation. Their provisions failing, they were forced to feed on their cattle. Jenkinson killed a camel and a horse. All their drink was very brackish water, drawn out of deep wells, two or three days distant; for rivers there are none. The 5th<sup>3</sup> of October they came again to a gulf of the sea, where they found the water very fresh. Here they were met by the officers of the King of Turk-mân; who, for custom, took one out of every twenty-five, and seven-ninths for the said King, and his brethren. Here they staid a day to refresh themselves.

Formerly the great river Oxus<sup>4</sup> fell into this gulf, but at present runs into the Ardok<sup>5</sup>; which shaping its course northward about a thousand miles, loses itself in the ground, and after a subterraneous passage of above five hundred miles, issueth out again, and falls into the Lake of Kitay<sup>6</sup>.

They left the foresaid gulf the 4th<sup>7</sup> of October, and the 7th arrived at Sellizure<sup>8</sup>, a sorry castle, situate on a hill, where resided Azim Kan<sup>9</sup>, with three of his brethren. The 9th, Jenkinson being ordered to appear before him, delivered the Emperor of Russia's letters, and gave him a present of a ninth. That King received him kindly, and treated him with the flesh of a wild horse, and mares'-milk, without bread. Next day he sent for him again, and asked many questions, relating to the affairs both of Russia and England. At his departure he gave him his letters of safe conduct.

The 14th, leaving the castle of Sellizure, they arrived the 16th at a city called Ur-jenz, where they paid custom for themselves, their camels and horses. Here they staid a month, before they could proceed: in which time Ali Soltan, the Khan's brother,

<sup>1</sup> Purchas Pilgr. p. 235.      <sup>2</sup> A Russian coin.      <sup>3</sup> It should be the fourth.      <sup>4</sup> The Jihûn, or Amû.

<sup>5</sup> This we take to be the stream of the Khafel, that runs by Tuk, or Dok, as in Ardok.

<sup>6</sup> The author was in this misinformed; for it falls into the lake of Aral, about sixty miles north of Tûk.

<sup>7</sup> It should be the fifth.      <sup>8</sup> In the margin both of Hakluyt and Purchas, we find Sellizure, or Shayzure, as the names of this place.      <sup>9</sup> In the translation

of Abu'lghâzi Khan's history, written Hadûm, or Hajim Khan, p. 270; but he resided at Wazir.

and King of that country, being returned from a town called Korafan, in the borders of Persia, which he had lately conquered, sent for Jenkinson; who presented him the Emperor's letters, was kindly entertained, and after answering several questions, obtained his letters of safe conduct. The chief commodities here come from Persia, and Boghâr; but are not worth speaking of.

All the country, from the Caspian Sea hither, is called the land of Turkmân. The people dwell in tents, roving in great companies, with their camels, horses, and sheep; which last are large, and have tails weighing sixty or eighty pounds. They are subject to the Khan, and his five brothers, who pay him but little submission; nor is he obeyed much, except in his own dominions: for each is King in his own territory, and seeks to destroy the rest; being born of different mothers, and commonly the children of slaves. They have at least four or five wives, besides maidens and boys, who live most viciously. When these brothers are at war, which is commonly the case, he who is vanquished flies to the desert, and there robs passengers and the karawans, till he can gather strength to take the field again<sup>1</sup>. Many of their sheep are wild as well as their horses, which they take with hawks.

#### SECT. II. — *The Author's Travels from Urjenz to Boghâr, and Return.*

*Pass the Ardok: — travel through the Desert. — Blade-bone Divination. — Attacked by Robbers: — come to a Parley, and Composition: — come to the Oxus: — more Danger from Thieves. — Boghâr, or Bokhâra City: — the Country. — Jenkinson's Audience: — his kind Reception. — Trade of Boghâr. — Informations concerning Katay. — Reasons for returning: — he leaves Boghâr: — comes to Urjenz, and to their Bark. — Dangerous Tempest — Caspian Sea described. — Large Rivers: — small Trade. — Return to Moscow: — presents the Ambassadors: — comes to Kolmogro.*

THE 26th of November they left Urjenz, and having travelled by the Oxus an hundred miles, passed over the Ardok, a great river, mentioned before. There they paid a small duty. The 7th of December they arrived at Kait<sup>2</sup>, a castle subject to Saramet<sup>3</sup> Soltan; who intended to have robbed all the Christians, but for fear of his brother the King of Urjenz, as they were informed by one of his chief counsellors, who advised them to send him a present; which they did. They paid here for every camel a red hide of Russia, besides trifling gifts to his officers.

Thus proceeding on their journey, the 10th at night there came four horsemen, whom they seized, and sent bound to the Soltan of Kait. The Soltan immediately set forward with three hundred men; and meeting the suspected persons on the road, by threats learned from them, that they belonged to a banished Prince, who three days' journey on the way lay in wait to destroy the karawan. The Soltan hereupon left them fourscore soldiers for their convoy; who, the 15th in the morning, riding before to scour the desert, in four hours returned on a hard gallop, saying, they had seen the track of horses, and asked what the company would give them to stay longer. No agreement being made, they went back to their Soltan; who, the others judged, was in the plot.

As soon as they were gone, some reputed holy men, for having been at Mekka, killed some sheep, and after boiling the blade-bones, burnt them; then mixing their ashes with the blood, wrote certain characters, with a great many ceremonies and words: by which they discovered, that they should meet with robbers; but should

<sup>1</sup> Purchas Pilgr. p. 236, et seq.

<sup>2</sup> In the original, Kaite; the same with Kat.

<sup>3</sup> Perhaps, Sariahmed.

vanquish them. Jenkinson and his people gave no credit to this prediction, but they found it true: for within three hours they perceived thirty-nine horsemen well-armed, making towards them, with the banished Prince at their head. These called to them to yield, threatening otherwise to destroy them. The travellers put them to defiance; whereon the fight began, which continued from morning till two hours in the night. Many on both sides were killed and wounded, men, horses and camels. Had it not been for four muskets, which Jenkinson and his servants had, they must have been overcome: for the thieves were better armed, as well as better archers: but as the guns had brought down several of them, they durst not venture near. This made them propose a truce till next day. Mean time the karawans encamped on a hill, fencing themselves and cattle, with their packs of goods. The enemy encamped also a bow-shot distant, but were between them and the water; which proved a great affliction, as neither they, nor their camels, had drank for two days before.

Thus keeping good watch, at midnight the roving Prince sent a messenger half way to speak to the Karawan Basha; who said he would not go meet him, but would send one to talk to him, provided his Prince and followers would swear by their law to keep the truce: this being done so loud that they could all hear it, they sent a holy man to the messenger; who told him, "That his Prince had sent to them, who were Buffarman's<sup>1</sup>, to deliver up all the Kafirs, or unbelievers (meaning the Christians) with their goods; that in such case he would suffer them to depart quietly, but otherwise would treat them with equal severity if he overcame them, as he made no doubt of doing." The Karawan Basha answered, that he had no Christians in his company, nor any strangers, except two Turks: but that in case he had, he would rather die than deliver them; and as for his threatening, they were not afraid of them, as they should see so soon as it was day.

The thieves, contrary to their oaths, carried the holy man with them, crying in token of victory, *Ollo! Ollo!* This dismayed the Englishmen, fearing he would discover them: but although he was roughly treated, they could get nothing out of him; not so much as how many men were slain and wounded. Next morning the robbers seeing them prepared for defence, proposed an agreement, but made a great demand. However, most of the company being unwilling to renew the fight, as having but little to lose, the rest were compelled to give them twenty ninths, or twenty times nine, several things, with a camel to carry them away: which the rovers having received, they departed, and the karawan went forward<sup>3</sup>.

That night they came to the Oxus, where they staid all next day, making merry with their slain horses and camels: then departing, they for fear of meeting with the same, or other thieves again, left the high road along the river, and passed through a desert of sand. They travelled four days in the same, and then came to a well of very brackish water, being forced to kill their horses and camels for food.

In this wilderness also, they had almost fallen into the hands of thieves: for one dark night being at rest, there came certain scouts, and carried away some of their company, who lay a little separated from the karawan; which caused a great outcry: the rest immediately laded their camels, and departed, putting on very hard, till they came again to the Oxus; for then they feared nothing, as being fenced by the river. Thus having escaped this new danger, on the twenty-third they arrived at the city of Boghâr, in Baktria.

<sup>1</sup> Or, Moslems, properly Moslems.

<sup>2</sup> Rather, Allah! Allah! that is God.

<sup>3</sup> Purchas Pilgr. p. 238.

Boghar<sup>1</sup> is a city of great extent, inclosed with a high wall of earth. The castle, where the Khan resides, takes up one-third of the town. This, and some other buildings, are of stone; the rest of earth. The water of the little river that runs through the city, breeds worms in the legs. Strong liquors are prohibited. This strictness is owing to the Metropolitan, who is more obeyed than the King, whom he deposes at pleasure; as he did one when Jenkinson was there, slaying him in the night. The King has no great power, or riches. He exacts a tenth of all things sold; and when he wants money, sends his officers to take goods upon credit by force. Thus he acted to pay for nineteen pieces of kersey, had of the author.

The country of Boghâr was formerly subject to the Persians, whose language is there spoken: but the Tartars are continually in war with them, on account of some religious difference, and because they will not shave the upper lip. They have no gold coin at Boghâr, and but one piece of silver, worth twelvence; which the King raises and falls every other month, and sometimes twice a month. Hence it is not so current as the copper money, called *pooles*, whereof an hundred go to the silver piece.

The twenty-sixth of December he was ordered to appear before the King, to whom he presented the Emperor of Russia's letters. That Prince received the English very kindly, made them eat in his presence, and often sent for them in private; where he discoursed with them familiarly concerning the power of the Emperor and the Great Turk. He also enquired into the laws, religion, and strength of England: made them shoot with their musquets before him, and praised himself. But after all, the author says, he shewed himself a very Tartar; for that he went to the wars without paying what he owed him. He owns, indeed, that he left orders for the payment; but says, he was forced to abate part, and take goods for the rest. Yet he must needs praise him, for that on their arrival at Boghâr, he sent an hundred soldiers in quest of the robbers, who had attacked the karawan. These meeting with them, killed part, and brought back four prisoners; of whom two had been wounded by the English fire-arms. The King first sent for Jenkinson to see them, and then ordered them to be hanged at his palace gate, for an example to others, because they were gentlemen: part also of the goods that were recovered were restored to him<sup>2</sup>.

As to the trade of Boghâr, there is great resort from Kathay, India, Persia, Balgh<sup>3</sup>, Russia, and other countries: but the merchants are so poor, and bring so few wares, that there is no hope of any trade there worth following. While Jenkinson was there, karawans arrived out of all the above-mentioned countries, except Kathay, with which the trade had been obstructed for three years, by the wars betwixt two great countries and cities, called Taskent and Kaskar, that lie in the way, and certain neighbouring people. Those at war with Taskent, are Mohammedans, called Kossaks: they in arms against Kaskar, are called Kings, Gentiles, and Idolaters: which two nations are of great force, living in the fields, and have almost conquered those cities.

Here the author got informations concerning Kathay<sup>4</sup>, which was nine months' journey distant: but the season for the departure of the karawans being come, and the town in danger of being besieged, on a report that the King was defeated in battle, he was advised by the Metropolitan to depart. His intention was to have gone to Persia, to pry into the trade thereof; although he had learned enough at Astrakhân and Boghâr, to perceive, that it was not much better than that among the Tartars, it lying chiefly in Syria and the Mediterranean Sea. But when he was ready to set forward, he was prevented by several considerations: for first, by the wars newly broken out between the

<sup>1</sup> Or, Bokhâra.

<sup>2</sup> Purchas, as before, p. 239, et seq.

<sup>3</sup> Balkh, or Balk.

<sup>4</sup> Among which those of Johnson, that follow in Green's work, doubtless make a part.

Sofi and Tartar Kings, the roads were become unsafe, About ten days' journey from Boghâr, a karawan from India and Persia was plundered by robbers, and many slain. Then the Metropolitan took from him the Emperor of Russia's letters; for want of which he should be made a slave where ever he came. Besides, the goods he was obliged to take in payment of the King and his nobles were not vendible in Persia. These reasons determined him to return to Russia by the way he came<sup>1</sup>.

The eighth of March 1559, the English left Boghâr, in company with a karawan of six hundred camels. And it was well they did, since, had they staid, they had been in danger to have lost both life and goods: for ten days after, the King of Samarkand came and besieged the city, while the King was absent, in the wars against another Prince, his kinsman, as happens frequently in those parts: for it is a wonder if a King reign there above three or four years; which frequent revolutions prove very detrimental both to the country and merchants.

The twenty-fifth they arrived at Urjenz. In the way they escaped four hundred rovers, who lay in wait for them. Most of these were the kindred of those they met with before, as they found by four spies who were taken. The author had in his charge two ambassadors, one sent by the King of Boghâr, the other by him of Balk<sup>2</sup>, to the Emperor of Russia. Having staid at this place and Sellizure eight days, for assembling their caravan, the second of April they departed, with four more ambassadors, for the Russian court, sent from the King of Urjenz, and other Soltans, his brethren, with answer to the letters brought them by the author; who took an oath on the Gospel, that they should be well-used in Russia and suffered to return in safety, conformable to what the Emperor had written in his letters: for they were in some doubt, because none had been sent for a long time before.

The twenty-third of April they got to the Caspian Sea, where they found their bark, but neither anchor, cable, cock, nor sail. However, as they brought hemp with them, they spun a cable, and other tackling, made a cotton sail-cloth, and rigged the vessel out as well as they could; but had neither boat nor anchor. While they were contriving to make an anchor of a cart wheel, there arrived a bark from Astrakân, which had two; whereof Jenkinson procured one. Being thus equipped, he hoisted the red flag of St. George, and departed. There were on board, besides himself, and the two Johnsons, who served for master and mariners. the six ambassadors, and twenty-five Russians, who had been slaves a long time in Tartary, and served to row, when requisite.

Sailing sometimes along the coast, sometimes out of sight of land, the thirteenth of May they came to an anchor, three leagues from shore: there in a storm, which continued forty-four hours, their cable breaking, they lost their anchor. As they were off a lee shore, and had no boat to help them, they hoisted sail, and bore clear of it, expecting every moment to be cast away. At length they run into a creek full of ooze, and so saved themselves, with their bark; for had that perished, they must have been destroyed, or made slaves of by the wild inhabitants. When the storm was over, they put to sea again; and having by their compass, and other marks, fixed the place where they lost their anchor, returned, and found it, to the great surprize of the Tartars. Two days after, there arose another great storm, at north-east; by which being driven far to sea, they had much-ado to keep their bark from sinking. At length the weather

<sup>1</sup> Purchas Pilgr. p. 240.

<sup>2</sup> Before written Balgh.

permitting them to take the latitude, and knowing how the land lay, they fell in with the river Yaik<sup>1</sup>. In short, the twenty-eighth of May they arrived at Astrakân.

This Caspian Sea is in length about two hundred leagues, one hundred and fifty broad: on the east lies the great desert land of the Turkmâns: on the west, the countries of the Chirkassies<sup>2</sup>, and mountains of Caucasus; the Euxine Sea is a hundred leagues distant. On the north is the river Wolga, and the land of Nogay; and to the south, the countries of Media and Persia. This sea is fresh in many places, and in other places as salt as the ocean.

Although several large rivers fall into it, yet it has no way of discharging its waters, except under ground. Those rivers are the Wolga, called by the Tartars, Edel<sup>3</sup>. It issues from a lake, not far from Novogrod in Russia, and runs above two thousand English miles<sup>4</sup>. Next are the Yâik and Yem, which rise in Siberia: also the Cyrus<sup>5</sup> and Arafh<sup>6</sup>, whose springs are in Caucasus. But the few ships upon this sea, the want of marts and port towns, the poverty of the people, and the ice, renders the trade good for nothing. Jenkinson offering to exchange his wares with some merchants of Shamaki, they refused, saying they had them elsewhere as cheap as he could sell them.

The tenth of June he left Astrakân, with the ambassadors, having an hundred gunners to escort them and him. The 28th of July they reached the city of Kazan<sup>7</sup>, all the way through a country where they met with no habitations, or fresh provisions. The seventh of August leaving Kazan, they transported their goods by water, as far as the city of Morum; and then by land to Moskow, where they arrived the second of September.

The fourth, Jenkinson appeared before the Emperor, and having kissed his hand, presented him with a white cow's tail of Katay, and a Tartarian drum. After this he produced the ambassadors, and the Russian slaves. He dined that day in presence of the Emperor, who sent him meat from his table by a Duke, and asked him several questions touching the countries where he had been. The seventeenth of February departing from Moskow, with the Emperor's leave, he came the twenty-first to the factory at Vologda<sup>8</sup>: there he staid till the twenty-fifth of March, when having seen the company's goods put on board their boats, he departed, and arrived the ninth of May, 1560, at Kolmogro<sup>9</sup>; where his journals break off.

The latitudes of the principal places:

	Degrees.	Minutes.
Akrakhân - - - - -	47	09
Entrance into the Caspian Sea - -	46	27
Manguslave in Turkmân - - - -	45	00
Urjenz twenty stages distant - -	42	18
Boghâr twenty days farther - -	39	10

<sup>1</sup> Before written Jaik: it may be pronounced both ways.    <sup>2</sup> Cherkas, as commonly written.  
<sup>3</sup> Adil, or Atel.    <sup>4</sup> Purchas Pilgr. p. 241.    <sup>5</sup> Or. Kûr.    <sup>6</sup> or Arras.    <sup>7</sup> In fifty-five degrees, thirty-three minutes latitude.    <sup>8</sup> Or, Wologda, as others write it.    <sup>9</sup> Purchas, as before, p. 242.

## GASPARO BALBI'S VOYAGE TO PEGU,

AND

OBSERVATIONS THERE GATHERED FROM HIS OWN ITALIAN RELATION\*.

ANNO 1579, on the 13th of December, Gasparo Balbi, a jeweller of Venice, travelled with the caravan from Aleppo towards Bagdet and the East Indies: the first day came to Bebbe, the second to Saguir, the third to Bir, or Albir, on the bank of the Euphrates on the left hand, and there embarked their goods for Felugia. They staid till the 11th of January in cold and snow to expect five other barks. These barks of Albir are double keeled or bottomed, to prevent harm. On the 12th they came, to Tellevini, much afflicted with wind, snow, and cold. Thence to Matao Lantache on the right hand: and so on to Calatelnegiu, an uninhabited castle, to Zoxeniafir, to Miserafi, to Blis (many dangerous shelves and trunks of trees are in that day's way) to Meliolzura, to Chalagiabar, to Elaman, to Sureich, to Raccha, to Elamora, to Aman, to Avagia Abulena, to Cafabi, to Celibi, the ruinous castle Zelebe, and the same day half an hour together under mountainous, beetle-browed overlookers threatening to fall on them, many stones whereof lying fallen in the water made it more dreadful, (the mountain is called Eltoreftrouil,) and the next day came to two falls or precipices, caused by the stones carried thither from that overhanging hill's ruins, so heightening the water, that the fall was ten cubits, every one there making his prayer for a good voyage. At night they came to Elder on the right hand of the river, anciently called Port of the Chaîne, in which was a Turkish Saniak and Cadi, goodly men, and fairer women than in the rest of those ports. Thence to Muachefir, to Elpifara, the river Cabur falling into Euphrates (coming from Merdin) of a reddish colour, to Rahabi, to Zoxofuldan, to Siara, to Gorur, and then under a mountain hollowed by the course of the water, callad Carteron, menacing a downfall upon us, made the more fearful by a threefold fissure, and manifold ruins of stones; which passed, in a quarter of an hour they came to Sora, a castle near to a great ruined city uninhabited, on the left hand, seeming to them greater than Cairo; the mariners affirmed that they had heard their progenitors tell that there had been in it 366 gates; it is called Elefi; and rowing down the stream with four oars from morning to noon, we hardly passed beyond one side thereof. Thence to Ankarg another ruined city, with many mills, whereby it appeareth that Euphrates hath now a larger channel than in those times. Next was Chaime, and near it an engine to throw into a channel to water the fields: to Sema, to Carpilchelbi, to Fochelcurmi, to Edir, to Rechtâlmel, to Zafara, beyond which are straight passages, and a sepulchre which they held in veneration, and each mariner threw in a biscuit superstitiously to prevent shipwreck: to Eleuzi, to Elmeftana, to Castle Anna, near to which in Diana, Arborise an Arabian lord liveth; to the isle Anatelbes; after dangerous passages to Beggian, another isle full of date trees, to Cabin, to Sberie, to Zouia, to Giera, Germa, Benexi, Duletgidit, then to two islands nameless, being newly made by the river, to Zibida, Vrasa, Fuschelbera, Abufabur, Aditi, in which an Arabic Saniak keepeth; to Zezirnabus, to Giubau, (residence of a Saniak), to Naufa, to Eit, near to which is a boiling fountain of pitch, wherewith the inhabitants build their houses, daubing it on boughs cut from trees, so that they may seem rather of pitch than wood, every one taking what pleaseth him freely; and if the overflowing Euphrates should not carry away the pitch thrown into the field where it ariseth, they

\* Purchas ii. 1722.

say there would be hills raised by it. Against the forcible stream of the river is no rowing, or so difficult that a boat in Bir costing five and twenty ducats in Eit or Felugia is not worth above five. Following their voyage they came to Caraguol, the inhabitants whereof speak Arabic, Turkish, and Persian. To water their fields they use abundance of skin bottles (fastened to a chain with cords) drawn up by oxen in a mill as in the water house at London) which empty themselves into water passages. These men's religion is reputed a gallinaufrey or herefy. On the 21st of February they arrived at Felugia. On the 24th at sun-rise they passed a bridge over a stream w hich runneth when the water is high from Euphrates to Tigris, and came at noon to the ruins of a city called Sendia, and then half an hour after to the beginning of Old Babylon, and going along by the same, at night came to Nareisa, midway from Felugia to Bagdet; a place perilous for robbers and lions. Before sun-rise next day we travelled again along those ruins, leaving them on the left hand, seeing pieces of great walls ruined, and one piece of the great tower of Babylon, till coming to Mascadon they saw the towers of Bagdet or New Babylon. From Felugia thither the soil seems good, yet neither is there tree or green grafs, house, or castle: but musk-rooms so good that the Moors eat them raw. They were forty-nine days from Bir to Bagdet by reason of the winter.

The 13th of March 1580, they departed from Bagdet towards Balsara, embarked in the Tigris, a river seeming like Nilus, not so endangered with shelves and bodies of trees as Euphrates. At Elmaca the river divided into two, one running after into Euphrates, the other to Balsara. The inhabitants on the right hand are Arabs, on the left Gurgi. On the 18th they came to Cher. There are many lions and Arab thieves. There are also many keepers of oxen, sheep, and goats. Thence to Encaserami, where each mariner cast in a biscuit for devotion to a holy man there buried. Hitherto both in Euphrates and Tigris they had good air; but there they began to have an ill scent of the river, very noisome, and they were in the night endangered with a kind of whirlpool, and were fain to call to their comforts which towed them out. The next day they came to Casale, a Saniak's residence, where the Persian river Maroan disembogueth. Here the tide was first encountered from the Persian Gulf. A little beyond at Calaeltel they fasten their barks when the tide riseth which otherwise could force them back. The champaigns are well inhabited. They entered Corns, and a little beyond encountered a piece of Euphrates joining with Tigris, where abide many soldiers with a Saniak to prevent thieves, which by hundreds in a company used to rob. Here the river (which in some places had been like Brent) was as large as Nilus, and well inhabited. At certain times it is here so hot that many die thereof: and in this voyage four persons wearied with heat and travel sat down to refresh themselves awhile, and were overcome by a hot wind which strangled all four. On the 21st they arrived at Balsara.

The author's voyage from Balsara to Ormus, Diu, Goa, Cochin, Cananor, Seilan, Negapatan, I omit, and will first welcome him to St. Thome.

On the 29th of Mây 1582, in the name of Christ we set sail, directing our prow towards the north to avoid certain shelves which are very perilous; we saw many fishers, which took great store of fish, which they eat with rice. All that night we sailed with a south wind northerly. About three o'clock the next morning we came to a place called the Seven Pagods, upon which are eight pleasant hillocks, not very high, which are seven leagues from St. Thomas, right over against it, where we arrived about noon the 30th of May, saluting it with three pieces of ordnance. The city of St. Thomas is so called of the reliques of that faint, which are kept here with great veneration: it

is situated in thirteen degrees, and a third part. The front is towards the west, very strong by reason of the block-houses, which are upon the port, along towards the sea; this port is so low that elephants cannot enter in at it, for the horses enter with not a little trouble. There are three churches: one very fair of St. Thomas, which is well served with priests; the chief of them is a vicar (for so they call him) who was sent thither by the archbishop of Goa. There is another of St. Francis, very well served with capuchins, and another of St. John the Baptist, where the fathers of St. Paul of the company of Jesus are in continual prayer: to build this they had not so many transomes as were sufficient, when miraculously a great piece of timber was cast up by the sea, which seemed to be made by the line and measure of that church. I was here when this piece of timber was cast up; for one day going to mass to the church of our Lady I saw a great concourse of people running to the sea-side, and I went also to see what was the matter, and saw this piece of timber cast upon the shore. Then the church of St. John the Baptist was finished, but because they wanted transomes to make the roof they covered it with straw. This was held for a great miracle, that so great a piece of timber should be cast up by the sea; the point lay towards the quire of the church. Moreover when they sawed this piece of wood, they perceived in the outside of it, as also within it, a stink of oase, so that they could not come near it: whereupon they judged that it was caused by the abundance of water wherewith it was involved in the sea, and that it came from some far country. But after a while they set it on end; and now it is so hard that the Portuguese make use of it. The aforesaid Fathers of St. Paul have another church in the city dedicated to our Lady, where they baptize the Gentiles, and exhort and instruct them in matters of faith. There is another church called our Lady of Light which is served by St. Thomas's priests; but it is three miles out of the town. There is also another called our Lady of the Mount, and another of the Cross; here is also the church of mercy: out of the town there is one of St. Lazarus, and many others well served. St. Thomas is as fair a city as any I saw in that country, and the houses join one to the other so as to be able to succour one another. Without the city of St. Thomas is another city environed with walls made of earth, and inhabited with Gentile soldiers, whose chieftain is called Adicario, who hath power to execute justice. They observe the custom to burn their dead in this city, as at Negapatan; but near to this is a city called La Casta de gli Orefici, Goldsmith's Row; they have a custom when the husband is dead, to make a pit in the earth, and there to place the dead corpse crossed legged; and on the other side set his living wife in the same manner, and their kindred cast earth upon her, pressing her down that she may die also; and when they wive they marry with their compeers, as a carpenter takes the daughter of a carpenter, and so of others. The aforesaid inhabitants worship sometimes the figure of a cow, and at other times of a serpent called Bittia di Capelli, whose bite is deadly, and it hath one part of the flesh from the middle inverted towards the head.

The Bramins are wont to burn cow's excrements, and with the ashes for devotion meeting with the Gentiles, to daub their forehead and nose; who so painted, wash not that day for devotion of the cow. The men which are devoted to the pagod or statue, after they have lived a whole year after their will in carnal pleasures, are wont to take a bow and arrow and shoot their own flesh aloft in the air, which they slash off in morsels, and when they can continue no longer in this manner, they cut their own throats, thus sacrificing their body to the pagod. There are some also which are called Amocchi, who are a kind of people called Chivâ, and are not of those Gentiles of St. Thomas, but of the coast of Chiava, who being weary of living, set themselves in the way with a weapon in their hands, which they call a crease, and kill as many as they

meet

meet with, till somebody killeth them; and this they do for the least anger they conceive, as desperate men. These Gentiles are very different in their adoration, for some worship the image of a man, some of a cow, others of serpents; others the sun or moon; some a tree, or the water, and other things. They are accustomed to celebrate many feasts; but in the month of September I saw one: the people planted a tree in the ground like the mast of a ship, with the main yard across, upon which main yard were two hooks fastened; and there are many which desire to free themselves from trouble or misery, who make a vow to the pagod, to hook or ganch themselves; and for this there are some appointed that stand there, who seeing any one that will ganch themselves for devotion, they first make an offering, and then they loosen a cord and let down the hooks, and with them they fasten the shoulders of him that will hook himself, and then they hoist him up aloft, making him turn his face to the pagod and salute it three times with his hands in a suppliant manner before his breast, and make him play with a weapon which he carrieth in his hands while he is drawing up: and after awhile they let him down and colour the tree with his blood, saying they do it in reverence to the pagod; and then they let him down and put a rope through the holes which the hooks had made, and fastening that cord to the pagod they draw him by little and little to the statue by that cord; then the women of the pagod conduct him to the statue to reverence it, and after this they take care to heal him if they can. And this they do by a vow or promise to the pagod to obtain any thing, or in sickness to recover health. They have another feast by night which lasteth eight nights, in a long street of the city full of lights on both sides, and three or four persons take one another by the hands, who have on their arms certain baskets of viands made of rice and milk, and then they run and cast that meat behind them, which they say the devil eats who runs behind them, and while they are in this motion they never look behind them, for they say if they do, they shall suddenly die: and this is sufficient respecting the mad customs of this country.

On the 13th of September 1583, in the name of Jesus Christ, after we had laded our merchandize and paid our customs, we went ashore; and having sailed until the 23d of this month, we found ourselves near to Maccareo: it is very strange what is reported of the ebbings and flowings of the water, and certainly he who hath not seen them will scarcely believe them: certain pilots go from Martovan, as swift as an arrow in the increasing of the water, as long as the flood lasteth, and the tide being at the height they turn out of the channel and there ride; when the water is fallen on dry land; and the bore or tide comes as some great tree: and in such a time they oppose the prow against, and so expect the fury of the water, which resembleth the noise of a great earthquake; so that maugre their strength and skill the bark is washed from head to stern, and with that violence is carried swiftly into the channel. After that the wind blew from the the south-west, and we sailed to the north-west till the morning, when we found ourselves at Bara, right over Negrais, (they call so in their language the haven which goeth into Pegu,) where we discovered on the left side of the river a pagod, or varella, all gilded over, which is seen afar off by the vessels that come from the main, and especially when the sun shines, which makes it glister round about as far as it is seen. And because the rain washeth it often and consumeth the gold, the men of that place often regild it, that the ships by the splendor thereof may have this benefit to know the haven: and they do it for devotion and reverence to the place. We then all rejoiced at that time and made merry; because we considered, that if we had arrived there four or five days later we could not have entered the haven by reason of the continual winds which blow there with great fury. Then casting anchor to expect the flood, so as to shun some rocks which are under the

water;

water ; we saw a place very curiously adorned with bowers and a church (where the talipois reside, which are there as the friars with us,) where the people of this country assemble to pray. It is reported, that in this place there are abundance of tigers which devour the men and beasts of the country. On the 24th of September there came a little bark near us, called a falangara, whereby the captain of our ship sent a Portuguese with a present to the King, to give him notice of our arrival, and the evening following we drew near to the Island of Flies, so called of the multitudes of them, there caused from the abundance of fish there salted, wherewith also we furnished our ship. In the mean time the ship went to Cofmi, the lord of the country, who sent twenty boats with eight oars a-piece, and a royal almadie, which is a certain long bark rowed with many oars and it began to put forth, and two days after the lord of Cofmi came together with the ship, who presented our Moorish captain with great fair hens of a very good taste, and many oranges, which grow in great quantity in the country. The said lord was rowed in a bark made very fantastically ; it was of the length of a foist, but so narrow that in the middle it seemed not to be above one pace over ; at the head and stern it was as narrow as our gondolos ; but it was very high, and there were more than a hundred rowers, which row at the side with a hundred oars like sticks, and they did observe in their rowing to draw the water towards them all together by reason of four trumpeters which sound when they should row, and sit in the middle of the bark ; the Signior was in a high cabin made in the middle of the boat, covered after the manner of the middle part of a gondolo, but greater, with a part before to shut and open as he pleaseth.

Now the 5th of October we came to Cofmi, whose territories on both sides are woody and frequented with parrots, tigers, wild boars, apes, and such like creatures. Cofmi is seated in sixteen degrees and a third part, and hath the houses made of great Indian canes, and covered with straw, fronted towards the north-east, situate in a very fine place, but subject to the ravening of tigers, which often enter into the town and catch men and beasts, and devour them ; but this they do in the night, for they abide in the woods all day.

We departed from Cofmi the 26th of October, with a little paro, that is to say, a voyage bark, having committed our merchandize to the guardian of the great paro, and sailing down the river, at evening we arrived at a village on the left hand of the river called Pain Perlon ; and about three o'clock the next morning at Marma Mala, and about the evening before a great city on the left hand of the river called Jaccubel ; and an hour after at another on the right side called Tegiatden. The morning following we came to a place called Balatin, where they make pots and jars of excellent fine earth, and a little after we saw Dian, a fertile country, plentiful in timber both for houses, ships, and barks, where they have certain vessels like galeasses, which have on both sides from head to stern cabins with divers merchandizes, and in the middle, instead of the mast, there is a house like ours, so that within them they traffic for store of musk, benjamin, and divers jewels. On the twenty-ninth day we saw the land of Bedogiamara, Lagapala, and Purdabui, and the evening we came to a great country called Gungiebui, where we tarried with great fear of being assaulted by thieves, who under the shew of friendship betray dispersed passengers ; and in like manner we avoided the danger of the multitude of tigers, which in these parts attack men, and destroy as many as they can get. For this cause we strengthened ourselves in the middle of the river ; yet they report that the fierceness of this creature is such that he will prey in the water. The day following we went in a narrow river like our Brent by Padua, which is shaded with palm-trees that grow in great abundance on both sides of the river : there is the great city of Coilan, which is a league long on each side, which being a perfect square make

twelve of our miles. After that we came by another city, called Tuvaguedan, where are many pagods and statues; and at evening we arrived at Leungou, a very fair city, seated in a pleasant territory, replenished with palm-trees: parting from thence after we had seen many buildings on both sides of the river, about morning we came to a great populous city called Silvanfedi, and at evening before another called Moggio, where were infinite store of great and small vessels, all covered from head to stern with straw, within which are the families of one house, so that they serve for convenient habitations; they use to drink in them hot waters made of rice as strong as our aqua vitæ; these barks sell fresh fish and salted, and dressed in divers fashions, and other sorts of provision; so that along that river to the mouth of the sea, which is fresh water, they may sail without carrying any victuals, but only money to spend. The 2d of November we came to the city of Dala, where, besides other things, are ten large rooms full of elephants, which are kept there by divers servants of the King of Pegu. The day following we came to the fair city of Dogon; it is finely seated, and fronted towards the south-west, and where they land are twenty long steps, as from the pillar of St. Mark to the Straw-bridge, the matter of them is strong and great pieces of timber, and there are great currents of water both at ebb and flood, because it is a place near Maccareo, which entereth and goeth out of the mouth of the Sirian, which is a sea-port; and always when the water increaseth they go upon the stairs; when it is ebb it discovers all around, and makes it a great way dry land. On both sides of the river, at the end of the bank, or at the stairs is a wooden tiger, very great, and painted after the natural colour of a tiger; and there are two others in the midst of the stairs, so far one from another that they seem to share the stairs equally. They stand with open mouth, shewing their teeth and tongue, with their claws lifted up and stretched forth, prepared to assail him that looks on them. Concerning these they told me a foolish belief which they have, that they stand there to guard, for if any should be so bold as to displease the pagod, those tigers should defend him, for he would give them life. After we were landed we began to go on the right hand in a large street about fifty paces broad, in which we saw wooden houses gilded, and adorned with delicate gardens after their custom, wherein their talapois, which are friars, dwell, and look to the pagod, or varella of Dogon. The left side is furnished with portals and shops, very like the new Procuratia at Venice; and by this street they go towards the varella, for the space of a good mile straight forwards, either under penthouses or in the open street, which is free to walk in. When we came to the varella, we found a pair of stairs of ninety steps, as long in my judgment as the channel of the Rialto at Venice. At the foot of the first stair are two tigers, one at the right hand and the other at the left; these are of stone, and stand in the same fashion they do on the shore side. The stairs are divided into three; the first is forty steps, the second thirty, and the third twenty, and at the top of each of them is a plain spacious place. On the last step are angels of stone, each with three crowns one upon the other; but so, that that which is the greatest, and that which is next lesser, yet greater than the uppermost, which is the least. They have the right hand lifted up, ready to give the benediction, with two fingers stretched out. The other hand of the one is laid upon the head of a child, and of the other upon the head of an ape; these statutes are all of stone. At the right hand is a varella, gilded in a round form, made of stone, and as much in compass as the street before the Venetian palace, if it were round; and the height may equal St. Mark's bell-tower, not the top of it, but the little pinnacles. At the left hand is a fair hall carved and gilded within and without; and this is the place of devotion, whither the people go to hear the talapois preach: the street is greater than St. Mark's, at least larger; and this is  
a place

a place of great devotion amongst them, and yearly multitudes of people come by sea and by land. And when they celebrate a solemn feast, the King in person goeth before them all, and with him the Queen, the Prince, and his other sons, with a great train of nobles and others, who go to get a pardon. And on this day there is a great mart where are all sorts of merchandizes which are current in those countries, which they frequent in great multitudes, who come thither not so much for devotion as traffic, and we may freely go thither if we will. Round about this and upon another varella were apes running up and down; the great and small stairs also are full of them. After we had seen this, at the foot of the first stair when I went down I turned my face to the left side, and with some Portugueze which were in my company found, in a fair hall, a very large bell, which we measured, and found to be seven paces and three hand-breadths, and it is full of letters from the top to the bottom, and so near together that one toucheth the other; they are very well and neatly made; but there was no nation that could understand them, no not the men of Pegu, and they remember not whence nor how it came thither.

In the evening, about one o'clock at night, we went from this place, and about three we came among some fishers' nets, which almost shipwrecked us, as they did one of our company, who being entangled in them went under them, and so was sunk; and this was through the negligence of some fishers, who when they lay forth such nets, ought to have a bark with a light or fire all the night to give warning to sailors, that they come not on that side. But praised be God! we freed ourselves in the best manner we could. That day after the sun was up, we arrived over against the mouth of Sirian, which is on the south side, where with some difficulty we landed, for the violence of the water drew us into Maccareo. Sirian was an imperial city, where an Emperor resided; the walls and bulwarks are ruined, by which one may see that it hath been very strong, and almost impregnable: but anno 1567, it was subdued by the King of Pegu, who to take it sent a million and a half of men; and after he had besieged it two years with the loss of half a million of his men, he took it by treason. Which, when the Emperor understood, he poisoned himself, and the rest of his family were carried away prisoners upon elephants, who returned in great numbers, laden with gold, jewels, and other precious things. Departing from Sirian we pursued our voyage, seeing many inhabited towns, called by divers names. Finally we came to a place called Meccao, where we disembarked to go by land to Pegu, being about twelve miles. Over against Meccao are certain habitations where the King of Pegu was then for his disport, who causeth there beautiful gilded vessels to be made, befitting such a King. From Cosmi to Meccao we were eleven days on our voyage, sailing always by rivers of fresh water, which ebb and flow, and on both sides there are houses and habitations made upon piles planted in the earth, so that the tigers cannot molest the inhabitants; they go up to them upon ladders made of light wood, which they draw up. Some of the inhabitants keep buffaloes in their houses; for they say that the tigers will not come near the places where these beasts are, by reason of their ill favour: they are in these countries of unmeasurable greatness and thickness. For the voyage of St. Thomas to Pegu, it is good to carry bracelets, which they make of glass in St. Thomas, for with these better than with money you may buy victuals, and there in the city where you buy them they are sold at a low price, but if they are enamelled they sell them dear. The number of pagods, or varellas, which we saw in this voyage I write not, for they are innumerable, and in divers shapes; but I only say that on the shore where we landed to go to Dogon, which is made of large strong timbers, are two statues, which resemble two boys from the head downwards, their faces after the likeness of devils with two wings,

wings. There are some varellas gilded, and set in fair places, to which they come and offer gold and other merchandize in great quantity, to maintain their gilding; for the rain spoils it. About these varellas are found tied many apes of that kind which resemble mountain cats, which we call monkies; they keep them very carefully, holding them to be creatures beloved of God, because they have their hands and feet like human creatures; and therefore their woods are full of them, for they never take any, except for their varellas and statues.

There are two cities of Pegu, the old and the new; in the former strangers and merchants inhabit, who are many, and utter great store of merchandize; in this also is the King's nobles, and gentlemen, and other people. The new is not very large; it was built by the father of the present King, on a sudden, in a very neat fashion and with wonderful strength: the old is very ancient, and reasonably great, with many houses made of great canes and many magazines of brick to keep wares in; and to speak of the old city of Pegu, as of the nobler, because of the King's residence in it, and of all his court, you must know that the city is pleasantly seated in the altitude of sixteen degrees and a third part; it is environed with walls, and hath the form of a perfect square, and in every square are five gates: round about it are many ditches full of water which continues all the year, and in them are many crocodiles, which are put in there, that if any wade over these ditches they may be taken and killed.

After I was provided with a good druggerman and interpreter, the noise of trumpets was heard, which signified we should see the King, and have audience of him; we entered within the second gate, whereby they go into the court yard, and the interpreter and I cast ourselves upon our knees on the ground, and with our hands elevated in humble wise, and making a shew three times before we rose of kissing the ground; and three other times we did thus before we came near to the place where the King sat with his femini, prostrate on the earth (for no Christian, how near soever to the King, nor Moorish captains, except of his femini, come in that place so near the King). I heard all his speech, but understood it not: I gave the emeralds to the interpreter, who lifted them up over his head, and again made reverence, by them called *rombee*; and as soon as the King saw it, a Nagiran, that is to say, the "Lord of his words," or interpreter, making the like *rombee*, took the emeralds and gave them into the King's hand, and then went out of his presence, who a little while after called him, commanding him as lord of his words, that he should ask me what countryman I was; how many years it was since I left my country, and what was my name, and from what place I had brought those emeralds; and I with the accustomed *rombee*, (for at every word they speak they must make such an obeisance,) answered, that my name was Gaspar Balbi; that I had been on my voyage four years, and that I had brought the emeralds from Venice to give His Majesty, the fame of whose bounty, courtesy and greatness, was spread over the world, and especially in our parts, to be the greatest King in the world: all this was written in their letters, and read by the lord of his words to His Majesty. He commanded to ask me in what part Venice was seated, and what King governed it; and I told him that it was in the kingdom of Italy, and that it was a republic or free state, not governed by any King. When the King heard this, he greatly wondered; so that he began to laugh so exceedingly, that he was overcome by the cough, which made him that he could hardly speak to his great men. Lastly, he demanded if that King which last took Portugal were as great, and if Venice were warlike. To which I answered, that King Philip that had taken Portugal was the potentest King among the Christians, and that the Venetians were in league with him, but had no fear of any, yet fought friendship with all. And then I reported the overthrow which the Venetians gave the Emperor  
of

of the Turks. Amethi, who at that time was at Mecca, confirmed this to be true of the defeat of the Turkish armada. Then he gave me a cup of gold, and five pieces of China damask of divers colours, and bade them tell me, that he gave me these, and did not so pay me for my emeralds, for which I should be contented by his public terrecas, which are his treasurers. This was holden for novelty by them that saw it, for it was not the King's custom to present any thing to any. Moreover, the King ordered, that for the wares which I had brought, the decagini should not make me pay any tax or custom.

The King nourisheth at his charge more than eight hundred domestic elephants of war; but for wild ones they may have as many as they will, for the woods are full of them. The buffaloes of this country are of berettine colour, but so great that they are like elephants. There are creatures as with us, and many also of other kinds. When he goeth to his recreations solemnly, or in his robes, four white elephants go before him vested with gold, having their teeth inclosed in sheath wrought with jewels. The King of Pegu hath great store of artillery of all sorts; but he wants men to manage them; he might make as many gallies, foists, and galleasses as he would, if he had men to govern them, and to make them, and therefore makes none: yet when he undertakes any enterprize he carries with him small ordnance, which are governed by certain gunners, Moors of Bengala, of whom, as of strangers, he hath small confidence.

The King of Ava, being subject to the King of Pegu, and brother to his father, had a purpose to make himself master of his nephew's kingdom, and to make himself King, because he was the ancients of the royal branch; therefore at the inauguration of the present King, he would not come to do him homage as he ought, and as other Kings and dukes his subjects did; he did not only absent himself, but also kept back the present of jewels which he was wont to give, and restrained also the trade from his country to Pegu, not suffering any merchant to pass, but sought to conspire with his chief courtiers against the King of Pegu, who as a good nephew dissembled it, the said King of Ava being recommended to him from his father before his death. Finally, the King of Pegu, willing to clear himself of the ill will conceived against the King of Ava his uncle, sent one of his household servants to him, who was slain by the King of Ava because of the war, trusting that the grandees of the kingdom of Pegu would favour his part, and revolt from their natural lord to set him in his place. Therefore the King of Pegu proclaimed war against Ava, and called to him his bagnia and femini, and gave order to his decagini, that as they came he should put them in prison; which being performed by the decagini, the King ordained that the morning following they should make an eminent and spacious scaffold, and cause all the grandees to come upon it, and then set fire to it and burn them all alive. But to shew that he did this with justice, he sent another mandate, that he should do nothing till he had an olla, or letter, written with his hand in letters of gold, and in the meantime he commanded him to retain all the prisoners of the grandees families unto the women great with child, and those who were in their swaddling cloaths, and so he brought them all together upon the scaffold; and the King sent the letter that he should burn them, and the decagini performed it, and burnt them all, so that there was heard nothing but weeping, shrieking, crying, and sobbing: for there were four thousand in number which were so burned, great and small, for which execution were public guards placed by the King, and all of the old and new city were forced to assist them: I also went thither and saw it with great compassion and grief, that little children without any fault should suffer such martyrdom, and among others there was one of his chief secretaries, who was last put

in to be burned, yet was freed by the King's order ; but his leg was begun to be burnt, so that he was lame.

And after followed this order from His Majesty, that those other captains which remained should come to him ; and he said to them, " you have seen what we have done to traitors, but be faithful, and set in order all the people as you can, for I am a captain that war justly, going without any fear of not overcoming : " and so on a sudden, and within a few days, he gathered together out of both the cities more than three hundred thousand persons, and encamped without the city. Ten days after that I saw the King upon an elephant, all over covered with gold and jewels, go to war with great courage, with a sword after our custom sent him by the viceroy of Goa, the hilt whereof was gilded : the said viceroy was called Don Louis de Zuida : he left the white elephants in the city. After that the King fell sick of the small-pox, but when he was well he encountered with the King of Ava, and they two fought body to body without any hindrance of the armies ; who being equally matched, as their custom is, combatted bravely, as did also the guard of this King with that of the other ; and after the Kings had fought a while hand to hand, first with arquebusses, then with darts, and lastly with the sword, the elephant of the King of Pegu broke his right tooth with charging that of Ava, in which fury he so coupled with that of the other elephant that the King of Pegu killed the King of Ava, and he remained slightly wounded on one arm, and in the mean while his elephant fell dead under him, and the King of Pegu mounted upon that of Ava. But when the army of Ava saw their King dead, they ceased to fight, and demanded pardon of the King of Pegu, who with a joyful countenance praising their valour pardoned them all, and making a muster found that of three hundred thousand which he brought from Pegu, there died in that battle more than 200,000, and little less of those of Ava. After this victory he ordered that Ava should be destroyed, and all the people made prisoners, among whom was the queen taken prisoner, who was sister of the King of Pegu, and confined during her life in a large house with many royal attendants ; but she agreed never to go forth. The rest of the citizens were banished to live in woods among tigers and other creatures, and this was because the King of Pegu could not find the great treasure which the King of Ava had. This war was in the beginning of the month of April, when in that country falls great store of rain, causing great cold in a place called Meccao ; and the fourteenth day of July, in six days he returned unexpectedly to Pegu, not finding the city with those guards which His Majesty had appointed, but at the request of the Prince his son he did no other justice.

On his arrival he understood that when he was at the war, there had arrived under excuse to come to his favour the son of the Emperor of Sion (or Siam), with fifty elephants of war, and eight hundred horses, besides arquebusses, pikemen, and soldiers with swords, who were sent towards Ava by the great Brama ; but instead of taking his way towards the coast, he returned to Sion.

In the meantime was brought into Pegu the elephant of the King of Ava ; which was so much discontented that all the day long he mourned ; I myself saw him lament, and that he would eat but very little ; and this I saw in the lodging where the King of Pegu was wont to keep his, where continually were two women that prayed him to eat and mourn no longer, but be merry, for he was come to serve a King greater than his own. Notwithstanding this elephant would not cease from tears, and always in token of sorrow held down his trunk ; and thus he continued the space of fifteen days, when he began to eat, to the King's great content. When the teeth of the King's elephant which died in battle, by command of His Majesty were made certain pagods or statues, which were

laid up to be kept among the pagods of gold and silver. Afterwards the King made five other of gonza \*, which was a marvellous thing to see ; for sitting cross-legged, they were as high as a strong man could fling a stone, and they were engraved fairly and curiously : one toe of the foot was greater than a man, and these pagods were set in public before the palace, and bespangled with gold.

The war of Ava being now finished, the King of Silon, who was subject to the King of Pegu, sent one to His Majesty to tell him that it grieved him that a slave had given answer to his son, whom he had sent to aid the King himself, and therefore now he made no more account of him, nor held him for his lord ; therefore the King of Pegu sent forth a great army against Silon, under the conduct of the Great Brama, who, after he had lost many people through the heat, and through the great fortitude of Silon, could obtain nothing of him but this, that if the King of Pegu would come to the camp he would reverence him, but he would not yield himself to his inferior : and the King of Pegu answered, that he would have his least slave subdue his subject. Although they kept a straight siege against Silon, yet the city stood it out manfully. It hath been an imperial city ; the houses are of timber, built high because of the overflowing of the river. In winter every house hath a boat to transport their people from one side of the river to the other : there are many houses of poor people made upon great planks with edifices of wood or great canes built on them, which they guide whither they will, to buy and sell any sort of merchandize, which is exercised by women, who when a ship comes to that place do not unload it ; but go themselves upon these rafts to negociate, buy, and sell. The people of Silon are Gentiles, as those of Pegu ; they are white and beautiful ; they fear not to be overcome by the King of Pegu after this manner ; for his father brought them to his obedience, going in person, and accompanied with 800,000 men ; neither had he taken it, if it had not been by treason, by opening a gate ; there were many Portuguese then taken prisoners, who were freed by the present King of Pegu with commendations for doing what the King of Silon commanded them. In the meantime there was a great fire kindled in a street of the Portuguese in Pegu ; by the diversity of winds which blew it burned more than 3800 houses, and some pagods and praying places : and as it is a custom that the King of Pegu in such cases proceeds against those who are authors of such a fire, there was search made who kindled the fire, and he was certified that it was in the house of a Portuguese pilot who brought us to the city. The King made no shew of judging this to have been for malice ; but we were in continual fear of burning, and so much the rather, because one of the King's diviners told him, that if he would have the victory of Silon he must burn a city as his father did ; and therefore we doubted that he would destroy this old city of Pegu ; but he was dissuaded from it by the Prince his son, who is very courteous and pleasant, and much delighted in discharging arquebusses, and to shoot with bows ; he is of great stature, and brown as his father ; when he goes abroad he is carried in a palanquin very pompously (as his other three little brothers are also) under a cloth of state openly.

[Our author proceedeth in large discourses of this country, and the occurrences of that time, which (so much as is necessary) we have in some of our Peguan relators, Frederike, Fitch, or the Jesuits, and are therefore here omitted.]

\* A mixt metal of brass and tin, whereof they make money.

*THE VOYAGE*

Of Mr. RALPH FITCH, Merchant of London,  
TO ORMUS, AND SO TO GOA IN THE EAST INDIA;  
TO CAMBAIA, GANGES, BENGALA; TO BACOLA AND CHONDERI, TO PEGU,  
TO JAMAHAY IN THE KINGDOM OF SIAM, AND BACK TO PEGU,  
And from thence to  
MALACCA ZEILAN, COCHIN, AND ALL THE COAST OF THE EAST INDIA.

Begun in the Year of our Lord 1583, and ended 1591.

**I**N the year of our Lord 1583, I Ralph Fitch of London, merchant, being desirous to see the countries of the East India, in the company of Mr. John Newberic, merchant, (who had been at Ormus once before) of William Leedes, Jeweller, and James Storie, Painter, being chiefly set forth by the Right Worshipful Sir Edward Osborne, Knight, and Mr. Richard Staper, citizens and merchants of London, did ship myself in a ship of London called the Tygre, wherein we went for Tripolis in Syria: and from thence we took the way to Alepo, which we went in seven days with the carovan. Being in Alepo and finding good company, we went from thence to Birra, which is two days and a half travel with camels.

Birra is a little town, but very plentiful of victuals: and near to the wall of the town runneth the river Euphrates. Here we bought a boat, and agreed with a master and bargemen to go to Babilon. These boats be but for one voyage, for the stream doth run so fast downwards that they cannot return. They carry you to a town which they call Felugia, and there you sell the boat for a little money; for that which cost you fifty at Birra, you sell there for seven or eight. From Birra to Felugia is sixteen days' journey; it is not good that one boat go alone, for if it should chance to break, you should have much ado to save your goods from the Arabians, who be always thereabouts robbing: and in the night when your boats be made fast, it is necessary that you keep good watch. For the Arabians who are thieves, will come swimming and steal your goods and flee away, against which a gun is very good, for they fear it very much. In the river of Euphrates from Birra to Felugia there are certain places where you pay custom, so many medines for a some or camels lading, and certain raisins and soap, which is for the sons of Arborise, who is lord of the Arabians and all that great desert, and hath some villages upon the river. Felugia, where you unload your goods which come from Birra, is a little village: from whence you go to Babilon in a day.

Babilon is a town not very great but very populous, and of great traffic with strangers; for that is the way to Persia, Turkey and Arabia: and from thence do go carovans for these and other places. Here are great store of victuals, which come from Armenia down the river of Tygris. They are brought upon rafts made of goat-skins blown full of wind and boards laid upon them; and thereupon they load their goods which are brought down to Babilon, which being discharged they open their skins, and carry them back by camels, to serve another time. Babilon in times past did belong to the kingdom of Persia, but now is subject to the Turks. Over against Babilon there is a very fair village, from whence you pass to Babilon upon a bridge made of boats, and

tied to a great chain of iron, which is made fast on either side of the river. When any boats are to pass up or down the river, they take away certain of the boats until they be past.

The tower of Babel is built on this side the river Tygris, towards Arabia from the town about seven or eight miles, which tower is ruined on all sides, and with the fall thereof hath made as it were a little mountain, so that it hath no shape at all: it was made of bricks dried in the sun, and certain canes and leaves of the palm tree laid betwixt the bricks. There is no entrance to be seen to go into it. It doth stand upon a great plain betwixt the rivers of Euphrates and Tygris.

By the river Euphrates two days' journey from Babilon at a place called Ait, in a field near unto it, is a strange thing to see: a mouth that doth continually throw forth against the air boiling pitch with a filthy smoke; which pitch doth run abroad into a great field, which is always full thereof. The Moors say that it is the mouth of hell. By reason of the great quantity of it, the men of that country pitch their boats two or three inches thick on the outside so that no water doth enter into them. Their boats are called danec. When there is great store of water in the Tygris, you may go from Babilon to Basora in eight or nine days: if there be small store it will cost you the more days.

Basora in times past was under the Arabians, but now is subject to the Turks. But some of them the Turks cannot subdue, for that they hold certain islands in the river Euphrates, which the Turks cannot win of them. They are all thieves and have no settled dwelling, but remove from place to place with their camels, goats and horses, wives and children, and all. They have large blue gowns, their wives' ears and noses are ringed very full of rings of copper and silver, and they wear rings of copper about their legs.

Basora standeth near the gulf of Persia, and is a town of great trade in spices and drugs which come from Ormus. There is also great store of wheat, rice and dates growing thereabout, wherewith they serve Babilon and all the country. Ormus, and all the parts of India. I went from Basora to Ormus down the gulf of Persia, in a certain ship made of boards and sewed together with cayro, which is thread made of the husk of cocoas and certain canes or straw leaves sewed upon the seams of the boards, which is the cause that they leak very much. And so having Persia always on the left hand and the coast of Arabia on the right hand we passed many islands, and among others, the famous island Baharim, from whence come the best pearls, which are round and orient.

Ormus is an island in circuit about five and twenty or thirty miles, and is the driest island in the world; for there is nothing growing in it but only salt; for the water, wood or victuals, and all things necessary come out of Persia, which is about twelve miles from thence. All thereabout is very fruitful, from whence all kind of victuals are sent into Ormus. The Portugueze have a castle here which standeth near unto the sea, wherein there is a captain for the King of Portugal, having under him a convenient number of soldiers, whereof some part remain in the castle and some in the town. In this town are merchants of all nations, and many Moors and Gentiles. Here is a very great trade of all sorts of spices, drugs, silk, cloth of silk, fine tapestry of Persia, great store of pearls which come from the isle of Baharim, and are the best pearls of all others, and many horses of Persia, which serve all India. They have a Moor to their King, who is chosen and governed by the Portugueze. Their women are very strangely attired, wearing on their noses, ears, necks, arms and legs, many rings set with jewels, and locks of silver and gold in their ears, and a long bar of gold upon the side of their noses.

Their

Their ears with the weight of their jewels are worn so wide, that a man may thrust three of his fingers into them. Here very shortly after our arrival we were put in prison, and had part of our goods taken from us by the captain of the castle whose name was Don Mathias de Albuquerque; and from hence the eleventh of October, he shipped us and sent us for Goa unto the viceroy, who at that time was Don Francisco de Malfarenhas. The ship wherein we were embarked for Goa belonged to the captain, and carried one hundred and twenty four horses in it. All merchandize carried to Goa in a ship wherein are horses pay no custom in Goa. The horses pay custom; the goods pay nothing; but if you come in a ship which bringeth no horses, you are then to pay eight in the hundred for your goods. The first city of India that we arrived at on the fifth of November, after we had passed the coast of Zindi, is called Diu, which standeth on an island in the kingdom of Cambaia, and is the strongest town that the Portugueze have in those parts. It is but little, but well stored with merchandize; for here they load many great ships with divers commodities for the straits of Mecca, for Ormus, and other places, and these are ships of the Moors and of Christians. But the Moors cannot pass, except they have a passport from the Portugueze.

Cambaietta is the chief city of that province, which is great and very populous, and fairly built for a town of the Gentiles: but if there happen any famine, the people will sell their children for very little. The last King of Cambaia was Sultan Badu, who was killed at the siege of Diu, and shortly after his city was taken by the Great Mogor, who is King of Agra and of Delli, which are forty days' journey from the country of Cambaia. Here the women wear upon their arms infinite numbers of rings made of elephants' teeth, wherein they take so much delight that they had rather be without their meat than without their bracelets. Going from Diu we came to Daman, the second town of the Portugueze in the country of Cambaia, which is distant from Diu forty leagues. Here is no trade but of corn and rice. They have many villages under them which they quietly possess in time of peace, but in time of war the enemy is master of them. From thence we passed by Basaim, and from Basaim to Tana, at both which places is small trade but only of corn and rice.

The tenth of November, we arrived at Chaul which standeth in the firm land. There are two towns, the one belonging to the Portugueze and the other to the Moors. That of the Portugueze is nearest to the sea, and commandeth the bay, and is walled round about. A little above that is the town of the Moors, which is governed by a Moor King called Xa-Maluco. Here is great traffic for all sorts of spices, and drugs, silk, and cloth of silk, sandals, elephants' teeth, and much China work, and much sugar which is made of the nut called Gagara; the tree is called the palmer; which is the most profitable tree in the world: it doth always bear fruit and doth yield wine, oil, sugar, vinegar, cords, coals, and of the leaves are made thatch for the houses, sails for ships, mats to sit or lie on: of the branches they make their houses, and brooms to sweep; of the tree wood for ships. The wine doth issue out of the top of the tree. They cut a branch of a bough and bind it hard, and hang an earthen pot upon it, which they empty every morning and every evening and distil it, and put in certain dried raisins, and it becometh very strong wine in a short time. Hitherto many ships come from all parts of India, Ormus, and from Mecca: here are many Moors and Gentiles. They have a very strange order among them, they worship a cow, and esteem much of the cows' dung to paint the walls of their houses. They will kill nothing, not so much as a louse; for they hold it a sin to kill any thing. They eat no flesh, but live on roots, and rice, and milk. And when the  
husband

husband dieth, his wife is burned with him, if she be alive; if she will not, her head is shaven, and there is never any account made of her after. They say if they should be buried it were a great sin, for of their bodies would come many worms and other vermin, and when their bodies were consumed, those worms would lack sustenance, which were a sin, therefore they will be burned. In Cambaia they will kill nothing, nor have any thing killed: in the town they have hospitals to keep lame dogs and cats, and for birds. They will give meat to the ants.

Goa is the most principal city which the Portuguese have in India, wherein the Viceroy remaineth with his court. It standeth in an island, which may be five-and-twenty or thirty miles about. It is a fine city, and for an Indian town very fair. The island is very fair, full of orchards and gardens, and many palmer-trees, and hath some villages. Here are many merchants of all nations. And the fleet which cometh every year from Portugal, which are four, five, or six great ships, cometh first hither: and they come for the most part in September, and remain there forty or fifty days, and then go to Cochin, where they load their pepper for Portugal. Oftentimes they load one in Goa, the rest go to Cochin, which is from Goa a hundred leagues southward. Goa standeth in the country of Hidalcan, which lieth in the country six or seven days' journey. Its chief city is called Bisapor. At our coming we were cast into prison, and examined before the justice and demanded for letter, and were charged to be spies; but they could prove nothing by us. We continued in prison until the twenty-second of December, and then we were set at liberty, putting in sureties for two thousand ducats not to depart the town; which sureties Father Stephens, an English jesuit which we found there, and another religious man a friend of his, procured for us. Our surety's name was Andreas Taborer, to whom we paid two thousand one hundred and fifty ducats, and still he demanded more: whereupon we made suit to the viceroy and justice to have our money again, considering that they had had it in their hands near five months, and could prove nothing against us. The viceroy made us a very sharp answer, and said we should be better sifted before it were long, and that they had further matter against us.

Whereupon we presently determined rather to seek our liberty than to be in danger for ever to be slaves in the country, for it was told us we should have the strapado. The fifth day of April 1585 in the morning we ran from thence: and being set over the river we went two days on foot not without fear, not knowing the way nor having any guide, for we durst trust none. One of the first towns which we came to is called Bellargan, where there is a great market kept of diamonds, rubies, sapphires, and many other soft stones. From Bellargan we went to Bisapor, which is a very great town where the King doth keep his court. He hath many Gentiles in his court, and they are great idolaters. They have their idols standing in the woods which they call pagods. Some are like a cow, some like a monkey, some like buffaloes, some like peacocks, and some like the devil. Here are very many elephants which they go to war with. Here they have good store of gold and silver. Their houses are of stone, very fair and high. From hence we went for Gulconda, the King whereof is called Cutup de lachach. Here, and in the kingdom of Itidalcan, and in the country of the King of Decan, are the diamonds found of the old water. It is a very fair town, pleasant, with fair houses of brick and timber; it aboundeth with great store of fruits and fresh water. Here the men and women go with a cloth bound about their middles, without any more apparel. We found it here very hot.

The winter beginneth here about the last of May. In these parts is a port or haven called Masulipatan, which standeth eight days' journey from hence towards the gulf

of Bengala, whither come many ships out of India, Pegu, and Sumatra, very richly laden with pepper, spices, and other commodities. The country is very good and fruitful. From thence I went to Servidore, which is a fine country, and the King is called, The King of Bread. The houses here are all thatched and made of loam. Here are many Moors and Gentiles, but there is little religion amongst them. From thence I went to Bellapore, and so to Barrampore, which is in the country of Zelabdim Echebar. In this place their money is made of a kind of silver round and thick to the value of twenty-pence, which is very good silver. It is marvellous great and a populous country. In their winter, which is in June, July, and August, there is no passing in the streets but with horses, the waters are so high. The houses are made of loam and thatched. Here is great store of cotton cloth made, and painted cloths of cotton wool: also groweth great plenty of corn and rice. We found a great number of marriages both in towns and villages in many places we passed through, of boys of eight or ten years, and girls of five or six years old. They both ride upon one horse very trimly decked, and are carried through the town with great piping and playing, and so return home and eat of a banquet made of rice and fruits, and there they dance the greatest part of the night, and so make an end of the marriage. They lye not together until they are ten years old. They say they marry their children so young, because it is an order that when the man dieth, the woman must be burned with him: so that if the father die, yet they may have a father-in-law to help to bring up the children which are married; and also that they will not leave their sons without wives, nor their daughters without husbands.

From thence we went to Mandoway, which is a very strong town. It was besieged twelve years by Zelabdim Echebar, before he could win it. It standeth upon a very high rock, as the greatest number of their castles do, and was of a very great circuit. From hence we went to Ugini and Serringe, where we overtook the ambassador of Zelabdim Echebar, with a prodigious great company of men, elephants and camels. Here is a great trade of cotton, and cloth made of cotton, and great plenty of drugs. From thence we went to Agra, passing many rivers, which by reason of the rain were so swollen, that we waded and swam oftentimes for our lives. Agra is a very great and populous city, built with stone, having fair and large streets, with a river running by it, which falleth into the gulf of Bengala. It hath a fair and strong castle with a very fair ditch. Here are many Moors and Gentiles: the King is called Zelabdim Echebar; the people for the most part call him the Great Mogor. From thence we went to Fatepore, which is the place where the King kept his court. The town is greater than Agra, but the houses and streets are not so fair. Here dwell many people, both Moors and Gentiles. The King hath in Agra and Fatepore, as they do credibly report, one thousand elephants, thirty thousand horses, one thousand and four hundred tame deer, eight hundred concubines: such store of ounces, tigers, buffaloes, cocks and hawks, that is very strange to see. He keepeth a great court, which they call Dericcan. Agra and Fatepore are two very great cities, either of them much greater than London, and very populous. Between Agra and Fatepore are twelve miles, and all the way is a market of victuals and other things, as full as though a man were still in a town, and so many people as if a man were in a market. They have many fine carts, and many of them carved and gilded with gold, with two wheels, which are drawn by two little bulls about the bigness of our great dogs in England, and they will run with any horse, and carry two or three men in one of these carts: they are covered with silk or very fine cloth, and are used here as our coaches are in England. Hither is great resort of merchants from Persia, and out of  
India,

and very much merchandize of silk and cloth, and of precious stones, both rubies, diamonds, and pearls. The King is apparelled in a white cabie made like a shirt, tied with frings on the one side, and a little cloth on his head, coloured oftentimes with red or yellow. None come into his house but his eunuchs who keep his women.

Here in Fatepore we stayed all three till the twenty-eighth of September 1585; and then Mr. John Newberie took his journey toward the city of Lahore, determining from thence to go to Persia and then for Aleppo or Constantinople, whither he could get quickest passage to; and directed me to go for Bengala and for Pegu, and promised me, if it pleased God, to meet me in Bengala within two years with a ship out of England. I left William Leades, the jeweller, in the service of the King Zelabdim Echebar in Fatepore, who entertained him very well, and gave him a house and five slaves, a horse, and every day six S. S. in money.

I went from Agra to Satagam in Bengala, in the company of one hundred and four score boats, laden with salt, opium, hnge, lead, carpets, and various other commodities, down the river Jemena. The chief merchants are Moors and Gentiles. In these countries they have many strange ceremonies. The Bramens, which are their priests, come to the water, and have a string about their necks made with great ceremonies, and lade up water with both their hands, and turn the string first with both their hands within, and then one arm after the other out. Though it be never so cold they will wash themselves in cold water or in warm. These Gentiles will eat no flesh, nor kill any thing. They live on rice, butter, milk, and fruits. They pray in the water naked, and dress their meat and eat it naked, and for their penance they lye flat upon the earth, and rise up and turn themselves about thirty or forty times, and use to heave up their hands to the sun, and to kiss the earth, with their arms and legs stretched out, and their right leg always before the left. Every time they lye down, they make a score on the ground with their finger, to know when their stint is finished. The Bramens mark themselves in the forehead, ears, and throat, with a kind of yellow gear which they grind, and every morning they do it. They have some old men who go in the streets with a box of yellow powder, and mark men on their heads and necks as they meet them. And their wives come by ten, twenty, and thirty together, to the water side singing, and there wash themselves, and then use their ceremonies, and mark themselves in their foreheads and faces, and carry some with them, and so depart singing. Their daughters are married at or before the age of ten years. The men may have seven wives. They are a kind of crafty people, worse than the Jews. When they salute one another they heave up their hands to their heads and say, "Rame, Rame."

From Agra I came to Prague, where the river Jemena entereth into the mighty river Ganges, and Jemena loseth its name. Ganges cometh out of the north-west, and runneth east into the gulf of Bengala. In those parts there are many tigers, and partridges and turtle-doves, and much other fowl. There are many beggars in these countries who go naked, and the people make great account of them: they call them Schefche. Here I saw one who was a monster among the rest. He would have nothing upon him, his beard was very long, and with the hair of his head he covered his privities. The nails of some of his fingers were two inches long, for he would cut nothing from him, neither would he speak. He was accompanied with eight or ten, and they spake for him. When any man spoke to him, he would lay his hand upon his breast and bow himself, but would not speak. He would not speak to the King. We went from Prague down the Ganges, which is here very broad. Here is great store of fish of sundry sorts, and of wild fowl, as of swans, geese, cranes, and many

other things. The country is very fruitful and populous. The men for the most part have their faces shaven, and their heads very long, except some which are all shaven save the crown; and some of them are as though a man should set a dish on their heads, and shave them round all but the crown. In this river of Ganges are many islands. Its water is very sweet and pleasant, and the country adjoining very fruitful.

From thence we went to Bannaras, which is a great town, and great store of cloth is made there of cotton, and shaves for the Moors. In this place they are all Gentiles, and the greatest idolators that ever I saw. To this town come the Gentiles out of far countries. Here along the water side are very many fair houses, and in all of them or for the most part they have their images standing, which are ill-favoured, made of stone and wood; some like lions, leopards, and monkeys, some like men, and women, and peacocks, and some like the devil with four arms and four hands. They sit cross-legged, some with one thing in their hands, and some another, and by break of day and before there are men and women who come out of the town and wash themselves in the Ganges. And there are divers old men, which upon places of earth made for the purpose, sit praying, and they give the people three or four straws, which they take and hold between their fingers when they wash themselves; and some sit to mark them in the foreheads, and they have in a cloth a little rice, barley, or money, which when they have washed themselves, they give to the old men who sit there praying. Afterwards they go to divers of their images, and give them of their sacrifices. And when they give, the old men say certain prayers, and then all is holy. In divers places there standeth a kind of image which in their language they call Ada: and they have divers great stones carved, whereon they pour water, and throw thereupon some rice, wheat, barley, and some other things. This Ada hath four hands with claws. Moreover they have a great place made of stone, like to a well with steps to go down, wherein the water standeth very foul and stinketh; for the great quantity of flowers which they continually throw into it, make it stink. There are always many people in it: for they say when they wash themselves in it that their sins are forgiven them, because God, as they say, washed himself in this place. They gather up the sand in the bottom of it, and say it is holy.

They never pray but in the water, and they wash themselves overhead, and lade up water with both their hands, and turn themselves about, and then they drink a little of the water three times, and so go to their gods which stand in those houses. Some of them will wash a place which is their length, and then will pray upon the earth with their arms and legs at length out, and will rise up and lie down, and kiss the ground twenty or thirty times, but they will not stir their right foot. And some of them will make their ceremonies with fifteen or sixteen pots, little and great, and ring a little bell when they make their mixtures ten or twelve times: and they make a great circle of water round about their pots and pray, and divers sit by them, and one who reacheth them their pots: and they say divers things over their pots many times, and when they have done they go to their gods, and strew their sacrifices, which they think are very holy, and mark many of them which sit by in the foreheads, which they take as a great gift. There come fifty and sometimes a hundred together to wash in this well, and to offer to these idols. They have in some of these houses their idols standing, and one sitteth by them in warm weather with a fan to blow wind upon them: and when they see any company coming they ring a little bell which hangeth by them, and many give alms, but especially those who come out of the country. Many of them are black, and have claws of brass with long nails, and some ride upon peacocks and other fowls, which are evil-favoured, with long hawks' bills, and some like one thing and some another, but none with a good face. Among the rest there is one which they make great account of: for they say he giveth them

them all things, both food and apparel, and one sitteth always by him with a fan to make wind towards him.

Here some are burnt to ashes, some scorched in the fire and thrown into the water, and dogs and foxes presently eat them. The wives here burn with their husbands when they die; if they will not their heads are shaven, and no account is made of them afterwards. The people go all naked, save a little cloth bound about their middle. Their women have their necks, arms, and ears decked with rings of silver, copper, tin, and with round hoops made of ivory, adorned with amber stones and with many agates, and they are marked with a great spot of red in their foreheads, and a stroke of red up to the crown, and so it runneth three manner of ways. In the winter, which is our May, the men wear quilted gowns of cotton like to our mattraffes, and quilted caps like to our great grocers' mortars, with a slit to look out at, and so tied down beneath their ears. If a man or a woman be sick and like to die, they will lay him before their idols all night, and that shall help him or make an end of him. And if he do mend that night, his friends will come and sit with him a little and cry, and afterwards will carry him to the water side, and set him upon a little raft made of reeds, and so let him go down the river. When they are married the man and the woman come to the water side, and there is an old man which they call a Bramane, that is, a priest, a cow and a calf, and a cow with calf. Then the man and the woman, the cow and calf, and the old man go into the water together, and they give the old man a cloth of four yards long; and a basket cross-bound with divers things in it: the cloth he layeth upon the back of the cow, and then he taketh the cow by the end of the tail, and sayeth certain words: and she hath a copper or brasse pot full of water, and the man doth hold his hand by the old man's hand, and the wife's hand by her husband's, and all have the cow by the tail, and they pour water out of the pot upon the cow's tail, and it runneth through all their hands, and they lade up water with their hands, and then the old man doth tie him and her together by their clothes. Which done, they go round about the cow and calf, and then they give somewhat to the poor which are always there, and to the Bramane, or priest, they give one cow and calf, and afterwards go to divers of their idols and offer money, and lye down flat upon the ground, and kiss it divers times, and then go their way. Their chief idols are black and ill-favoured, their mouths monstrous, their ears gilded and full of jewels, their teeth and eyes of gold, silver, and glasse, some having one thing in their hands and some another. You may not come into the houses where they stand with your shoes on. They have continually lamps burning before them.

From Bannaras I went to Patanaw down the river Ganges; where in the way we passed many fair towns and a country very fruitful: and many very great rivers enter into the Ganges, and some of them as great as itself, which cause it to be of a great breadth, and so broad that in the time of rain you cannot see from one side to the other. These Indians when they are scorched and thrown into the water, the men swim with their faces downwards, the women with their faces upwards: I thought they tied something to them to cause them to do so, but they say no. There are very many thieves in this country, which are like to the Arabians; for they have no certain abode, but are sometimes in one place and sometimes in another. Here the women are so decked with silver and copper, that it is strange to see: they use no shoes by reason of the rings of silver and copper which they wear on their toes. Here at Patanaw they find gold in this manner: they dig deep pits in the earth, and wash the earth in great bowls, and therein they find the gold, and they make the pits round about with brick that the earth fall not in. Patanaw is a very long and great town. In times past it was a kingdom,

dom, but now it is under Zelabdim Echebar the great Mogor. The men are tall and slender, and have many old folks among them: the houses are simple, made of earth and covered with straw; the streets are very large. In this town there is a trade of cotton, and cloths of cotton; much sugar, which they carry from hence to Bengala and India; very much opium and other commodities. He that is chief here under the King is called Tipperdas, and is of great account among the people. Here in Patanaw I saw a dissembling prophet who sat upon a horse in the market place, and made as though he slept, and many of the people came and touched his feet with their hands, and then kissed their hands. They took him for a great man, but sure he was a lazy lubber. I left him there sleeping. The people of these countries are much given to such prating and dissembling hypocrites.

From Patanaw I went to Tanda, which is in the land of Gowren. It hath in times past been a kingdom, but is now subdued by Zelabdim Echebar. Great trade and traffic is here of cotton and of cloth of cotton. The people go naked, with a little cloth bound about their waist. It standeth in the country of Bengala. Here are many tigers, wild buffaloes, and great store of wild fowl. They are very great idolaters. Tanda standeth from the river Ganges a league, because in times past the river flowing over the banks in time of rain drowned the country and many villages, and so they remain. And the old way which the river Ganges was wont to run remaineth dry, which is the occasion that the city standeth so far from the water. From Agia down the river Jemena and down the river Ganges, I was five months coming to Bengala, but it may be failed in much shorter time.

I went from Bengala into the country of Couché, which lieth twenty-five days' journey northwards from Tanda. The King is a Gentile, his name is Suckel Counse, his country is great and lieth not far from Cauchin China; for they say they have pepper from thence. The port is called Cacchegate. All the country is set with bamboo or canes made sharp at both the ends, and driven into the earth, and they can let in the water and drown the ground above knee deep, so that men nor horses can pass. They poison all the waters if any wars be. Here they have much silk and musk, and cloth made of cotton. The people have ears which be marvellous great, of a span long, which they draw out in length by devices when they are young. Here they are all Gentiles, and they will kill nothing. They have hospitals for sheep, goats, dogs, cats, birds, and all other living creatures. When they be old and lame they keep them until they die. If a man catch or buy any quick thing in other places, and bring it thither, they will give him money for it, or other victuals, and keep it in their hospitals, or let it go. They will give meat to the ants. Their small money is almonds, which often times they use to eat.

From thence I returned to Hugeli, which is the place where the Portugals keep in the country of Bengala, which standeth in 23 degrees of north latitude, and standeth a league from Satagan: they call it Ponto Piqueno. We went through the wilderness, because the right way was full of thieves, where we passed the country of Gowren, where we found but few villages, but almost all wilderness, and saw many buffaloes, swine, and deer, grass longer than a man, and very many tigers. Not far from Porto Piqueno south-westward standeth an haven which is called Angeli, in the country of Orixia. It was a kingdom of itself, and the King was a great friend to strangers. Afterwards it was taken by the King of Patan, which was their neighbour, but he did not enjoy it long, but was taken by Zelabdim Echebar, which is King of Agra, Delli, and Cambaia. Orixia standeth six days' journey south-west from Satagan. In this place is very much rice, and cloth made of cotton, and great store of cloth which is made

of grafs, which they call yerua ; it is like a filk. They make good cloth of it, which they fend for India, and divers other places. To this haven of Angeli come every year many fhips out of India, Negapatan, Sumatra, Malacca, and divers other places ; and lade from thence great ftore of rice, and much cloth of cotton wool, much fugar, and long pepper, great ftore of butter, and other victuals for India. Satagam is a fair city for a city of the Moors, and very plentiful of all things. Here, in Bengala, they have every day in one place or other, a great market, which they call Chandeau, and they have many great boats which they call Pericofe, wherewith they go from place to place and buy rice, and many other things ; thefe boats have four and twenty, or fix and twenty oars to row them, they be of great burthen, but have no coverture. Here the Gentiles have the water of Ganges in great eftimation, for having good water near them, yet they will fetch the water of Ganges a great way off, and if they have not fufficient to drink, they will fprinkle a little on them, and then they think themfelves well. From Satagam I travelled by the country of the King of Tippara, or Porto Grande, with whom the Mogous or Mogen have almoft continual wars. The Mogen which be of the kingdom of Ruon (Arracan) and Rame, be ftronger than the King of Tippara, fo that Chategan or Porto Grande is oftentimes under the King of Ruon.

There is a country four days' journey from Couche before-mentioned which is called Bottanter, and the city Bottia ; the King is called Dermain : the people whereof are very tall and ftrong, and there are merchants which come out of China, and they fay out of Mufcovia, or Tartarie. And they come to buy mufk, cambals, agats, filk, pepper, and faffron like the faffron of Perfia. The country is very great, three months' journey. There are very high mountains in this country, and one of them fo fteep, that when a man is fix days' journey off it he may fee it perfectly. Upon thefe mountains are people which have ears of a fpan long : if their ears be not long they call themapes. They fay that when they be upon the mountains, they fee fhips in the fea failing to and fro ; but they know not from whence they come, nor whither they go. There are merchants which come out of the eaft, they fay, from under the fun, which is from China, which have no beards, and they fay it is there something warm. But thofe which come from the other fide of the mountains, which is from the north, fay there it is very cold. Thefe northern merchants are apparellled with woollen cloth and hats white hofen clofe, and boots which be of Mufcovia, or Tartarie. They report that in their country they have very good horfes, but they be little ; fome men have four, five, or fix hundred horfes and kine : they live with milk and fleft. They cut the tails of their kine, and fell them very dear, for they be in great request, and much eftemed in thofe parts. The hair of them is a yard long : the rump is about a fpan long : they ufe to hang them for bravery upon the heads of their elephants : they be much ufed in Pegu and China. They buy and fell by fcores upon the ground. The people be very fwift on foot.

From Chatigan in Bengala, I came to Bacola ; the King whereof is a Gentile, a man very well difpofed, and delighteth much to fhoot in a gun. His country is very great and fruitful, and ftore of rice, and much cotton cloth, and cloth of filk. The houfes be very fair and high built, the ftreets large, the people naked, except a little cloth about their waift. The women wear great ftore of filver hoops about their necks and arms, and their legs are ringed with filver and copper, and rings made of elephants' teeth.

From Bacola I went to Serrepore, which ftandeth upon the river of Ganges : the King is called Choudery. They be all hereabout rebels againft the King Zelabdin Echebar : for here are fo many rivers and iflands that they flee from one to another, whereby

whereby his horsemen cannot prevail against them. Great store of cotton cloth is made here.

Sinnergan is a town six leagues from Serrapore, where there is the best and finest cloth made of cotton that is in all India. The chief King of all these countries is called Ifacan, and he is chief of all the other Kings, and is a great friend to all Christians. The houses here as they be in most part of India, are very little, and covered with straw, and have a few mats round about the walls, and the door to keep out the tigers and foxes. Many of the people are very rich. Here they will eat no flesh, nor kill no beast. They live of rice, milk, and fruits. They go with a little cloth before them, and all the rest of their body is naked. Great store of cotton cloth goeth from hence, and much rice, wherein they serve all India, Ceilon, Pegu, Malacca, Sumatra, and many other places.

I went from Serrepore, the eight and twentieth day of November 1586, for Pegu, in a small ship or foist of one Albert Carravellos, and so passing down Ganges, and passing by the island of Sundiva, Porto Grande, or the country of Tippera, the kingdom of Recan and Mogen, leaving them on our left side, with a fair wind at north-west: our course was south by east, which brought us to the bar of Negrais to Pegu. If any contrary wind had come, we had thrown many of our things overboard; for we were so pestered with people and goods, that there were scant place to lie in. From Bengala to Pegu is ninety leagues. We entered the bar of Negrais, which is a brave bar, and hath four fathoms water when it hath least. Three days after we came to Cofmin, which is a very pretty town, and standeth very pleasantly, very well furnished with all things. The people be very tall and well disposed, the women white, round faced with little eyes: the houses are high built, set upon very great high posts, and they go up to them with long ladders for fear of the tigers which be very many. The country is very full of all things; here are very great figs, oranges, cocoas, and other fruits. The land is very high that we fall withall; but after we entered the bar, it is very low and full of rivers, for they go all to and fro in boats, which they call paroes, and keep their houses with wife and children in them.

From the bar of Nigrais to the city of Pegu is ten days' journey by the rivers; we went from Cofmin to Pegu, in paroes or boats, and passing up the rivers, we came to Medon, which is a pretty town, where there be a wonderful number of paroes, for they keep their houses and markets in them all upon the water. They row to and fro, and have all their merchandizes in their boats with a great sombrero or shadow over their heads to keep the sun from them, which is as broad as a great cart wheel, made of the leaves of the cocoa trees and fig trees, and is very light.

From Medon we went to Dela, which is a very fair town, and hath a fair port into the sea, from whence go many ships to Malacca, Mecca, and many other places. Here are eighteen or twenty very great and long houses, where they tame and keep many elephants of the King's; for thereabout in the wilderness they catch the wild elephants. It is a very fruitful country. From Dela we went to Cirion, which is a good town, and hath a fair port into the sea, whither come many ships from Mecca, Malacca, and Sumatra, and from divers other places. And there the ships stay and discharge, and send up their goods in paroes to Pegu.

From Cirion we went to Macao, which is a pretty town, where we left our boats, and in the morning taking delingeges, which are a kind of coaches made of cords and cloth quilted, and carried upon a stang, between three or four men; we came to Pegu the same day. Pegu is a city very great, strong, and very fair, with walls of stone, and great ditches round about it. There are two towns, the old town and the new. In the

old town are all the merchants strangers, and very many merchants of the country. All the goods are sold in the old town, which is very great and hath many suburbs round about it, and all the houses are made of canes, which they call bambos, and be covered with straw. In your house you have a warehouse which they call godon, which is made of brick, to put your goods in, for oftentimes they take fire and burn in an hour four or five hundred houses: so that if the godon were not, you should be in danger to have all burned, if any wind should rise, in a trice. In the new town is the King, and all his nobility and gentry. It is a city very great and populous, and is made square, and with fair walls, and a great ditch round about it full of water, with many crocodiles in it: it hath twenty gates, and they be made of stone; for every square five gates. There are also many turrets for centinels to watch, made of wood and gilded with gold very fair. The streets are the fairest that ever I saw, as straight as a line from one gate to another, and so broad that ten or twenty men may ride afront through them. On both sides them at every man's door is set a palm-tree, which is the nut-tree, which makes a very fair shew and a very commodious shadow, so that a man may walk in the shade all day. The houses be made of wood, and covered with tiles.

The King's house is in the middle of the city, and is walled and ditched round about, and the buildings within are made of wood very sumptuously gilded, and great workmanship is upon the forefront, which is likewise very costly gilded. And the house wherein his pagode or idol standeth is covered with tiles of silver, and all the walls are gilded with gold. Within the first gate of the King's house is a great large room, on both sides whereof are houses made for the King's elephants, which be marvellous great and fair, and are brought up to wars and in service of the King, and among the rest he hath four white elephants, which are very strange and rare, for there is none other King which hath them but he: if any other King hath one, he will send unto him for it. When any of these white elephants are brought unto the King, all the merchants in the city are commanded to see them, and to give him a present of half a ducat, which doth come to a great sum, for that there are many merchants in the city. After that you have given your present you may come and see them at your pleasure, although they stand in the King's house. This King in his title is called the "King of the white elephants." If any other King hath one and will not send it him, he will make war with him for it: for he had rather lose a great part of his kingdom than not to conquer him. They do very great service unto these white elephants: every one of them standeth in a house gilded with gold, and they do feed in vessels of silver and gilt. One of them when he doth go to the river to be washed, as every day they do, goeth under a canopy of cloth of gold or of silk, carried over him by six or eight men, and eight or ten men go before him playing on drums, shawms, or other instruments: and when he is washed and cometh out of the river, there is a gentleman which doth wash his feet in a silver basin; which is his office given him by the King. There is no such account made of any black elephant, be he never so great; and surely there be wonderful fair and great, and some be nine cubits in height; and they do report that the King hath above five thousand elephants of war, besides many other which be not taught to fight.

This King hath a very large place wherein he taketh the wild elephants. It standeth about a mile from Pegu, builded with a fair court within, and is in a great grove or wood: and there be many huntsmen who go into the wilderness with the elephants; for without the she they are not to be taken, and they be taught for that purpose: and every hunter hath five or six of them. And they say that they anoint the she elephants with a certain ointment, which when the wild elephant doth smell, he will not leave her. When they have brought the wild elephant near unto the place, they send word to the

town, and many horsemen and footmen come out and cause the she elephant to enter into a straight way which leads to the palace, and the she and he doth remain : for it is like a wood, and when they be in the gate doth shut. Afterward they get out the female, and when the male seeth that he is left alone, he weepeth and crieth, and runneth against the walls, which be made of such strong trees that some of them doth break their teeth with running against thè m. They prick him with sharp canes, and cause him to go into a straight house, and there they put a rope about his middle and about his feet, and let him stand there three or four days without eating or drinking, and then they bring a female to him, with meat and drink, and within few days he becometh tame. The chief force of the King is in these elephants ; and when they go into the wars they set a frame of wood upon their backs, bound with great cords, whercin sit four or six men, which fight with guns, bows and arrows, darts, and other weapons. And they say that their skins are so thick that a pellet of an arquebuss will scarce pierce them, except it be in some tender place. Their weapons be very bad : they have guns, but shoot very badly in them ; darts and swords short, without points.

The King keepeth a very great state : when he sitteth abroad, as he doth every day twice, all his noblemen, which they call Shemines, sit on each side, a good distance off, and a great guard without them. The court yard is very great. If any man will speak with the King, he is to kneel down, to keep up his hands to his head, and to put his head to the ground three times, when he entereth in the middle way, and when he cometh near to the King ; and then he sitteth down, and talketh with the King. If the King like well of it, he sitteth near him, within three or four paces ; if he think not well of him, he sitteth further off. When he goeth to war, he goeth very strong. At my being there he went to Odia, in the country of Siam, with three hundred thousand men, and five thousand elephants. Thirty thousand men were his guard. The people do eat roots, herbs, leaves, dogs, cats, rats, serpents, and snakes ; they refuse almost nothing. When the King rideth abroad he rideth with a great guard, and many noblemen, oftentimes upon an elephant, with a fine castle upon him very fairly gilded with gold, and sometimes upon a great frame like a horse litter, which hath a little house upon it covered overhead, but open on the sides, which is all gilded with gold, and set with many rubies and saphires, whereof he hath infinite store in his country, and is carried upon sixteen or eighteen men's shoulders. This coach, in their language, is called ferrion. Very great feasting and triumphing is many times before the King, both of men and women. This King hath little force by sea, because he hath but very few ships.

He hath houses full of gold and silver, and bringeth in often, but spendeth very little, and hath the mines of rubies and saphires and spinelles. Near unto the palace of the King, there is a treasure wonderful rich ; the which because it is so near, he doth not account of it : and it standeth open for all men to see, in a great walled court with two gates, which be always open. There are four houses gilded very richly, and covered with lead ; in every one of them are pagodes or images of huge stature and great value. In the first is the picture of a king in gold, with a crown of gold on his head, full of great rubies and saphires, and about him there stand four children of gold. In the second house is the picture of a man in silver, wonderful great, as high as a house ; his foot is as long as a man, and he is made sitting, with a crown on his head very rich with stones. In the third house is the picture of a man, greater than the other, made of brass, with a crown also on his head very rich with stones. In another court not far from this, stand four other pagodes or idols, marvellous great, of copper, made in the same place where they do stand, for they be so great that they be not to be removed :

moved: they stand in four houses gilded very fair, and are themselves gilded all over save their heads, and they shew like a black Morian. Their expences in gilding of their images are wonderful. The King hath one wife, and above three hundred concubines, by which they say he hath fourscore or fourscore and ten children. He sitteth in judgment almost every day. They use no speech, but give up their supplications written in the leaves of a tree with the point of an iron bigger than a bodkin; these leaves are an ell long, and about two inches broad; they are also double. He which giveth in his supplication doth stand in a place a little distance off, with a present. If his matter be liked of, the King accepteth of his present, and granteth his request: if his suit be not liked of, he returneth with his present, for the King will not take it.

In India there are few commodities which serve for Pegu, except opium of Cambaia, painted cloth of Saint Thome or of Masulipatan, and white cloth of Bengala, which is spent there in great quantity. They bring thither also much cotton, yarn red coloured with a root which they call saia, which will never lose its colour: it is very well fold here, and very much of it cometh yearly to Pegu. By your money you lose much. The ships which come from Bengala, Saint Thome, and Masulipatan, come to the bar of Nigrais, and to Cosmin. To Martavan, a port of the sea in the kingdom of Pegu, come many ships from Malacca laden with sandal, porcelains, and other wares of China, and with camphora of Borneo, and pepper from Achin in Sumatra. To Cirion, a port of Pegu, come ships from Mecca with woollen cloth, scarlets, velvets, opium, and such like. There are in Pegu eight brokers, whom they call Tareghe, which are bound to sell your goods at the price which they be worth, and you give them for their labour two in the hundred, and they be bound to make your debt good, because you sell your merchandizes upon their word. If the broker pay you not at his day, you may take him home, and keep him in your house; which is a great shame for him. And if he pay you not presently, you may take his wife and children, and his slaves, and bind them at your door, and set them in the sun; for this is the law of the country. Their current money in these parts is a kind of brass which they call ganza, wherewith you may buy gold, silver, rubies, musk, and all other things. The gold and silver is merchandize, and is worth sometimes more, sometimes less, as other wares be. This brazen money doth go by a weight which they call a biza; and commonly this biza, after our account, is worth about half-a-crown or somewhat less. The merchandize which be in Pegu, are gold, silver, rubies, saphires, spinells, musk, benjamin or frankincense, long pepper, tin, lead, copper, lacker whereof they make hard wax, rice and wine made of rice, and some sugar.

The elephants do eat the sugar canes, or else they would make very much. And they consume many canes likewise in making of their varellas or idol temples, which are in great number, both great and small. They be made round like a sugar loaf, some are as high as a church, very broad beneath, some a quarter of a mile in compass: within they be all earth done about with stone. They consume in these varellas great quantity of gold: for that they be all gilded aloft; and many of them from the top to the bottom; and every ten or twelve years they must be new gilded, because the rain consumeth off the gold; for they stand open abroad. If they did not consume their gold in these vanities, it would be very plentiful, and good and cheap in Pegu. About two days' journey from Pegu there is a varelle or pagode, which is the pilgrimage of the Pegues: it is called Dogonne, and is of a wonderful bigness, and all gilded from the foot to the top. And there is an house by it, wherein the tallipoies, which are their priests, do preach. This house is fifty-five paces in length, and hath three pawnes or

walks in it, and forty great pillars, gilded, which stand between the walks; and it is open on all sides, with a number of small pillars, which be likewise gilded. It is gilded with gold within and without. There are houses very fair round about for the pilgrims to lie in, and many goodly houses for the tallipoies to preach in, which are full of images both of men and women, which are all gilded over with gold. It is the fairest place, as I suppose, that is in the world: it standeth very high, and there are four ways to it, which all along are set with trees of fruits, in such wise that a man may go in the shade about two miles in length. And when their feast day is, a man can hardly pass by water or by land for the great press of people: for they come from all places of the kingdom of Pegu thither at their feast.

In Pegu they have many tallipoies or priests, which preach against all abuses. Many men resort unto them. When they enter into their kiack, that is to say, their holy place or temple, at the door there is a great jar of water with a cock or ladle in it, and there they wash their feet, and then they enter in, and lift up their hands to their heads, first to their preacher, and then to the sun, and so sit down. The tallipoies go very strangely apparelled, with one gamboline, or thin cloth next to their body, of a brown colour, another of yellow, doubled many times upon their shoulder: and those two be girded to them with a broad girdle, and they have a skin of leather hanging on a string about their necks, whereupon they sit bareheaded and barefooted, for none of them weareth shoes; with their right arms bare, and a great broad sombrero or shadow in their hands, to defend them in the summer from the sun, and in the winter from the rain. When the tallipoies or priests take their orders, first they go to school until they be twenty years old or more, and then they come before a tallipoie, appointed for that purpose, whom they call Rowli: he is of the chiefest and most learned, and he opposeth them, and afterward examineth them many times, whether they will leave their friends and the company of all women, and take upon them the habit of a tallipoie. If any be content, then he rideth upon a horse about the streets, very richly apparelled, with drums and pipes, to shew that he leaveth the riches of the world to be a tallipoie. In a few days after he is carried upon a thing like a horse-litter, which they call a serion, upon ten or twelve men's shoulders, in the apparel of a tallipoie, with pipes and drums, and many tallipoies with him and all his friends, and so they go with him to his house, which standeth upon the town, and there they leave him. Every one of them hath his house, which is very little, set upon six or eight posts, and they go up to them with a ladder of twelve or fourteen staves. Their houses be for the most part by the highway's side, and among the trees, and in the woods. And they go with a great pot made of wood or fine earth, and covered, tied with a broad girdle upon their shoulder, which cometh under their arm, wherewith they go to beg their victuals which they eat, which is rice, fish, and herbs. They demand nothing, but come to the door, and the people presently do give them, some one thing and some another; and they put all together in their pot; for they say, they must eat of their alms, and therewith content themselves. They keep their feasts by the moon, and when it is new moon they keep their greatest feast, and then the people send rice and other things to that kiack or church of which they be. And there all the tallipoies do meet which be of that church, and eat the victuals which are sent them. When the tallipoies do preach, many of the people carry them gifts into the pulpit where they sit and preach: and there is one which fitteth by them to take that which the people bring. It is divided among them. They have none other ceremonies nor service that I could see, but only preaching.

I went from Pegu to Tamakey, which is in the country of the Langeiannes, whom we call Tangomes : it is five and twenty days' journey north-east from Pegu. In which journey I passed many fruitful and pleasant countries. The country is very low, and hath many fair rivers. The houses are very bad, made of canes and covered with straw. Here are many wild buffes and elephants. Tamakey is a very fair and great town, with fair houses of stone, well peopled, the streets are very large, the men very well set and strong, with a cloth about them, bare headed and bare footed : for in all these countries they wear no shoes. The women be much fairer than those of Pegu. Here in all these countries they have no wheat. They make some cakes of rice. Hither to Tamakey come many merchants out of China, and bring great store of musk, gold, silver, and many other things of China work. Here is great store of victuals ; they have such plenty, that they will not milk the buffes, as they do in all other places. Here is great store of copper and benjamin. In these countries when the people be sick they make a vow to offer meat unto the devil, if they escape : and when they be recovered they make a banquet with many pipes and drums and other instruments, and dancing all the night, and their friends come and bring gifts, cocoes, figs, arreaes, and other fruits, and with great dancing and rejoicing they offer to the devil, and say, they give the devil to eat, and drive him out. When they be dancing and playing they will cry and hollow very loud : and in this sort they say they drive him away. And when they be sick a tallipoie or two every night doth sit by them and sing, to please the devil that he should not hurt them. And if any die he is carried upon a great frame made like a tower, with a covering all gilded with gold made of canes, carried with fourteen or sixteen men, with drums and pipes and other instruments playing before him to a place out of the town, and there is burned. He is accompanied with all his friends and neighbours, all men : and they give to the tallipoies or priests many mats and cloth : and then they return to the house, and there make a feast for two days : and then the wife with all the neighbours' wives and her friends, go to the place where he was burned, and then they sit a certain time and cry, and gather the pieces of bones which be left unburned, and bury them, and then return to their houses and make an end of all mourning. And the men and women which be near of kin do shave their heads, which they do not use except it be for the death of a friend ; for they much esteem of their hair.

Caplan is the place where they find the rubies, saphires, and the spinelles : it standeth six days' journey from Ava in the kingdom of Pegu. There are many great high hills out of which they dig them. None may go to the pits but only those which dig them.

In Pegu, and all the countries of Ava, Langeiannes, Siam, and the Bramas, the men wear bunches or little round balls in the privy members ; some of them wear two and some three. They cut the skin and so put them on one into one side, and another into the other side : which they do when they be five and twenty or thirty years old, and at their pleasure they take one or more of them out as they think good. When they be married the husband is for every child that his wife hath, to put in one until he come to three, and then no more : for they say the women do desire them. They were invented because they should not abuse the male sex : for in times past all those countries were so given to that villainy, that they were very scarce of people. It was also ordained that the women should not have past three cubits of cloth in their nether clothes, which they bind about them, which are so straight that when they go in the streets, they shew one side of the leg bare above the knee. The bunches aforesaid be of divers sorts ; the least be as big as a little walnut, and very

very round; the greatest are as big as a little hen's egg. Some are of brass and some of silver; but those of silver be for the King and his noblemen. These are gilded and made with great cunning, and ring like a little bell. There are some made of lead, which they call selwy, because they ring but little: and these be of lesser price for the poorer sort. The King sometimes taketh his out, and giveth them to his noblemen as a great gift: and because he hath used them, they esteem them greatly. They will put one in, and heal up the place in seven or eight days.

The Bramas which be of the King's country (for the King is a Brama), have their legs or bellies, or some part of their body, as they think good themselves, made black with certain things which they have; they use to prick the skin, and put on it a kind of anile or blacking, which doth continue always. And this is counted an honour among them; but none may have it but the Bramas which are of the King's kindred.

These people wear no beards: they pull out the hair on their faces with little pincers made for that purpose. Some of them will let sixteen or twenty hairs grow together, some in one place of his face and some in another, and pulleth out all the rest: for he carrieth his pincers always with him to pull the hairs out as soon as they appear. If they see a man with a beard they wonder at him. They have their teeth blacked, both men and women; for they say a dog hath his teeth white, therefore they will black theirs.

The Pegues, if they have a suit in the law which is so doubtful that they cannot well determine it, put two long canes into the water where it is very deep, and both the parties go into the water by the poles, and there sit men to judge, and they both do dive under the water, and he which remaineth longest under the water doth win the suit.

The 10th of January I went from Pegu to Malacca, passing by many of the ports of Pegu, as Martavan, the island of Tavi, from whence cometh great store of tin which serveth all India, the islands of Tenaferi, Tunsalaon, and many others; and so came to Malacca the 8th of February, where the Portugals have a castle which standeth near the sea. And the country fast without the town belongeth to the Malayos, which is a kind of proud people. They go naked, with a cloth about their middle, and a little roll of cloth about their heads. Hither come many ships from China, and from the Malueos, Banda, Timor, and many other islands of the Javas, which bring great store of spices and drugs, and diamonds and other jewels. The voyages into many of these islands belong unto the captain of Malacca: so that none may go thither without his licence, which yield him great sums of money every year. The Portugals here have oftentimes wars with the King of Achem, which standeth in the island of Sumatra: from whence cometh great store of pepper and other spices every year to Pegu and Mecca, within the Red Sea, and other places.

When the Portugals go from Macao in China to Japan, they carry much white silk, gold, musk, and porcelanes; and they bring from thence nothing but silver. They have a great barrack which goeth thither every year, and she bringeth from thence every year about six hundred thousand crusadoes. And all this silver of Japan, and two hundred thousand crusadoes more in silver which they bring yearly out of India, they employ to their great advantage in China: and they bring from thence gold, musk, silver, copper, porcelanes, and many other things very costly and gilded. When the Portugals come to Canton, in China, to traffic, they must remain there but certain days; and when they come in at the gate of the city, they must enter their names in a book, and when they go out at night they must put out their names. They may not lie in the town all night, but must lie in their boats without the town. And their days being expired, if any man remain there, they are ill used and imprisoned. A man may keep as many

concubines as he will, but one wife only. All the Chineans, Japanians, and Cauchin Chineans do write right downwards, and they do write with a fine pencil made of dog's or cat's hair.

Laban is an island among the Javas from whence come the diamonds of the new water. And they find them in the rivers: for the King will not suffer them to dig the rock. Tamba is an island among the Javas also, from whence come diamonds. And the King hath a mass of earth which is gold; it groweth in the middle of a river, and when the King doth lack gold, they cut part of the earth and melt it, whereof cometh gold. This mass of earth doth appear but once in a year: which is when the water is low: and this is in the month of April.

Bima is another island among the Javas; where the women travel and labour as our men do in England, and the men keep house and go where they will.

The 29th of March 1588, I returned from Malacca to Martavan, and so to Pegu, where I remained the second time until the 17th of September, and then I went to Cosmin, and there took shipping, and passing many dangers by reason of contrary winds, it pleased God that we arrived in Bengala in November following; where I stayed for want of passage until the 3d of February 1589, and then I shipped myself for Cochin. In which voyage we endured great extremity for lack of fresh water; for the weather was extremely hot, and we were many merchants and passengers, and we had very many calms and hot weather. Yet it pleased God that we arrived in Ceylon the 6th of March, where we staid five days to water and to furnish ourselves with other necessary provision. This Ceylon is a brave island, very fruitful and fair, but by reason of continual wars with the King thereof, all things are very dear; for he will not suffer any thing to be brought to the castle where the Portugals be: wherefore oftentimes they have great want of victuals. Their provision of victuals cometh out of Bengala every year. The King is called Raja, and is of great force, for he cometh to Columbo, which is the place where the Portugals have their fort, with a hundred thousand men, and many elephants. But they be naked people all of them: yet many of them be good with their pieces, which be muskets. When the King talketh with any man, he standeth upon one leg, and setteth the other foot upon his knee, with his sword in his hand: it is not their order for the King to sit, but to stand. His apparel is a fine painted cloth made of cotton-wool, about his middle; his hair is long and bound up with a little fine cloth about his head: all the rest of his body is naked. His guard are a thousand men, which stand round about him, and he in the middle; and when he marcheth many of them go before him, and the rest come after him. They are of the race of the Chingalayes, which they say are the best kind of all the Malabars. Their ears are very large; for the greater they are, the more honourable they are accounted. Some of them are a span long. The wood which they burn is cinnamon wood, and it smelleth very sweet. There is great store of rubies, sapphires, and spinelles in this island: the best kind of all be here: but the King will not suffer the inhabitants to dig for them, lest his enemies should know of them, and make wars against him, and so drive him out of his country for them. They have no horses in all the country. The elephants be not so great as those of Pegu, which be monstrous huge: but they say all other elephants do fear them, and none dare fight with them, though they be very small. Their women have a cloth bound about them from their middle to their knee, and all the rest is bare. All of them be black and but little, both men and women. Their houses be very little, made of the branches of the palmer or coco-tree, and covered with the leaves of the same tree.

The

The 11th of March we sailed from Ceylon, and so doubled the cape of Cormori. Not far from thence, between Ceylon and the main land of Negapatan, they fish for pearls. And there is fished every year very much; which do serve all India, Cambaia and Bengala; it is not so orient as the pearl of Baharim in the gulph of Persia. From Cape Cormori we passed by Coulam, which is a fort of the Portugals, from whence cometh great store of pepper, which cometh for Portugal: for oftentimes there ladeth one of the caracks of Portugal. Thus passing the coast we arrived in Cochin the 22d of March, where we found the weather warm, but scarcity of victuals; for here groweth neither corn nor rice: and the greatest part cometh from Bengala. They have here very bad water, for the river is far off. This bad water causeth many of the people to be like lepers, and many of them have their legs swollen as big as a man in the waist, and many of them are scant able to go. These people here be Malabars, and of the race of the Naires of Calicut, and they differ much from the other Malabars. These have their heads very full of hair, and bound up with a string: and there doth appear a bush without the band wherewith it is bound. The men be tall and strong, and good archers with a long bow and a long arrow, which is their best weapon; yet there be some calivers among them, but they handle them badly.

Here groweth the pepper, and it springeth up by a tree or a pole, and is like our ivy berry, but something longer like the wheat-ear: and at the first the bunches are green, and as they wax ripe they cut them off and dry them. The leaf is much less than the ivy-leaf, and thinner. All the inhabitants here have very little houses, covered with the leaves of the coco-trees. The men be of a reasonable stature, the women little; all black, with a cloth bound about their middle hanging down to their hams: all the rest of their bodies be naked: they have horrible great ears, with many rings set with pearls and stones in them. The King goeth incached, as they do all: he doth not remain in a place above five or six days: he hath many houses, but they be but little: his guard is but small; he removeth from one house to another according to their order. All the pepper of Calicut and coarse cinnamon groweth here in this country. The best cinnamon doth come from Ceylon, and is peeled from fine young trees. Here are very many palmer or coco-trees, which is their chief food, for it is their meat and drink: and yieldeth many other necessary things, as I have declared before.

The Naires which be under the King or Samorin, which be Malabars, have always wars with the Portugals. The King hath always peace with them: but his people go to the sea to rob and steal. Their chief captain is called Cogi Alli; he hath three castles under him. When the Portugals complain to the King, he saith he doth not send them out: but he consenteth that they go. They range all the coast from Ceylon to Goa, and go by four or five prows or boats together, and have in every one of them fifty or threecore men, and board presently. They do much harm on that coast, and take every year many foists and boats of the Portugals. Many of these people be Moors. This King's country beginneth twelve leagues from Cochin, and reacheth near unto Goa. I remained in Cochin until the 2d of November, which was eight months: for that there was no passage that went away in all that time: if I had come two days sooner I had found a passage presently. From Cochin I went to Goa, where I remained three days. From Cochin to Goa is a hundred leagues. From Goa I went to Chaul, which is threecore leagues, where I remained three-and-twenty days: and there making my provision of things necessary for the ship, from thence I departed to Ormus, where I stayed for a passage to Balfora fifty days. From Goa to Ormus is four hundred leagues.

Here

Here I thought good, before I make an end of this my book, to declare some things which India and the country farther eastward do bring forth.

The pepper groweth in many parts of India, especially about Cochin, and much of it doth grow in the fields among the bushes without any labour, and when it is ripe they go and gather it. The shrub is like unto our ivy-tree: and if it did not run about some tree or pole, it would fall down and rot. When they first gather it, it is green; and then they lay it in the sun and it becometh black.

The ginger groweth like unto our garlic, and the root is the ginger: it is to be found in many parts of India.

The cloves do come from the isles of the Moluccoes, which be divers islands: their tree is like to our bay-tree.

The nutmegs and mace grow together, and come from the isles of Banda; the tree is like our walnut-tree, but somewhat less.

The white sandoll is wood very sweet, and in great request among the Indians: for they grind it with a little water, and anoint their bodies therewith: it cometh from the isle of Timur.

Camphora is a precious thing among the Indians, and is sold dearer than gold. I think none of it cometh for Christendom. That which is compounded cometh from China, but that which groweth in canes and is the best, cometh from the great isle of Borneo.

Lignum aloes cometh from Cauchin China.

The benjamin cometh out of the countries of Siam and Jangomes.

The long pepper groweth in Bengala, in Pegu, and in the islands of the Javas.

The musk cometh out of Tartarie, and is made after this order, by the report of the merchants who bring it to Pegu to sell. In Tartarie there is a little beast like unto a young roe, which they take in snares, and beat him to death with the blood: after that they cut out the bones, and beat the flesh with the blood very small, and fill the skin with it, and hereof cometh the musk.

Of the amber they hold divers opinions: but most men say it cometh out of the sea, and that they find it upon the shore's side.

The rubies, saphires and spinelles are found in Pegu. The diamonds are found in divers places, as in Bishnagar, in Agra, in Delli, and in the islands of the Javas.

The best pearls come from the island of Baharim in the Persian sea, and the worser from the Piscaria, near the isle of Ceylon, and from Aynam, a great island on the southermost coast of China.

Spodium, and many other kinds of drugs, come from Cambaia.

Now to return to my voyage: from Ormus I went to Balfora, or Basora, and from Basora to Babilon; and we passed the most part of the way by the strength of men, by hauling the boat up the river with a long cord. From Babilon I came by land to Mosul which standeth near to Nineve, which is all ruinated and destroyed: it standeth fast by the river of Tigris. From Mosul I went to Merdin, which is in the country of the Armenians: but now there dwell in that place a people which they call Cordies, or Curdi. From Merdin I went to Orfa, which is a very fair town, and it hath a goodly fountain full of fish: where the Moors hold many great ceremonies and opinions concerning Abraham; for they say he did once dwell there. From thence I went to Bir, and so passed the river Euphrates. From Bir I went to Aleppo, where I staid certain months for company, and then I went to Tripolis; where finding English shipping, I came with a prosperous voyage to London, where by God's assistance I safely arrived the 29th of April 1591, having been eight years out of my native country.

## EMBASSY TO AVA;

SENT BY THE GOVERNOR GENERAL OF INDIA IN THE YEAR 1795.

BY MICHAEL SYMES, ESQ.

LIEUTENANT COLONEL IN HIS MAJESTY'S 76TH REGIMENT\*.

CHAP. I. — *Consent to go to Pegue before the Return of Mr. Wood. — Suspensions of the Birmans awakened by designing Persons. — Hospitable Reception experienced by foreign Merchants at Rangoon. — Characters of Men in Office : — Arts used to counteract the English Deputation. — Mr. Wood departs from Rangoon : — Politeness of the Rangoon. — Embark for Pegue : — bring-to during the Ebb of Tide : — Appearance of the Country : — find the Remains of two Deer, half devoured by Tigers. — Rich Soil : — Country desitute of Population, and infested by wild Beasts.*

AT the earnest sollicitation of Baba-Sheen, I consented to embark for Pegue on the 31st of March, and not wait the return of Mr. Wood, as I had at first intended. The annual festival at the great temple of Pegue was about to be celebrated with sumptuous magnificence; and the Viceroy had expressed a particular desire that the English gentlemen should witness the rejoicings. I told Baba-Sheen that I would relinquish my original determination on this point, as a mark of my confidence in him, and perfect conviction of the friendly inclinations of the Viceroy.

Previous to this amicable termination of a disagreement which at first bore an inauspicious appearance, I had conjectured what were the real motives of their distrust, and my conclusions afterwards proved to be rightly founded. Pride, the natural characteristic of the Birmans, was inflamed by the arts of designing men, and suspicion was awakened by misrepresentation. The Birmans, sensible of the advantages of commerce, but inexpert in the practice, desirous to improve, but unacquainted with the principles of trade, had of late years given toleration to all sects, and invited strangers of every nation to resort to their ports; and being themselves free from those prejudices of cast, which shackle their Indian neighbours, they permitted foreigners to intermarry and settle amongst them. But their country had been so much harassed by wars with neighbouring nations, and torn by revolts and domestic dissensions, that trade was frequently interrupted, and sometimes entirely stopped; property was rendered insecure, and even the personal safety of settlers endangered. During the short intervals of tranquillity, obscure adventurers, and outcasts from all countries of the east, had flocked to Rangoon, where they were received with hospitality by a liberal nation: among these the industrious few soon acquired wealth by means of their superior knowledge. The Parsees, the Armenians, and a small proportion of Mussulmen, engrossed the largest share of the trade of Rangoon; and individuals, from their number, were frequently selected by government to fill employments of trust that related to trade and transactions with foreigners, the duties of which the Birmans supposed that such per-

\* London, 1800. Some chapters are omitted, and the others presented in successive order.

sons could perform better than themselves. Baba-Sheen, born in the Birman country, of Armenian parents, had obtained the high office he held by his skill in business and his general knowledge. The descendant of a Portuguese family, named Jaunsee, whose origin was very low, and who in the early part of his life had been accused as accessory to the piratical seizure of an English vessel, was invested with the important office of shawbunder, or intendant of the port, and receiver of the port customs. This man appeared to perform the duties of his station with diligence. The town of Rangoon was indebted to his activity for the pavement of its streets, for several well-built wooden bridges, and a wharf, which, extending into the river, and raised on posts, enabled the ships to deliver and receive cargoes without the assistance of river craft: under his direction also, a spacious custom-house had lately been erected. This is the only lay building in Rangoon, that is not constructed of wood; it is composed of brick and mortar, and the roof covered with tiles; within, there are a number of wooden stages for the reception of bale goods. Notwithstanding the respect which the energy of Jaunsee's character had obtained, the Birmans were by no means insensible of the meanness of his extraction: his want of education was a matter of derision among them: although an inhabitant of the Birman country near forty years, and a great part of the time an officer of government, he could neither read nor write, and even spoke their language imperfectly. We were unfortunate in his happening to be at Ava at the time of our arrival, whither he had gone to render up his annual accounts: had he been on the spot, it is probable he would have obviated several of the inconvenient circumstances attending our first introduction.

The character of Baba-Sheen was strikingly contrasted with that of the shawbunder: he was a man of general knowledge, and deemed by the Birmans an accomplished scholar; he was better acquainted with the history, politics, and geography of Europe, than any Asiatic I ever conversed with: his learning was universal, being slightly versed in almost every science; but his information, extensive as it was, although it gained him employment, could not procure him confidence: he was said to be deficient in other essential requisites.

Several private merchants had also acquired influence in Rangoon. Bawangee, a Parsee of considerable credit, had interest to procure a partial mitigation of duties on his merchandize, in consideration of supplying annually a certain number of firelocks for the royal arsenal. Jacob Aguizar, an Armenian, to whom I had letters of credit, dealt largely in foreign commodities. These people naturally behold with a jealous eye, any advance of a commercial nature, that may tend to diminish their influence, and deprive them of that dictatorial power, which they assume and exercise over all merchants and mariners that resort to Rangoon: but of none are they so apprehensive as of the English; a connection with whom might teach the Birmans to transact foreign business without their assistance, and give them a more adequate sense of their own interests. Under these fears they had long been disseminating the seeds of suspicion, and warning the Birmans to be on their guard against British fraud, as well as British force; but no sooner did they hear of the present deputation, than the alarm-bell was sounded from all quarters. They represented (as I was credibly informed) our designs to be of the most mischievous tendency; and even endeavoured to work on the superstition of the people, by the solemn promulgation of a prophecy, that in less than twelve months the English colours would fly on the Rangoon flag-staff. These artifices, were not now practised for the first time, although they could not deceive the Birmans, it is probable were not altogether void of effect; nor is it to be wondered at, that our reception, though respectful from the deputation that came down to meet

us, was not perfectly cordial. There is also reason to conclude, that the provincial officers of Rangoon knew not in what manner they ought to act, not having received precise instructions for the regulation of their conduct toward us in matters of ceremony.

Conformably to our recent arrangement, Mr. Wood left us on the preceding night, and, accompanied by Baba-Sheen, set out for Pegue in a commodious boat, well protected from the weather. This day the captains of the principal ships in the river dined with me on shore. The Raywoon, knowing that I was to have company, sent a whole antelope, with Indian vegetables in abundance; and acquainted me, that boats would be in readiness for us on the following day at noon, as I had promised to leave Rangoon by the evening's tide.

The morning of the following day was spent in preparation for our journey to Pegue. Having now come to a right understanding with persons in power, I did not scruple to send on shore part of my heavy baggage, which was deposited in the house, under charge of three soldiers, and some servants, whom we were obliged to leave behind on account of indisposition. The presents for His Majesty were not taken out of the ship, as many of the articles were of a brittle nature, and liable to injury from removal. I likewise drew up a short letter of instructions for Captain Thomas, leaving him in most cases a latitude to act from the dictates of his own discretion, on which I knew I might with safety rely; at the same time I pointed out the propriety of using every means to conciliate the inhabitants, and cautioned him to repress, in his European crew, that thoughtless intemperance which is the characteristic of British seamen when they get on shore.

About noon, three boats were in readiness at the creek near our dwelling. The one designed for my conveyance was comfortable, according to Birman notions of accommodation. It consisted of three small compartments, partitioned by fine mats, neatly fastened to slips of bamboo cane: the inner room was lined with Indian chintz; the roof, however, was so low as not to admit of a person standing upright; an inconvenience scarcely to be endured by an European, but not at all regarded by Asiatics. It was rowed by twelve Birman watermen, who used short oars made in the English form, and who seemed to understand their business. A large heavy boat was provided for the soldiers and our domestics, and a small cutter attended as a kitchen: the boat destined for Dr. Buchanan did not arrive until it was dark, and being a very indifferent one, we imagined it was kept out of sight for that reason.

The mouth of the Syriam or Pegue river, where it joins with that of Rangoon, is about three miles below the town; we therefore waited till the ebb tide was nearly spent, in order to drop down, and take the first of the flood to ascend the river of Pegue. At eight o'clock at night we embarked, accompanied by two war-boats, in one of which was the Nakhaan of Rangoon, and in the other an inferior officer. A black Portuguese in the service of the provincial government, who spoke the language of Hindostan, came as official interpreter: we had likewise another Portuguese, named Pauntchoo, who engaged in my service at the Andaman island, whither he had come from Bassien, as a trader in tobacco and small articles for the supply of the colony. This man was a valuable acquisition to me during the mission; he spoke the Birman language fluently, and that of Hindostan intelligibly: the latter was the medium I commonly used in my conversations with Birmans, and I was seldom at a loss to find some person that understood it. On arriving at the mouth of the Pegue river, we brought-to, and waited an hour for the turn of tide, which, during the springs, runs with considerable violence. On the first of the flood, we weighed, and used our oars: neap tides prevailing, the boats made but slow progress, about four miles an hour, continuing

tinuing at that rate for seven hours, when we again stopped and fastened our boats to the bank.

Early in the morning Dr. Buchanan and myself walked out with our guns, accompanied with half a dozen attendants; the country round, as far as our view could reach, displayed a level plain, with clumps of trees at distant intervals; a thick reedy grafs had grown in some places very high; in others, where it had been burnt, there appeared good pasturage for cattle: we saw the embanked divisions of a few rice plantations, and discovered the vestiges of former culture and population; but during a walk of two hours the eye was not gratified with the sight of a house, or an inhabitant: desolated by the contentions of the Birmans and Peguers, the country had not yet recovered from the ravages of war. In our walk we observed many tracks of wild elephants, the spots where hogs had rooted, and deer lain, and found the remains of two antelopes that had recently been killed and half devoured by tigers. The Doctor and myself fired at deer without success. The banks on each side the river are low, and the land seems adapted to produce excellent crops; but it is now quite deserted, and become the undisputed domain of the wild beasts of the forest.

CHAP. II. — *Arrive at Pegue: — polite Reception: — invited to the Celebration of the annual Festival: — Procession described. — Sports in Honour of the Day: — Pugilistic Exercises: — Birmans expert at Wrestling. — Formal Introduction to the Maynoon, or Viceroy. — Companies from the different Districts of the Province pass in Review. — Grand Display of Fireworks: — orderly and sober Demeanour of the Populace. — Curiosity of the Birmans. — Attention of the Viceroy to our Accommodation. — Invited to a dramatic Representation. — Siamese Actors: — an extraordinary Performer: — Description of the Play. — Birmans close the Year with a purificatory Ceremonial, in which the English Gentlemen bear a Part.*

AT noon we got under way, and soon passed a village on the right, consisting of about twenty houses; the river gradually diminished in breadth, and at this place was not more than forty yards wide, the banks covered with coppice and long reeds: after passing another and larger village where there was a chokey or watch-house, we proceeded through a cultivated country, and numerous villages appeared on each side. At seven in the evening we were in sight of Pegue, and judged the distance by water from Rangoon to be about ninety miles, most part of the way in a northward direction; but the windings of the river are so great, that the road in a straight line must be much less. When we approached the landing-place, Mr. Wood came down to meet us, and the favourable account he gave of his reception, added not a little to the satisfaction of having finished our journey: we also found Baba-Sheen on the bank waiting our arrival. This personage conducted us with great civility to our habitation, which we were pleased at finding far superior to that we had left. It was situated on a plain, a few hundred yards without the principal gate of the present town, but within the fortified lines of the ancient city. Like Birman houses in general, it was raised between three and four feet from the ground, composed wholly of bamboos and mats, and indifferently thatched: this is a defect that extends universally to their own dwellings, and affords matter of surprise in a country where the coarse grafs used for thatching is so plentiful. We had each a small apartment as a bed-chamber, with carpets spread over the mats, and a larger room to dine in and to receive visitors: huts were also erected for our attendants; and a bamboo palisade, inclosing a court sufficiently spacious, surrounded the whole. On the whole, we had reason to be satisfied with our dwelling; it

was commodious, according to the ideas of the people themselves, and we had no right to complain of that which was well-intended. Shortly after our arrival, two officers of government waited on me, with compliments of congratulation from the Maywoon; they stayed but a short time, perceiving that we were busy in arranging conveniences for the night.

Our servants were occupied during the greater part of the next day in bringing up our baggage from the boats to the house, a distance of nearly half a mile. In the afternoon an officer called Che-key, second in rank to the Maywoon, and the Sere-dogee, or secretary of the provincial government, accompanied by Baba-Sheen, paid us a visit to tea. They informed me, that the Maywoon, or Viceroy, who had been much engaged in directing the preparations for the ensuing festival, hoped that we would wave ceremony, and give him our company on the following morning at the great temple of Shoemadco, to view the amusements of the first day; an invitation that I gladly accepted, from motives of curiosity as well as of respect.

At eight o'clock in the morning Baba-Sheen arrived, in order to conduct us to the temple; and brought with him three small horses, equipped with saddles and bridles, resembling those used by the higher ranks of the inhabitants of Hindostan. After breakfast, Mr. Wood, Dr. Buchanan, and myself, mounted, and attended by Baba-Sheen, and an ackedoo, an officer belonging to the Maywoon's household, also on horseback, set out to view the ceremony. We entered the new town by the nearest gate, and proceeded upwards of a quarter of a mile through the principal street, till we came to where it was crossed at right angles by another, which led from the Maywoon's residence to the temple; here our progress was stopped by a great concourse of people, and we perceived on each side of the way troops marching by single files, in slow time, towards the temple. By the advice of Baba-Sheen we occupied a convenient spot to view the procession. The troops that we saw were the Maywoon's guard: five or six hundred men passed us in this manner, wretchedly armed and equipped; many had muskets that appeared in a very unserviceable state, with accoutrements not in a more respectable condition; some were provided with spears, others with sabres; whilst their dress was as motley as their weapons. Several were naked to the middle, having only a kummerband, or waistcloth, rolled round their waist, and passed between their legs; some were dressed in old velvet or cloth coats, which they put on regardless of size or fashion, although it scarcely covered their nakedness, or trailed on the ground: it was finery, and finery in any shape was welcome. Some wore Dutch broad-brimmed hats bound with gold lace, others the crowns of hats without any brim at all: the officers of this martial band, who were for the most part Christian descendants of Portuguese ancestors, exhibited a very grotesque appearance. The first personages of rank that passed by were three children of the Maywoon, borne astride upon men's shoulders; the eldest, a boy about eight years of age; the youngest, a girl not more than five; the latter only was legitimate, being the first-born of his present wife; the two elder were the offspring of concubines. The Maywoon followed at a short distance, mounted on the neck of a very fine elephant, which he guided himself. His dress was handsome and becoming; he had on a dark velvet robe with long sleeves, trimmed with broad gold lace, and on his head he wore a conical cap of the same material, richly embroidered; a number of parade elephants in tawdry housings brought up the rear. As we had not been formally introduced, he passed by without honouring us with any notice. Proceeding to the foot of the steps that lead to the pagoda, his elephant knelt down to suffer him to alight. Whilst he was in the performance of this act, the parade elephants knelt also, and the crowd that followed squatted on their heels. Having ascended the flight of steps, he

put off his shoes, and walked once round the temple without his umbrella, which was laid aside out of reverence to the sanctity of the place. When he had finished this ceremony, he proceeded to the scene of amusement, a sort of theatre erected at an angle of the area of the temple. Two saloons, or open halls, separate from the great building, formed two sides of the theatre, which was about fifty feet square, covered by an awning of grass, spread on a flat roof of slender canes, supported by bamboo poles. Beneath the projecting verge of the roof of one of the saloons, there was an elevated seat, with a handsome canopy of cloth, for the accommodation of the Maywoon and his three children; and on a bare bench beneath him sat the principal officers of his court. On the left side of the theatre, a similar canopy and chair were erected for the Maywoon of Martaban, who happened at this time to be passing by to take possession of his government. Opposite to him, under the roof of the other saloon, seats were provided for the English gentlemen, covered with fine carpeting, but without any canopy. The diversions of this day consisted entirely of boxing and wrestling. In order to prevent injury to the champions, the ground had been prepared, and made soft with moistened sand. At the latter exercise they seemed to be very expert: a short stout man was particularly distinguished for his superior skill and strength: we were told, that in former contests he had killed two of his antagonists. The first that encountered him on the present occasion, though much superior in size, was, after a short struggle, pitched on his head, and, as the bystanders said, severely hurt. Many others displayed great activity and address; but in the art of boxing they seemed very deficient, notwithstanding they used fists, knees, and elbows. The battles were of short duration; blood drawn on either side terminated the contest; and even without it, the Maywoon would not suffer them to contend long. At the end of an engagement both combatants approached the Maywoon's throne, and prostrated themselves before him, with their foreheads to the ground, whilst an attendant spread on the shoulders of each two pieces of cotton cloth, as the reward of their exertions, which they carried away in a crouching position, until they mingled with the crowd. The places of those who retired were immediately filled by fresh pugilists. This amusement lasted for three hours, until we became quite weary of it; tea and sweetmeats in great profusion were afterwards served to us, in the name of the Maywoon. We departed without ceremony, and got home about four o'clock, extremely oppressed by the intense heat of the weather.

In the morning an early message came from the Maywoon, intimating that he hoped to see us that day at the government-house. Baba-Sheen also made a tender of his services to introduce us to the praw, or lord; who being ready at the hour appointed, we set out on horseback to pay our visit of ceremony, preceded by the soldiers of the guard, and our personal attendants. Six Birmans also walked in front, bearing the articles intended as a present, which consisted of silks, satins, velvets, gold, flowered and plain muslins, some broad cloth, and a handsome silver-mounted fowling piece. In this order we marched through the town, the objects of universal curiosity, till we reached the gate of an inclosure surrounding the Maywoon's dwelling. It was made of boards nailed to posts twelve or thirteen feet high, and comprehended a spacious square, in the centre of which stood the governor's residence. There were likewise some smaller houses irregularly disposed, appropriated, as we understood, to the several members of the Maywoon's family. We pulled off our shoes at the bottom of the stairs, and were ushered into a saloon, from whence, turning to the right, we ascended three steps into a hall, where a number of persons ranged on each side, were sitting with their legs inverted, waiting the entrance of the Maywoon. Instructed by Baba-Sheen, we took our seats on small carpets spread in the middle of the room, in front

of a narrow gallery elevated about two feet from the floor and railed in, with the presents placed before us on trays. In a few minutes the Maywoon entered by a door at one end of the gallery. We made no obeisance, as none was desired, but his attendants crouched to the ground. He sat down, and silence was kept for some time, which I first interrupted, by telling him, through Baba-Sheen, that the Governor-general of India, having received his friendly letter, and being well assured of the amicable disposition of the Birman government towards the English nation, had charged me with the delivery of letters and presents to His Majesty at Ava, and had likewise requested his acceptance of a few articles which I had brought with me. I then rose, and presented the governor-general's letter; he laid it on the tray before him, talked of indifferent matters, and was extremely polite in his expressions and manner, but carefully avoided all discourse that had the least relation to business, or the objects of the embassy. After half an hour's conversation, chiefly on uninteresting topics, he invited us to a grand display of fireworks, which was to take place on the following day, and soon after withdrew unceremoniously: tea and sweetmeats were then served up. Having tasted of what was set before us, we were conducted by Baba-Sheen to the outer balcony, to view the different companies pass by that intended to exhibit fireworks on the following day.

It is the custom, on this occasion, for the several mios or districts, whose situation is not too remote, to select and send a number of men and women from their community to represent them at the general festival: these companies vie with each other in the magnificence of their fireworks, and on the eve of celebration pass the government-house in review before the Maywoon and his family, each company distinct. A small waggon drawn by four buffaloes, profusely decorated with peacocks' feathers, and the tails of Thibet cows, led the procession, on which were laid the fireworks of that particular company: next advanced the men belonging to it, dancing and shouting; the females, in a separate troop, came last, singing in full chorus, and clapping their hands in accurately measured time. They, for the most part, appeared to be girls from sixteen to twenty years of age, comely, and well made; but their features were without the delicacy of the damsels of Hindostan, or the bloom of the soft Circassian beauties. In every company of young women there were a few aged matrons, probably as a check on the vivacity of youth: the seniors, however, seemed to join in the festivity with juvenile sprightliness. Refreshments were again served up to us, and we returned home about two o'clock.

At eight in the morning great crowds had assembled on the plain without the stockade of the present town, but within the walls of ancient Pegue; three temporary sheds were erected on the middle of the green, apart from each other, one for the reception of the Maywoon and his family, another for the Martaban governor, and a third for our accommodation. Common spectators, to the number of many thousands, were scattered in groups over the plain; each division or company exhibited in turn its own fireworks: the display of rockets was strikingly grand, but nothing else merited attention. The cylinders of the rockets were trunks of trees hollowed, many of them seven or eight feet long, and from two to three feet in circumference; these were bound by strong ligatures to thick bamboos, eighteen or twenty feet in length; they rose to a great height, and in descending emitted various appearances of fire that were very beautiful. The time appointed for the amusement considerably diminished the effect; but it was chosen from a humane apprehension of injury to the people by the fall of extinguished rockets, which must have rendered the diversion, during the night, extremely dangerous. Notwithstanding this precaution, a man was unfortunate  
enough

enough to be in the way of one that killed him on the spot. Each company, after contributing its share towards the general entertainment, marched past the Maywoon, to the sound of musical instruments; after which they proceeded to our shed with songs and dances, "the pipe and the tabor," manifesting every lively demonstration of joy.

It was a spectacle not less pleasing than novel to an European, to witness such a concourse of people of all classes, brought together for the purposes of hilarity and sport, without their committing one act of intemperance, or being disgraced by a single instance of intoxication. What scenes of riot and debauchery would not a similar festival in the vicinity of any capital town of Great Britain inevitably produce! The reflection is humiliating to an Englishman, however proud he may feel of the national character.

During the four following days we enjoyed a respite from public shows and ceremonials, and had leisure for observation; though our hall, in a morning, was generally crowded, as every person of distinction in Pegue paid me the compliment of a visit, except the Maywoon, who, within the precincts of his own government, where he represents the King, never returns a visit. Numbers both of men and women, prompted by harmless curiosity, surrounded the paling of the inclosure from morning till night; those of a better class usually came in, some previously asking permission, but many entered without it. Perfectly free from restraint among themselves, the Birmans scruple not to go into your house without ceremony, although you are an utter stranger. To do them justice, however, they are not at all displeased at your taking the same freedom with them. This intrusion is confined wholly to your public room; they do not attempt to open a door: and where a curtain dropped denotes privacy, they never offer to violate the barrier. On entering the room they immediately descend into the posture of respect. Of all our customs none seemed to surprise them more than the preparations for dining: the variety of utensils, and our manner of sitting at a table excited their wonder: they never took any greater liberty than merely to come into the room, and sit down on the floor; they meddled with nothing, and asked for nothing, and when desired to go away always obeyed with cheerfulness. Had untold gold been placed before them, I am confident not a piece would have been purloined. Among the men of rank that visited us, an officer called Seree Dogee favoured us with his company more frequently than the rest. He held, by commission from the King, the place of chief provincial secretary, and junior judge of the criminal court: this gentleman often partook of our dinner, and seemed to relish our fare, but could not be prevailed on to taste wine or strong liquors: he was much pleased, however, with the English mode of making tea, of which he drank copiously; indeed it is a beverage highly palatable to all ranks of Birmans.

Although, from the established forms of diplomatic etiquette, we had little personal intercourse with the Maywoon, yet he was not deficient in attention: he sent large supplies of rice, oil, gee, preserved tamarinds, and spices, for our Indian attendants; presents also of fruit and flowers were daily brought to me in his name. As their religion forbids the slaughter of any but wild animals for the purposes of food, he did not offer any thing for the use of the table; but our servants had liberty to purchase whatever they wanted. Fowls, kid, and venison, constituted our principal dishes; the two first we procured in abundance, and of a good quality; the venison was meagre, but well tasted, and made excellent soup; it was chiefly the wild antelope, with which the country abounds. Having among my people two bakers, and a person who understood making butter, we were seldom without these essential articles, and of a tolerable quality.

lity. Whatever we had occasion to kill was slain in the night, to avoid offending the prejudices of the people, who, so far from seeking cause of offence, were inclined to make every liberal allowance for the usage of foreigners. The Maywoon politely ordered a pair of horses of the Pegue breed, small, but handsome and spirited, to be selected, and sent to us, from his own stud, accompanied by two grooms, one to attend on each horse; a temporary stable was erected for them within the paling of our court, where they continued while we remained at Pegue, and afforded us the means of exercise and pleasing recreation. Being now commodiously settled, I invited Captain Thomas from Rangoon, to spend a few days with us; he accepted my invitation, and came up in a boat provided by the intendant of the port, having previously arranged the concerns of his ship, and the mode of supplying the crew during his absence.

The solar year of the Birmans was now drawing to a close, and the three last days are usually spent by them in merriment and feasting. We were invited by the Maywoon to be present on the evening of the 10th of April, at the exhibition of a dramatic representation.

At a little before eight o'clock, the hour when the play was to commence, we proceeded to the house of the Maywoon, accompanied by Baba-Sheen, who, on all occasions, acted as master of the ceremonies. The theatre was the open court, splendidly illuminated by lamps and torches: the Maywoon and his lady sat in a projecting balcony of his house; we occupied seats below him, raised about two feet from the ground, and covered with carpets; a crowd of spectators were seated in a circle round the stage. The performance began immediately on our arrival, and far excelled any Indian drama that I had ever seen. The dialogue was spirited without rant, and the action animated without being extravagant: the dresses of the principal performers were showy and becoming. I was told that the best actors were natives of Siam, a nation which, though unable to contend with the Birmans and Peguers in war, have cultivated with more success the refined arts of peace. By way of interlude between the acts, a clownish buffoon entertained the audience with a recital of different passages; and by grimace, and frequent alterations of tone and countenance, extorted loud peals of laughter from the spectators. The Birmans seem to delight in mimicry, and are very expert in the practice, possessing uncommon versatility of countenance. An eminent practitioner of this art amused us with a specimen of his skill, at our own house, and, to our no small astonishment, exhibited a masterly display of the passions, in pantomimic looks and gestures: the transitions he made from pain to pleasure, from joy to despair, from rage to mildness, from laughter to tears; his expression of terror, and, above all, his look of idiotism, were performances of first rate merit in their line; and we agreed in opinion, that had his fates decreed him to have been a native of Great Britain, his genius would have rivalled that of any modern comedian of the English stage.

The plot of the drama performed this evening, I understood, was taken from the sacred text of the Ramayan of Balmiec \*, a work of high authority amongst the Hindoos. It represented the battles of the holy Ram and the impious Rahwaan, chief of the Rakufs, or demons, to revenge the rape of Seeta, the wife of Ram, who was forcibly carried away by Rahwaan, and bound under the spells of enchantment. Vicissitudes of fortune took place during the performance, that seemed highly interesting to the audience. Ram was at length wounded by a poisoned arrow; the sages skilled in medicine consulted on his cure; they discovered, that on the mountain Indragurry grew a certain tree that produced a gum, which was a sovereign antidote against the deleterious effects of poison;

\* Called by Sir William Jones, Valmiec.

but the distance was so great that none could be found to undertake the journey: at length Honymaan \*, leader of the army of apes, offered to go in quest of it. When he arrived at the place, being uncertain which was the tree, he took up half the mountain, and transported it with ease: thus was the cure of Ram happily effected, the enchantment was broken, and the piece ended with a dance, and songs of triumph.

On the 12th of April, the last day of the Birman year, we were invited by the Maywoon to bear a part ourselves in a sport that is universally practised throughout the Birman dominions on the concluding day of their annual cycle. To wash away the impurities of the past, and commence the new year free from stain, women on this day are accustomed to throw water on every man they meet, which the men have the privilege of retorting; this licence gives rise to a great deal of harmless merriment, particularly amongst the young women, who, armed with large fyringes and flaggons, endeavour to wet every man that goes along the street, and, in their turn, receive a wetting with perfect good humour; nor is the smallest indecency ever manifested in this or any other of their sports. Dirty water is never cast; a man is not allowed to lay hold of a woman, but may fling as much water over her as he pleases, provided she has been the aggressor; but if a woman warns a man that she does not mean to join in the diversion, it is considered as an avowal of pregnancy, and she passes without molestation.

About an hour before sunset we went to the Maywoon's, and found that his lady had provided plentifully to give us a wet reception. In the hall were placed three large china jars, full of water, with bowls and ladles to fling it. Each of us, on entering, had a bottle of rose-water presented to him, a little of which we in turn poured into the palm of the Maywoon's hand, who sprinkled over his own vest of fine flowered muslin; the lady then made her appearance at the door, and gave us to understand that she did not mean to join in the sport herself, but made her eldest daughter, a pretty child in the nurse's arms, pour from a golden cup some rose-water mixed with sandal-wood, first over her father, and then over each of the English gentlemen; this was a signal for the sport to begin. We were prepared, being dressed in linen waistcoats. From ten to twenty women, young and middle aged, rushed into the hall from the inner apartments, who surrounded and deluged without mercy four men, ill able to maintain so unequal a contest. The Maywoon was soon driven from the field; but Mr. Wood having got possession of one of the jars, we were enabled to preserve our ground till the water was exhausted; it seemed to afford them great diversion, especially if we appeared at all distressed by the quantity of water flung in our faces. All parties being tired, and completely drenched, we went home to change our cloaths, and in the way met many damsels who would willingly have renewed the sport; they, however, were afraid to begin without receiving encouragement from us, not knowing how it might be taken by strangers; but they assailed Baba-Sheen and his Birman attendants with little ceremony. No inconvenient consequences were to be apprehended from the wetting; the weather was favourable, and we ran no risk of taking cold. Having put on dry cloaths, we returned to the Maywoon's, and were entertained with a dance and puppet-show that lasted till eleven.

\* Honymaan is worshipped by the Hindoos under the form of an ape, and is one of the most frequent objects of their adoration: almost every Hindoo pagoda has this figure delineated in some part of it. Honymaan is the term used by the Hindoos to denote a large ape.

CHAP. III. — *Public Rejoicings cease. — Site of the ancient City of Pegue. — Fortifications. — Encouragement given to Settlers. — Description of the new Town — Public Buildings. — Dread of Fire — Precautions used against it. — An Account of the Temple of Shoemadoo. — Visit the Siredaw, the superior Rhabaan, or High Priest of the Country. — Desolated State of the Environs of Pegue — Monastic Retreats of the Rhabaans. — Manufactures at Pegue — Officers of the Provincial Government — Administration of Justice. — Monsoon threatens. — Prepare to depart — take leave of the Viceroy.*

SPORTS and festivities ceased with the departed year, a circumstance that gave us great pleasure, as from attending them we were frequently exposed to the influence of a burning sun, which at this season is most powerful; but though the heat from noon till five in the evening was intense, yet the night was cool, and the mornings pleasant and refreshing. I generally took advantage of two temperate hours, from the dawn of day till the sun became inconvenient, to walk or ride through the city and its environs; and in all my excursions I never once experienced insult or molestation: curiosity and astonishment were often expressed, but unaccompanied by personal incivility, or by the slightest indication of contempt.

The fate that befel this once flourishing city has already been recounted in the preceding pages. The extent of ancient Pegue may still be accurately traced by the ruins of the ditch and wall that surrounded it; from this it appears to have been a quadrangle, each side measuring nearly a mile and a half; in several places the ditch is choked up by rubbish that has been cast into it, and the falling of its own banks; sufficient, however, still remains to shew that it was once no contemptible defence: the breadth I judged to be about sixty yards, and the depth ten or twelve feet: in some part of it there is water, but in no considerable quantity. I was informed, that when the ditch was in repair, the water seldom, in the hottest season, sunk below the depth of four feet. An injudicious faussebray, thirty feet wide, did not add to the security of the fortrefs.

The fragments of the wall likewise evince that this was a work of magnitude and labour; it is not easy to ascertain precisely what was its height, but when we conjectured it at least thirty feet, and in breadth, at the base, not less than forty. It is composed of brick, badly cemented with clay mortar. Small equidistant bastions about 300 yards asunder, are still discoverable, and there had been a parapet of masonry; but the whole is in a state so ruinous, and so covered with weeds and briars, as to leave very imperfect vestiges of its former strength.

In the centre of each face of the fort there is a gateway about thirty feet wide; and these gateways were the principal entrances. The passage across the ditch is over a causeway raised on a mound of earth, that serves as a bridge, and was formerly defended by a retrenchment, of which there are now no traces.

It is impossible to conceive a more striking picture of fallen grandeur, and the desolating hand of war, than the inside of these walls displays. Alompra, when he got possession of this city in the year 1757, razed every dwelling to the ground, and dispersed or led into captivity all the inhabitants. The temples or praws, which are very numerous, were the only buildings that escaped the fury of the conqueror; and of these the great pyramid of Shoemadoo has alone been revered and kept in repair.

The present King of the Birman, whose government has been less disturbed than that

that of any of his predecessors, early in his reign turned his thoughts to the population and improvement, as well as the extension, of his dominions, and seemed desirous to conciliate his subjects by mildness, rather than to govern them by terror. He has abrogated some severe penal laws imposed by his predecessors upon the Taliens, or native Peguers. Justice is now impartially distributed; and the only distinction at present between a Birman and a Talien consists in the exclusion of the latter from places of public trust and power.

No act of the Birman government is more likely to reconcile the Peguers to the Birman yoke, than the restoration of their ancient place of abode, and the preservation and embellishment of the temple of Shoemadoo. The King, sensible of this, as well as of the advantages that must arise to the state from the increase of culture and population, five years ago issued orders to rebuild Pegue, encouraged settlers by grants of ground, and invited the scattered families of former inhabitants to return and repeople their deserted city.

His Birman Majesty, more effectually to accomplish this end, on the death of the late Maywoon, which happened about five years ago, directed his successor, the present governor, to quit Ragoon, and make Pegue his future residence, and the seat of provincial government of the thirty-two districts of Henzawuddy\*.

These judicious measures have so far succeeded, that a new town has been built within the site of the ancient city; but Ragoon possesses so many advantages over Pegue in a commercial point of view, that persons of property who are engaged in business will not easily be prevailed upon to leave one of the finest sea-ports in the world, to encounter the difficulties of a new settlement, where commerce, if any can subsist, must be very confined, from the want of a commodious navigation. The present inhabitants, who have been induced to return, consist chiefly of Rhahaans, or priests, followers of the provincial court, and poor Talien families, who were glad to regain a settlement in their once magnificent metropolis. The number altogether perhaps does not exceed six or seven thousand; those who dwelt in Pegue during its former days of splendor are now nearly extinct, and their descendants and relatives scattered over the provinces of Tongho, Martaban, and Talowmeou; many also live under the protection of the Siamese. There is little doubt, however, that the respect paid to their favourite temple of worship, and the security and encouragement held out to those who venture to return, will, in time, accomplish the wise and humane intentions of the Birman monarch.

Pegue, in its renovated and contracted state, seems to be built on the plan of the former city, and occupies about one-half of its area. It is fenced round by a stockade from ten to twelve feet high; on the north and east sides it borders on the old walls. The plane of the town is not yet filled with houses, but a number of new ones are building. There is one main street running east and west, crossed at right angles by two smaller streets not yet finished. At each extremity of the principal street, there is a gate in the stockade, which is shut early in the evening; and after that time entrance during the night is confined to a wicket. Each of these gates is defended by a wretched piece of ordnance, and a few musqueteers, who never post sentinels, and are usually asleep in an adjoining shed. There are two inferior gates on the north and south sides of the stockade.

The streets of Pegue are spacious, as are those of all the Birman towns that I have seen. The new town is well paved with brick, which the ruins of the old

\* The Shanferit name given to the province of Pegue by the Birmans.

plentifully supply ; and on each side of the way there is a drain to carry off the water. The houses of the meanest peasants of Pegue, and throughout the Birman empire, possess manifest advantage over Indian dwellings, by being raised from the ground either on wooden posts or bamboos, according to the size of the building. The kioums or monasteries of the Rhahaans, and the habitations of the higher ranks, are usually elevated six or eight, those of the lower classes from two to four feet.

There are no brick buildings either in Pegue or Rangoon, except such as belong to the King, or are dedicated to their divinity Gaudma : his Majesty having prohibited the use of brick or stone in private buildings, from the apprehension, as I was informed, that if people got leave to build brick houses, they might erect brick fortifications, dangerous to the security of the state. The houses, therefore, are all made of mats, or sheathing boards, supported on bamboos or posts ; but from their being composed of such combustible materials, the inhabitants are under continual dread of fire, against which they take every precaution. The roofs are lightly covered, and at each door stands a long bamboo, with an iron hook at the end, to pull down the thatch : there is also another pole, with a grating of iron at the extremity, about three feet square, to suppress flame by pressure. Almost every house has earthen pots, filled with water on the roof ; and a particular class of people \* whose business it is to prevent and extinguish fires, perambulate the streets during the night.

The Maywoon's habitation, though not at all a magnificent mansion for the representative of royalty, is, notwithstanding, a building of much respectability, compared to the other houses of Pegue. From an outside view we judged it to be roomy, and to contain several apartments, exclusive of that in which he gives audience : it possesses, however, but few ornaments. Gilding is forbidden to all subjects of the Birman empire : liberty even to lacker and paint the pillars of their houses, is granted to very few : the naked wood gave an unfinished appearance to the dwelling of the Maywoon, which, in other respects, seemed well adapted for the accommodation of a Birman family.

The object in Pegue that most attracts and most merits notice, is the noble edifice of Shoemadoo†, or the Golden Supreme. This extraordinary pile of buildings is erected on a double terrace, one raised upon another. The lower and greater terrace is about ten feet above the natural level of the ground, forming an exact parallelogram : the upper and lesser terrace is similar in shape, and rises about twenty feet above the lower terrace

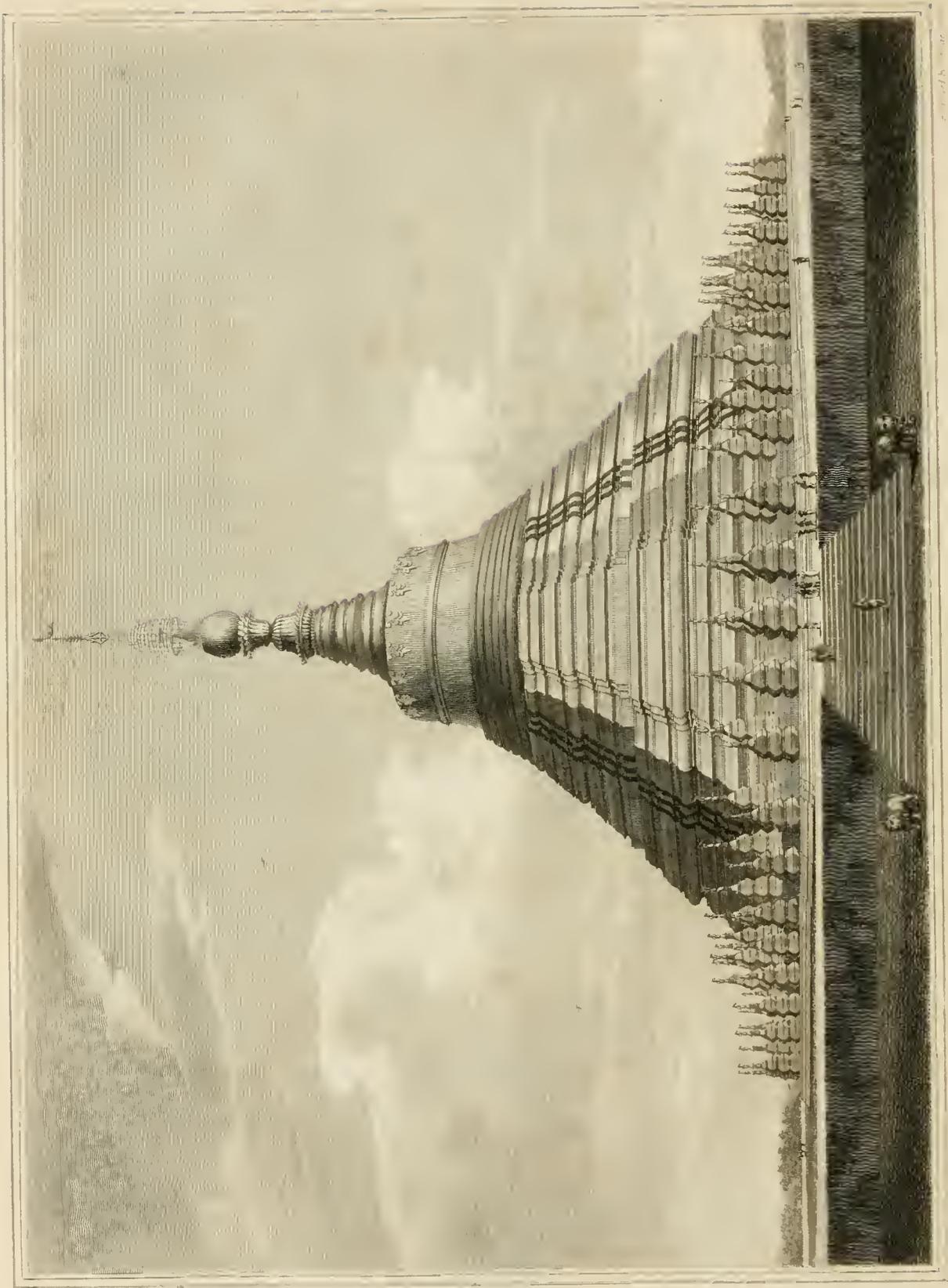
\* These people are called Pagwaat ; they are slaves of government ; men who have been found guilty of theft, and, through mercy, had their lives spared. They are distinguished by a black circle on each cheek, caused by gunpowder and punctuation ; as well as by having on their breast, in Birman characters, the word *thief*, and the name of the article stolen, as, on one that I asked to be explained to me, Putchoo Khoo, *cloth thief*. These men patrol the streets at night, to put out all fires and lights after a certain hour. They act as constables, and are the public executioners.

† Shoe or Shuæ, in the Birman tongue, signifies golden ; and there can be no doubt that Madoo is a corruption of Mahadeva, or Deo. I could not learn from the Birmans the origin or etymology of the term ; it was explained to me as signifying a promontory that overlooked land and water. Praw imports lord, and is always annexed to the name of a sacred building ; it is likewise a sovereign and a sacerdotal title, and is frequently used by an inferior when addressing his superior. The analogy between the Birmans and ancient Egyptians in the application of this term, as also in many other particulars, is highly deserving of notice.

Phra was the proper name under which the Egyptians first adored the Sun, before it received the allegorical appellation of Osiris, or Author of Time ; they likewise conferred the same title on their kings and on their priests.

In the first book of Moses, chap. xl. Pharaoh gives " Joseph to wife, the daughter of Potiphera, or the priest of On." In the book of Jeremiah a king of Egypt is styled Pharaoh *Ophra* ; and it is not a very improbable conjecture that the title of Pharaoh, given to successive kings of Egypt, is a corruption of the word Phraw or Praw, in its original sense signifying the sun, and applied to the sovereign and priesthood, as the representatives on earth of that splendid luminary.





or thirty above the level of the country. I judged a side of the lower terrace to be 1391 feet; of the upper 684. The walls that sustained the sides of the terrace, both upper and lower, are in a ruinous state; they were formerly covered with plaster, wrought into various figures; the area of the lower is strewed with the fragments of small decayed buildings but the upper is kept free from filth, and is in tolerably good order. There is reason to conclude that this building and the fortrefs are coeval, as the earth of which the terraces are composed appears to have been taken from the ditch; there being no other excavation in the city, or in its neighbourhood, that could have afforded a tenth part of the quantity.

The terraces are ascended by flights of stone steps, which are now broken and neglected. On each side are dwellings of the Rhahaans, raised on timbers four or five feet from the ground; these houses consist only of a large hall; the wooden pillars that support them are turned with neatness; the roofs are covered with tiles, and the sides are made of boards; and there are a number of bare benches in every house, on which the Rhahaans sleep; but we saw no other furniture.

Shoemadoo is a pyramidal building, composed of brick and mortar, without excavation or aperture of any sort; octagonal at the base, and spiral at top; each side of the base measures 162 feet; this immense breadth diminishes abruptly, and a similar building has not unaptly been compared in shape to a large speaking trumpet\*.

Six feet from the ground there is a wide projection that surrounds the base, on the plane of which are fifty-seven small spires of equal size, and equidistant; one of them measured twenty-seven feet in height, and forty in circumference at the bottom. On a higher ledge there is another row, consisting of fifty-three spires of similar shape and measurement.

A great variety of mouldings encircle the building; and ornaments somewhat resembling the fleur-de-lys surround the lower part of the spire; circular mouldings likewise girt it to a considerable height, above which there are ornaments in stucco not unlike the leaves of a Corinthian capital; and the whole is crowned by a Tee, or umbrella, of open iron-work, from which rises a rod with a gilded pennant.

The tee or umbrella is to be seen on every sacred building that is of a spiral form: the raising and consecration of this last and indispensable appendage, is an act of high religious solemnity, and a season of festivity and relaxation. The present king bestowed the tee that covers Shoemadoo. It was made at the capital; and many of the principal nobility came down from Ummerapoorra to be present at the ceremony of its elevation.

The circumference of the tee is fifty-six feet; it rests on an iron axis fixed in the building, and is farther secured by large chains strongly rivetted to the spire. Round the lower rim of the tee are appended a number of bells, which agitated by the wind, make a continual jingling.

The tee is gilt, and it is said to be the intention of the king to gild the whole of the spire. All the lesser pagodas are ornamented with proportionable umbrellas of similar workmanship, which are likewise encircled by small bells.

The extreme height of the edifice, from the level of the country, is 361 feet, and above the interior terrace, 331 feet.

On the south-east angle of the upper terrace there are two handsome saloons, or kioums, lately erected, the roofs composed of different stages, supported by pillars; we judged the length of each to be about 60 feet, and the breadth 30: the ceiling of one is already embellished with gold leaf, and the pillars are lackered; the decoration of the other is not yet completed. They are made entirely of wood; the carving

\* See Mr. Hunter's account of Pegue.

on the outside is laborious and minute: we saw several unfinished figures of animals and men in grotesque attitudes, which were designed as ornaments for different parts of the building. Some images of Gaudma, the supreme object of Birman adoration, lay scattered around.

At each angle of the interior and higher terrace there is a temple 67 feet high, resembling, in miniature, the great temple: in front of that, in the south-west corner, are four gigantic representations, in masonry, of Palloo, or the evil genius, half beast, half human, seated on their hams, each with a large club on the right shoulder. The Pundit who accompanied me, said that they resembled the Rakufs of the Hindoos. These are guardians of the temple.

Nearly in the centre of the east face of the area are two human figures in stucco, beneath a gilded umbrella; one, standing, represents a man with a book before him and a pen in his hand; he is called Thafamee, the recorder of mortal merits and mortal misdeeds; the other, a female figure kneeling, is Mahasundera, the protectress of the universe, so long as the universe is doomed to last; but when the time of general dissolution arrives, by her hand the world is to be overwhelmed and everlastingly destroyed.

A small brick building near the north-east angle contains an upright marble slab, four feet high, and three feet wide: there is a long legible inscription on it. I was told it was an account of the donations of pilgrims of only a recent date.

Along the whole extent of the north face of the upper terrace there is a wooden shed for the convenience of devotees who come from a distant part of the country. On the north side of the temple are three large bells of good workmanship, suspended nigh the ground, between pillars; several deers horns lie strewed around; those who come to pay their devotions first take up one of the horns, and strike the bell three times, giving an alternate stroke to the ground: this act, I was told, is to announce to the spirit of Gaudma the approach of a suppliant. There are several low benches near the foot of the temple, on which the person who comes to pray, places his offering, commonly consisting of boiled rice, a plate of sweetmeats, or cocoa-nut fried in oil; when it is given, the devotee cares not what becomes of it; the crows and wild dogs often devour it in presence of the donor, who never attempts to disturb the animals. I saw several plates of victuals disposed of in this manner, and understood it to be the case with all that was brought.

There are many small temples on the areas of both terraces, which are neglected, and suffered to fall into decay. Numberless images of Gaudma lie indiscriminately scattered. A pious Birman who purchases an idol, first procures the ceremony of consecration to be performed by the Rhahaans; he then takes his purchase to whatever sacred building is most convenient, and there places it within the shelter of a kioum, or on the open ground before the temple; nor does he ever again seem to have any anxiety about its preservation, but leaves the divinity to shift for itself. Some of those idols are made of marble that is found in the neighbourhood of the capital of the Birman dominions, and admits of a very fine polish; many are formed of wood, and gilded, and a few are of silver; the latter, however, are not usually exposed and neglected like the others. Silver and gold is rarely used, except in the composition of household gods.

On both the terraces are a number of white cylindrical flags, raised on bamboo poles; these flags are peculiar to the Rhahaans, and are considered as emblematic of purity, and of their sacred function. On the top of the staff there is a henza, or goose, the symbol both of the Birman and Pegue nations.

From

From the upper projection that furrounds the base of Shoemadoo, the prospect of the circumjacent country is extensive and picturesque; but it is a prospect of nature in her rudest state; there are few inhabitants, and scarcely any cultivation. The hills of Martaban rise to the eastward, and the Sitang river, winding along the plains, gives an interrupted view of its waters. To the north-west, about forty miles, are the Galadzet hills, whence the Pegue river takes its rise; hills remarkable only for the noisome effects of their atmosphere. In every other direction the eye looks over a boundless plain, chequered by a wild intermixture of wood and water.

Not being able to procure any satisfactory information respecting the antiquity of Shoemadoo, I paid a visit to the Siredaw, or superior Rhahaan of the country, whose abode was situated in a shady grove of tamarind trees, about five miles south-east of the city; where every object seemed to correspond with the years and dignity of the possessor. The trees were lofty; a bamboo railing protected his dwelling from the attack of wild beasts; a neat reservoir contained clear water, a little garden supplied roots, and his retreat was well stocked with fruit trees: some young Rhahaans lived with him, and administered to his wants with pious respect. Though much emaciated, he seemed lively, and in full possession of his mental faculties: his age, he said, was 87. The Rhahaans, although subsisting on charity, never solicit alms, or accept of money: I therefore presented this venerable prelate of the order with a piece of cloth, which was repaid by a grateful benediction. He told me, that in the convulsions of the Pegue empire, most of their valuable records had been destroyed; but it was traditionally believed that the temple of Shoemadoo was founded 2300 years ago, by two merchants, brothers, who came to Pegue from Tallowmeou, a district of one day's journey east of Martaban. These pious traders at first raised a temple one Birman cubit \* in height; Sigamee, or the spirit that presides over the elements, and directs the thunder and lightning, in the space of one night increased the size of the temple to two cubits; the merchants then added another cubit, which Sigamee doubled in the same short time; the building thus attained the magnitude of twelve cubits, when the merchants desisted; that the temple was afterwards gradually increased by successive monarchs of Pegue, the registers of whose names, with the amount of their contributions, had been lost in the general ruin; nor could he inform me of any authentic archives that had escaped the wreck.

In the afternoon Dr. Buchanan accompanied me in a ride about a mile and a half to the eastward of the fort. Thorns and wild bamboos grew in this direction close to the ditch, and the road lay through woods intersected by frequent pathways. We saw no other habitation, than here and there a poor Peguer's hut, beneath the shelter of a clump of bamboos; but the memorials of former populousness were thickly strewed: hillocks of decayed masonry covered with the light mould which time generates upon a heap of rubbish, and the ruins of numerous temples, met the eye in every quarter. From these melancholy monuments we could trace the extent of the suburbs, which retained scarce any vestiges of former grandeur; they merely served to point out *campus ubi Troja fuit*. We saw no gardens or inclosures, nor any cultivation on that side of the fort; but the pathways being trod by cattle, indicated that the country farther on was better inhabited, and probably in a state of higher improvement.

Returning from our excursion, we met Mr. Wood, who, early in the morning, attended by his own servants, and some Birman guides, had crossed to the west side of the river, to amuse himself with a day's shooting. He found an inconsiderable village on the opposite bank, in the neighbourhood of which there were rice plantations that

\* Twenty-two inches.

extended a mile westward. Beyond these he entered a thick wood, consisting chiefly of the bamboo and pipal trees. Through this wilderness he penetrated nine or ten miles, without meeting an inhabitant, or seeing a single dwelling. Some water-fowl, and wood-pigeons were the reward of his toil.

South of Pegue, about a mile beyond the city walls, there is a plain of great extent, for the most part overgrown with wild grass and low brushwood, and bare of timber trees, except where a sacred grove maintains its venerable shade. A few wretched villagers are to be seen, containing not more than twenty or thirty poor habitations. Small spots of land have been prepared by the peasants for tillage, who seem to live in extreme poverty, notwithstanding they possess in their cattle the means of comfortable subsistence: but they do not eat the flesh, and I was told what is remarkable enough, that they seldom drink the milk. Rice gnapee, a species of sprat, which when half putrified is made into a pickle, and used as a seasoning for their rice, and oil expressed from a small grain, with salt, are almost their only articles of food. Their cows are diminutive, resembling the breed on the coast of Coromandel; but the buffaloes are noble animals, much superior to those of India. I saw here, for the first time, some of a light cream colour; they are used for draft and agriculture, and draw heavy loads on carts or small waggons, constructed with considerable neatness and ingenuity.

The groves before-mentioned are objects of no unpleasing contemplation; they are the retreats of such Rhahaans or priests as devote themselves to religious seclusion, and prefer the tranquillity of rural retirement to the noise and tumults of a town. In their choice of a residence they commonly select the most retired spots they can find, where shady trees, particularly the tamarind and banyan protect them from the noon-day sun. In these groves they build their kioums, and here they pass their solitary lives. All kioums or monasteries, whether in town or country, are seminaries for the education of youth, in which boys of a certain age are taught their letters, and instructed in moral and religious duties. To these schools the neighbouring villagers send their children, where they are educated gratis, no distinction being made between the son of the peasant and of him who wears the taloe, or string of nobility. A piece of ground contiguous to the grove is inclosed for a garden, where they sow vegetables and plant fruit trees; the Indian sweet potatoe, and the plantain, being the most nutritious, are principally cultivated; the charity of the country people supply them abundantly with rice, and the few necessaries which their narrow wants require. Abstracted from all worldly considerations, they do not occupy themselves in the common concerns of life: they never buy, sell, or accept of money.

The only article of consequence manufactured at Pegue, is silk and cotton cloth, which the women weave for their own and their husbands' use. It is wrought with considerable dexterity; the thread is well spun; the texture of the web is close and strong; and it is mostly chequered like the Scotch tartan: but they make no more than what suffices for their own consumption.

In the town of Pegue there are only three persons besides the Maywoon or viceroy, whose rank entitles them to distinction: these are, the Raywoon, Chekey, and the Sere-dogee. The first is an old man turned of seventy, still vigorous and active, who, it seems, had distinguished himself by his prowess in former wars, and obtained his present post as the reward of valour: he is also invested with high military insignia, and has the privilege of wearing on his head a gilded helmet, or bason, which is never used except on state occasions, when he exhibits a formidable representation of the meagre knight adorned with Mambrino's helmet. The Chekey is a middle aged man, dull and plethoric. Last in office was our acquaintance the Sere-dogee, about forty,

badly afflicted with the rheumatism. The assiduous attentions of this good natured man, though perhaps dictated by policy, were both pleasing and useful, and, to appearance at least, perfectly disinterested. I had presented him with some trifles, a piece of muslin, one of silk, and a few yards of broad cloth; which he accepted, he said, not for their value, but as a token of my good opinion. He one day brought his daughter, a child of six years old, with him, to pay me a visit. After taking notice of her, I spread a piece of Bengal silk over her shoulders, as is the custom when one makes a present to an inferior. The father thanked me with great cordiality, but returned the piece, saying, he feared I might think he brought the child with a view to extract a present; and that I should have occasion for all the articles I had got to give away, if I expected to satisfy every body who would look for a gratification; I disclaimed the first supposition, but could not overcome the delicacy of his scruples.

These officers exercise the function of magistrates, and hold separate courts at their own houses, for the determination of petty suits. Each has his distinct department; but this private jurisdiction is very limited: all causes of importance relating to property, and matters of an high criminal nature, are solemnly tried in open court. The three before-mentioned officers unite, and form a tribunal, which sits at the *rhoom*\*, or public hall of justice, where they hear the parties, examine witnesses, and take depositions in writing: these depositions are sent to the *Maywoon*, who represents the King, and the judges transmit their opinions along with the evidence, which the *Maywoon* either confirms or rejects as he thinks proper, and, in cases of capital conviction, orders execution, or pardons the culprit. From his judgment there lies no appeal, except when it happens that an offender who holds an office under a royal commission is brought to trial; in that case, the minutes of the evidence taken in court must be forwarded to the council of state, to be by them submitted to the King, who himself applies the law, and awards the sentence.

We had now spent nearly three weeks at Pegue, and seen every thing worthy of notice, which, in a place so lately rescued from a desert state, could not be very interesting or various. Gathering clouds and a gloomy horizon foretold the approach of the south-west monsoon; and we had reason shortly to expect the arrival of a royal messenger, to notify His Majesty's pleasure in regard to our further progress. Having also several arrangements to make at Rangoon preparatory to our departure, it became expedient to appoint a day for quitting Pegue; I therefore intimated to the *Maywoon* my intention, and fixed on the 25th to take my leave, on which day I visited him in form. After half an hour's cheerful conversation, he asked me with much earnestness, whether we were pleased with the reception and treatment we had received; in return, I gave him the most ample assurances of our entire satisfaction, expressed my sense of his past kindness, and my reliance on his future friendship: he seemed happy to find that we were contented, and handsomely apologized for the restraint and apparent rudeness we had sustained on our first coming to Rangoon, which, he said, originated in misconception. Thus we parted with perfect complacency on both sides.

Nor was this acknowledgment, on my part, mere matter of empty compliment; although I thought, that on certain occasions he might have relaxed from the ostentatious dignity which he cautiously preserved; yet he never was deficient in politeness. His attentions to our accommodation and convenience were unremitting; and we ex-

\* Called *Roundaye* by Europeans.

perienced, during the term of our residence, uniform civility from all his dependants, which, in fact, comprises the whole of the inhabitants of Pegue.

CHAP. IV. — *Leave Pegue. — Reach the Village of Deefa. — Abundance of Game. — Buffaloes — their Antipathy to the Colour of Red or Scarlet. — Deefa infested by Tigers, and wild Elephants. — Reach Rangoon. — Geographical Position of Pegue, erroneously laid down in modern Maps. — Members of the English Deputation reside within the Fortifications of Rangoon. — Mistrust evinced by the principal Inhabitants. — Description of the Town of Rangoon — Swine and Dogs numerous. — Receive much useful Information from an Italian Missionary. — Account of the People called Carcaners — of the Temple of Shoedagong. — Birman's fond of Religious Processions. — Account of the Rhabaans, or Ecclesiastics. — Meet the Seredaw, or High Priest of Rangoon — His Character. — Virgin Priestesses. — Reason of the Abolition of their Order.*

CAPTAIN Thomas and Dr. Buchanan, with a proportion of the baggage and servants, left Pegue on the 21st, to return to Rangoon; Mr. Wood and myself were ready to embark on the 26th. We went on board in the afternoon, attended by the Nakhaan, two inferior officers of government, and the public interpreter; the remainder of our domestics followed in a separate boat. The heavy rains that fell during the night incommoded the rowers and retarded our progress; next morning the weather cleared up, but towards noon the sky again became overcast, and seemed to promise a stormy night. About two o'clock we reached a village on the east bank, called Deefa, at which place we found two commodious houses unoccupied, close to the river. Our boatmen being fatigued, and there appearing no probability of being able to reach Rangoon by the night's tide, I judged it advisable to take up our quarters here until the morning.

Shortly after our arrival had been announced, the Miou-gee, or chief person of the village, came to pay his respects. He informed me, that at this season of the year his village and those adjacent, were nearly deserted by the men, who were all sent on the service of government, to make salt by the sea-side, leaving their wives, children, and aged parents at home. The article of salt produces a considerable revenue to the state: the peasantry are employed in preparing it during the hot season: as soon as the monsoon sets in, they return to their habitations, and till their lands until the time comes round for a renewal of their annual labour on the coast, which does not occupy more than four months in the year.

Making inquiries respecting what game the country produced, the Miou-gee told me that it abounded in various kinds, particularly deer; and that if I chose to walk out with my gun, he would be my guide, and undertake to shew me a herd of antelopes at no great distance. I accepted the offer with pleasure: we went through the village, which did not contain more than fifty houses, comfortable in appearance, and well raised from the ground: the women and children flocked to their doors, and screamed with astonishment at seeing such a phenomenon as an English officer dressed in his uniform. Proceeding to the eastward, about a mile from the town, we entered an extensive plain, where the tall rank grass had been consumed by fire, to allow the growth of the more delicate shoots as pasturage for the cattle. Here we soon discovered a herd of deer, but so watchful and wild, that I could only get near enough to fire a random shot from a rifle, which did not take effect. In endeavouring to approach

proach them unperceived, I left my servants and guide at a considerable distance, and took a circuit by myself, out of sight of my companions. A drove of buffaloes belonging to the villagers happened to be nigh at the time that I discharged my gun; alarmed at the noise, the whole troop raised their heads, and, instead of running away, seemed to stand on the defensive. I walked leisurely from them, when two came out of the herd, and, with their tails and heads erect, trotted towards me, not in a straight line, but making half a circle, as if afraid to advance: they were too near for me to think of escaping by flight; I therefore kept on at a moderate pace, in an oblique direction, stopping at times, with my face towards them, on which they also stood still, and looked at me; but when I resumed my way, they immediately advanced; in this circuitous manner one of them came so close that I felt my situation extremely awkward. I had reloaded my rifle whilst I walked, but reserved it for an extremity. As the beast approached, I stopped more frequently, which always checked his progress for a time; but he had now drawn so nigh, that I expected every instant to have a direct charge made at me: fortunately the Miou-gee from a distance discovered my situation; he hallooed out, and made signs by taking off his blue cotton jacket, holding it up in the air, and then throwing it down. I immediately comprehended his meaning, and, whilst I edged away, slipped off my scarlet coat, which I flung, together with my hat, into some long grass, where they lay concealed; the buffalo instantly desisted from the pursuit, and returned towards the herd, quietly grazing as he retired. This circumstance proves, that the buffalo entertains the same antipathy to the colour of red or scarlet that some other animals are known to do. The Miou-gee, when I joined him, seemed quite as much alarmed as I was; he said, that if I had sustained any injury, his head would have paid the forfeit of the accident.

The country inland appeared to be cleared of trees and brushwood to a considerable distance; but on the banks of the river, to the north and south, the thickets bordered on the village, and, I was told, abounded in jungle\* fowl and peacocks; but my guide requested that I would not venture in, for fear of tigers, which, he said, frequently came prowling round the village at night, and sometimes carried away their dogs, but durst not attack their buffaloes, who, to all appearance, were a match for any tiger, and almost as fierce. The inhabitants also complained of being much molested in the wet season by wild elephants, that occupy, in great numbers, a forest twelve miles to the north-east. These powerful animals, allured by the early crops of rice and sugar-cane, make predatory excursions in large troops, and do a great deal of mischief, devastating more than they devour. The poor peasantry have often to lament the destruction of their most exposed plantations.

Next morning before daylight we left Deefa with the first of the ebb; at ten o'clock we reached Rangoon, and landed at our former dwelling below the town. Baba-Sheen, who had travelled all night, arrived about the same hour from Pegue.

How much it is to be lamented, that the country we had just left, one of the fairest and most healthful on the globe, should remain, for the greater part, a solitary desert; whilst so many of the human race are condemned to languish away life in noxious regions, or extract, by incessant labour, a scanty subsistence from a barren soil! The natives of the adjacent islands of Nicobar, whose swollen limbs and diseased bodies evince the pestilential atmosphere they breathe, might here prove useful members of general

\* This is a bird well known to sportsmen in India; it differs little from the common barn-door fowl, except that the wild sort are all similar in colour—a dark red, with black breast and legs. The flesh is very delicate.

society, live in the enjoyment of a salubrious climate, supply their own, and contribute to relieve the wants of others. But it must require a long and uninterrupted term of peace to renew the population of Pegue. Should it ever be so fortunate, there can be little doubt that Pegue will be numbered amongst the most flourishing and delightful countries of the East.

The authorities on which the geography of the city and river of Pegue has been laid down, though doubtless the best that could be procured, are nevertheless far from being accurate. The Pegue river is called by the natives Badoo Kioup, or Pegue rivulet, to distinguish it from Mioup, or river. It is navigable but a very few miles to the northward of the city of Pegue, and for this it is indebted wholly to the action of the tide. It has no communication with the sea, except by the Rangoon river, and in the fair season, at low water, is almost dry. There seems to have been a mistake of this stream for the Sitang river, about fifteen miles east of Pegue, which is a great and independent body of water, that partly describes the course that in the map is given to what is called the Pegue river.

Nor does the meridian measurement of the city of Pegue, as reported by former travellers, at all correspond with later observations. Mr. Wood, an accurate astronomer, and furnished with excellent instruments, places Pegue in  $17^{\circ} 40'$  north latitude, above forty geographical miles south of the position assigned to it in the map. The difference in longitude is less than that of latitude. Mr. Wood, from a mean of observations of the immersion and emersion of Jupiter's satellites, determines Pegue to be in  $96^{\circ} 11' 15''$ , about thirty-two miles west of its supposed situation. This eastward error may have given occasion to the mistake of the Sitang river for that of Pegue. Indeed the authorities for the geography of this country are, in most places, imperfect, and in some altogether erroneous.

The ruinous state and uncomfortable situation of the dwelling assigned to us on our first arrival, rendered it desirable to remove into the town; and, as a proper understanding was now established with the Rangoon government, no objection whatever was made to our taking up our abode wherever we thought proper. I accordingly hired two large houses, one for the gentlemen of the deputation, the other for our attendants; these were made of timber, sufficiently spacious, but ill adapted to the climate, being close, and covered with tiles, which retained and transmitted the heat long after the sun had set: they were, however, the best that could be procured, and we felt ourselves more at ease from residing within the inclosure of what is called the Fort of Rangoon.

Being freed from the restraint imposed on us before we went to Pegue, we now enjoyed the full liberty of collecting information, and seeing whatever was worth notice. Although a liberal licence was thus granted to us, I still found, on the part of those persons who were best capable of communicating knowledge, a mistrustful unwillingness to reply to my questions, which they evaded, rather than declined answering; a conduct that created in me more regret than surprize; it was a natural jealousy, which at this time I did not think it prudent to increase by minute inquiries into the internal state of the country, and the political œconomy of their government.

Increasing trade, and consequent population, have extended the present town far beyond the limits that formerly comprehended Rangoon, as it was originally founded by Alompra. It stretches along the bank of the river about a mile, and is not more than a third of a mile in breadth. The city or miou\* is a square, surrounded by a

\* Miou is a term applied either to a city or a district.

high stockade, and on the north side it is further strengthened by an indifferent fosse, across which a wooden bridge is thrown; in this face there are two gates, in each of the others only one. Wooden stages are erected in several places within the stockade, for musqueteers to stand on in case of an attack. On the south side, towards the river, which is about twenty or thirty yards from the palisade, there are a number of huts, and three wharfs, with cranes for landing goods. A battery of twelve cannon, six and nine-pounders, raised on the bank, commands the river; but the guns and carriages are in such a wretched condition, that they could do little execution. Close to the principal wharf are two commodious wooden houses, used by the merchants as an exchange, where they usually meet in the cool of the morning and evening, to converse and transact business. The streets of the town are narrow, and much inferior to those of Pegue, but clean, and well paved: there are numerous channels to carry off the rain, over which strong planks are laid, to prevent an interruption of intercourse. The houses are raised on posts from the ground; the smaller supported by bamboos, the larger by strong timbers. All the officers of government, the most opulent merchants, and persons of consideration, live within the fort; shipwrights, and people of inferior rank, inhabit the suburbs; and one entire street, called Tackally, is exclusively assigned to common prostitutes, who are not permitted to dwell within the precincts of the fortification.

Swine are suffered to roam about the town at large: these animals, which are with reason held unclean, do not belong to any particular owners; they are servants of the public, common scavengers; they go under the houses, and devour the filth. The Birmanians are also fond of dogs, numbers of which infest the streets; the breed is small, and extremely noisy; whenever we walked out, the inhabitants were apprized of our approach by the loud barking of these troublesome curs.

I was now honoured occasionally with visits from all the men of official consequence in Rangoon; but although they paid me this compliment, the greatest formality and caution were still preserved in their deportment and language. Baba-Sheen was the only person with whom we held familiar intercourse, and through him every attention was paid to our wants. From this conduct, however, I judged it prudent to suspend the astronomical observations which Mr. Wood was desirous to make, and not to employ my draftsman until a longer acquaintance had removed their suspicions.

Amongst the foreigners who came to pay their respects to the English gentlemen, was an Italian missionary, named Vincentius Sangermano, who had been deputed to this country about twenty years before, by the Society de Propaganda: he seemed a very respectable and intelligent man, spoke and wrote the Birman language fluently, and was held in high estimation by the natives for his exemplary life and inoffensive manners. His congregation consisted of the descendants of former Portuguese colonists, who, though numerous, are in general very poor; they, however, had erected a neat chapel, and purchased for their pastor a piece of ground a mile from the town, on which a neat comfortable dwelling was built, and a garden inclosed. He is indebted for his subsistence to the voluntary contributions of his flock; in return for their charity, he educates their children, instructs them in the tenets of the Romish faith, and performs mass twice a day at the chapel.

From this reverend father I received much useful information; he told me of a singular description of people called Carayners, or Carianers, that inhabit different parts of the country, particularly the western provinces of Dalla and Bassien, several societies of whom also dwell in the districts adjacent to Rangoon. He represented them as a simple innocent race, speaking a language distinct from that of the Birmanians, and enter-

taining

taining rude notions of religion. They lead quite a pastoral life, and are the most industrious subjects of the state: their villages form a select community, from which they exclude all other sects, and never reside in a city, intermingle, or marry with strangers. They profess and strictly observe universal peace, not engaging in war, or taking part in contests for dominion, a system that necessarily places them in a state of subjection to the ruling power of the day. Agriculture, the care of cattle, and rearing poultry, are almost their only occupations. A great part of the provisions used in the country is raised by the Carianers, and they particularly excel in gardening. They have of late years been heavily taxed and oppressed by the great Birman landholders, in consequence of which numbers have withdrawn into the mountains of Arracan. They have traditional maxims of jurisprudence for their internal government, but are without any written laws: custom, with them, constitutes the law. Some learn to speak the Birman tongue, and a few can read and write it imperfectly. They are timorous, honest, mild in their manners, and exceedingly hospitable to strangers.

The temple of Shoedagon\*, or Dagoung, about two miles and a half north of Rangoon, is a very grand building, although not so high, by twenty-five or thirty feet, as that of Shoemadoo at Pegue. It is much more ornamented; the terrace on which it stands is raised on a rocky eminence, considerably higher than the circumjacent country. It is ascended by above a hundred stone steps, that have been suffered to fall into decay. The situation renders Shoedagon a conspicuous object at the distance of many miles. The tee and the whole of the spire are richly gilded, which, when the sun shines, exhibit a singularly splendid appearance.

The small auxiliary buildings are yet more numerous than those that surround the base of the Pegue temple. Perceiving that several of these were in a ruinous state, whilst the foundations of others were just laid, and some half finished, I asked why they did not repair the damages of the old before they erected new ones, and was told, that to mend a decayed prau or temple, though an act of piety, was not so meritorious as to erect a new one; that sometimes the old ones were repaired by those who were unwilling or unable to be at the expence of a complete building; but this entirely depended on the means and inclination of the donor.

The borders of the terrace on which the temple is raised are planted with shady trees in regular rows; from this eminence there is a beautiful and extensive prospect; the Pegu and Rangoon rivers are seen winding through a level woody country, and the temple of Syriam, little inferior to those that have been described, stands near the junction of the streams. The rainy monsoon had now set in, and inundations were

\* The name of this temple, which signifies Golden Dagon, naturally recalls to mind the passages in the Scriptures where the "house of Dagon" is mentioned, and the image of idolatry bows down before the holy ark.

" Next came one  
Who mourn'd in earnest, when the captive ark  
Maim'd his brute image, head and hands lopt off  
In his own temple, on the grunsel edge,  
Where he fell flat, and sham'd his worshippers:  
Dagon his name, sea monster, upward man  
And downward fish: yet had his temple high  
Rear'd in Azotus, dreaded through the coast  
Of Palestine, in Gath and Ascalon,  
And Accaron and Gaza's frontier bounds."

MILTON, B. 1.

The resemblance is too striking to pass unnoticed; at the same time it should be observed, that analogies of this kind, though always pleasing, are often deceptive.

formed in several places. It would have been a more pleasing, though perhaps less picturesque scene, had the plains been cleared, and the fields laid out for cultivation: we could observe few marks of improvement; woods, lakes, and rivers, presented themselves on every side.

The road leading from the city to the temple is formed with care; a wide causeway in the centre prevents the rain from lodging, and throws it off to the sides: numberless little spires are ranged along the edge of the road, in which are niches to receive small images of their divinity Gaudma. Several kioums or monasteries lay in this direction, generally removed a short distance from the public way, under the shade of pipal or tamarind trees.

The Birmans, like all the natives of the east, are fond of processions; scarcely a week passes that there is not a religious display in Rangoon; either a funeral of some person who leaves sufficient to defray the expence of a pompous public burning, or the ceremony of admitting youths into the convents of the Rhahaans; on the latter occasion parents vie with each other, and spare no cost: the principal charge consists in entertainments, and the customary presents to the Rhahaans. The age of induction is generally from eight to twelve years. When a boy is to be introduced into a convent, either as a temporary resident, or with a view to future consecration, his friends prepare their offerings of cloth, rice, preserves, fruit, fans, cushions, mats, and household utensils. On an appointed day he parades the streets, dressed in yellow, and mounted on a horse richly caparisoned, led by two servants: a band of music goes before, and a party of Rhahaans encircle him: his male friends follow in a troop, and the females of their families bring up the rear, the latter carrying on their heads the offerings meant for the Rhahaans. Thus they proceed to the convent of which the novice is to become a member, where he is presented in form to the senior of the brotherhood. This ceremony is repeated three times, and at each perambulation fresh presents are to be provided.

The kioums, or convents of the Rhahaans, are different in their structure from common houses, and much resemble the architecture of the Chinese; they are made entirely of wood: the roof is composed of different stages, supported by strong pillars; the inside comprehends one large hall; the whole house is open at the sides; some are curiously carved with various symbolic representations of the divinity. There are no apartments for the private recreation of the Rhahaans; publicity is the prevailing system of Birman conduct, and they admit of no secrets either in church or state.

From the many convents in the neighbourhood of Rangoon, the number of Rhahaans and Phonghis\* must be very considerable; I was told that it exceeded 1500. This estimate must include those in their novitiate. Like the Carmelites, they go barefooted, and have their heads close shaven, on which they never wear any covering.

Yellow is the only colour worn by the priesthood; they have a long loose cloak which they wrap round them so as to cover most part of the body; they profess celibacy, and to abstain from every sensual indulgence. The prescribed punishment for a Rhahaan detected in an act of incontinence, is expulsion and public disgrace; the delinquent is seated on an ass, and his face daubed with black paint interspersed with spots of white; he is thus led through the streets, with a drum beating before him, and afterwards turned out of the city: but such instances of degradation are very rare. The juniors are restricted from wandering about licentiously, either by day or

\* The inferior order of priests, vulgarly called Tallapoins.

night. There is a prior in every convent, who has a discretionary power to grant permission to go abroad.

The Rhahaans never dress their own victuals, holding it an abuse of time to perform any of the common functions of life, which, so long as they occupy, must divert them from the abstract contemplation of the divine essence. They receive the contributions of the laity ready cooked, and prefer cold food to hot. At the dawn of the morning they begin to perambulate the town, to collect supplies for the day: each convent sends forth a certain number of its members, who walk at a quick pace through the streets, supporting with the right arm a blue lackered box, in which the donations are deposited; these usually consist of boiled rice mixed with oil, dried and pickled fish, sweetmeats, fruit, &c. During their walk they never cast their eyes to the right nor to the left, but keep them fixed on the ground; they do not stop to solicit, and seldom even look at the donors, who appear more desirous to bestow, than the others to receive. The Rhahaans eat but once a day, at the hour of noon. A much larger quantity of provision being commonly procured than suffices for the members of the convent, the surplus is disposed of, as charitably as it was given, to the needy stranger, or the poor scholars who daily attend them to be instructed in letters, and taught their moral and religious duties.

In the various commotions of the empire, I never heard that the Rhahaans had taken any active share, or publicly interfered in politics, or engaged in war: by this prudent conduct they excited no resentment: the Birmans and Peguers professing the same religion, whoever were conquerors equally respected the ministers of their faith.

I had heard much of the veneration paid to the Sere daw, or head of the Rhahaans at Rangoon, and by chance had an opportunity of seeing him: he lived in a very handsome monastery half a mile from town, on the road leading to Shoedagon. One evening taking my customary walk, I met him returning from the pagoda: there was nothing to distinguish him from the common Rhahaans; he wore the same yellow dress, and his head and feet were bare; his years and abstracted appearance induced me to ask who he was; on being told, I turned and joined company with him, for he would not have stopped or gone out of his way had a monarch accosted him. He entered freely into conversation, but kept his eyes fixed invariably on the ground before him: he was a little old man, of seventy-five, and still walked with firm step on even ground: but when he ascended the stairs of his dwelling, he required support. He goes every day, at the same hour, to the temple, to offer his devotions, and performs the journey, which, going and returning, cannot be less than four miles, on foot. Approaching his grove, he civilly asked me to come in and rest myself; I followed him, and we took our seats on mats spread on the floor, in the centre of a large and lofty hall. Several young Rhahaans, who had attended him in his walk, ranged themselves at a small distance. I was, however, disappointed in the expectations I had formed; he betrayed a worldly pride inconsistent with his years and sacred function; he announced, with much pomp, that he was the head of the church at Rangoon, and ostentatiously displayed engraven on iron plates, his sacerdotal titles, which had been conferred on him by the present and the late King. He seemed to possess little of the humility which distinguished the aged prelate of Pegue, and I left him impressed with much less reverence than I had entertained for his character before our interview.

I was told, that formerly there were nunneries of virgin priestesses, who, like the Rhahaans, wore yellow garments, cut off their hair, and devoted themselves to chastity and religion; but these societies were long ago abolished, as being injurious to the population

population of the state. At present there are a few old women who shave their heads, wear a white dress, follow funerals, and carry water to the convents; and these venerable dames have some portion of respect paid to them.

CHAP. V. — *Population of Rangoon — an Asylum for insolvent Debtors. — Religious Toleration granted to Foreigners. — Province of Dalla, and Town of Maindu. — Mima-Sbun-Rua, or the Village of Prostitutes. — Barbarous Law respecting the female Relations of insolvent Debtors. — Treatment of the Women. — River of Rangoon commodious for Ship-building — several Ships of Burthen on the Stocks. — Birman Shipwrights. — Imperial Mandate arrives for the English Deputation to proceed to the Capital — the Maywoon of Pegue ordered to accompany it. — Huntsmen employed to catch Alligators and Rhinoceroses. — Reverence of the Birmans for their Braminical Astrologers — they declare a propitious Day for the Maywoon to depart — he leaves Rangoon — English Deputation prepares to follow — Description of the Boats, &c.*

THE population of Rangoon is considerable; there are 5000 registered taxable houses in the city and suburbs; if each house be supposed to contain six people, the estimate will amount to 30,000. Having long been the asylum of insolvent debtors from the different settlements of India, it is crowded with foreigners of desperate fortunes, who find from the Birmans a friendly reception, and, for the most part, support themselves by carrying on a petty trade, which affords a decent subsistence to those who act prudently. Here are to be found fugitives from all countries of the east, and of all complexions: the exchange, if I may so call the common place of their meeting, exhibits a motley assemblage of merchants, such as few towns of much greater magnitude can produce; Malabars, Moguls, Persians, Parfees, Armenians, Portugueze, French, and English, all mingle here, and are engaged in various branches of commerce. The members of this discordant multitude are not only permitted to reside under the protection of government, but likewise enjoy the most liberal toleration in matters of religion; they celebrate their several rites and festivals, totally disregarded by the Birmans, who have no inclination to make proselytes. In the same street may be heard the solemn voice of the Muezzin, calling pious Islamites to early prayers, and the bell of the Portugueze chapel tinkling a summons to Romish Christians. Processions meet and pass each other without giving or receiving cause of offence. The Birmans never trouble themselves about the religious opinions of any sect, nor disturb their ritual ceremonies, provided they do not break the peace, or meddle with their own divinity Gaudma; but if any person commit an outrage, which the Mussulmen, in their zeal for the true faith, will sometimes do, the offender is sure to be put into the stocks: and if that does not calm his turbulent enthusiasm, they bastinado him into tranquillity.

The violence of the rainy monsoon prevented our making distant excursions, which, in the present stage of the mission I should perhaps have avoided had the weather been favourable. Our morning rides and evening walks seldom extended beyond the great temple, that being the best road. Dr. Buchanan one morning went across to the west side of the river, on the bank of which opposite to Rangoon, is a considerable town, called Maindu, the residence of the governor of the province of Dalla, who has already been mentioned as having come down to meet the deputation on its first arrival. This government is entirely distinct from Rangoon, on the east side. The rank of the Governor is much inferior to that of the Maywoon of Pegue; notwithstanding which, the latter cannot apprehend a criminal within the jurisdiction of Dalla, by his own

authority. The city of Dalla, from whence the province takes its name, is said to be on the west side of the China Buckier river, and was formerly a place of considerable importance. The town of Maindu is composed of one long street: at the east end is a creek, which goes all the way to Bassien, and has twelve feet depth of water, at high tide; on the west side is a smaller creek, on the bank of which stands a village called Mima-Shun-Rua, or the village of prostitutes, being inhabited wholly by women of that description.

Prostitution in this, as in all other countries, is the ultimate resort of female wretchedness; but here it is often attended with circumstances of peculiar and unmerited misery. Many who follow this course of life are not at their own disposal, nor receive the earnings of their unhappy profession; they are slaves sold by creditors to a licensed pander, for debts more frequently contracted by others than by themselves. According to the laws of Pegue, he who incurs a debt which he cannot pay becomes the property of his creditor, who may claim the insolvent debtor as his slave, and oblige him to perform menial service until he liquidates the debt: nor does the unhappy man always suffer in his own person alone, his immediate relatives are often included in the bond, and when that is the case, are liable to be attached and sold to discharge the obligation. The wretchedness into which this inhuman law plunges whole families is not to be described. Innocent women are often dragged from domestic comfort and happiness; and from the folly or misfortune of the master of the house, in which they perhaps have no blame, are sold to the licensed superintendent of the tackally, who, if they possess attractions, pays a high price for them, and reimburses himself by the wages of their prostitution.

In their treatment of the softer sex the Birmans are destitute both of delicacy and humanity, considering women as little superior to the brute stock of their farms. The lower class of Birmans make no scruple of selling their daughters, and even their wives, to foreigners who come to pass a temporary residence amongst them. It reflects no disgrace on any of the parties, and the woman is not dishonoured by the connection.

Respecting the trade of Rangoon, the commodities which the country is capable of producing, the present state of its commerce, and the obstacles that check its growth, I shall have occasion to speak more at length in another part of this work: it is sufficient here to observe, that teak, the most durable wood that is known, and best adapted for the construction of ships, is produced in the forests of the Birman and Pegue empires in inexhaustible abundance. The river of Rangoon is equally commodious for the construction of ships; the spring tides rise twenty feet in perpendicular height; the banks are soft, and so flat that there is little need of labour for the formation of docks: vessels of any burden may be built. Nature has liberally done her part to render Rangoon the most flourishing seaport of the eastern world.

There were at this time several ships from 600 to 1000 tons burden on the stocks; one belonging to the Maywoon of Pegue, about 900 tons, was considered by professional men as a specimen of excellent workmanship; it was entirely wrought by Birman carpenters, and formed on a French model, as are most of the ships built in this river, the Birmans having received their first rudiments of the art from that nation. Three or four vessels of burden were likewise in a state of forwardness, belonging to English adventurers; and one still larger than the rest, almost ready to be launched, the property of the governor of Maindu, the town on the opposite side. If this ship was not composed of prime materials, the building at least was well attended to; every morning the governor's wife crossed the river in her husband's barge, attended by two or three female servants; after landing, she commonly took her seat on one of the timbers

timbers in the yard, and overlooked the workmen for some hours, after which she returned home, and seldom missed coming back in the evening, to see that the day's task had been completed. The slip on which the ship was built happened to be contiguous to our first habitation, a circumstance that caused us to remark her constant visits: curiosity, however, did not prompt her, or any of her attendants, to come within our precincts, whilst decorum deterred us from making advances towards an acquaintance. Her husband never accompanied her, and she did not seem to require his aid. Women in the Birman country are not only good housewives, but likewise manage the more important mercantile concerns of their husbands, and attend to their interests in all out-door transactions: they are industrious to the greatest degree, and are said to be good mothers, and seldom from inclination unfaithful wives. If this be a true character, they meet with a most ungenerous return, for, as was before observed, the men treat them as beings of a very subordinate order.

Whilst we admired the structure and materials of these ships, we could not overlook the mode in which the work was executed, and the obvious merit of the artificers. In Bengal, a native carpenter, though his business is commonly well done, yet, in his manner of performing it, excites the surprise and ridicule of Europeans; he cuts his wood with a diminutive adze, in a feeble and slow manner; and when he wants to turn a piece of timber, has recourse to a coolee, or labourer, that attends him; numbers there compensate for the want of individual energy; notwithstanding this, they finish what they undertake in a masterly manner. The Birman shipwrights are athletic men, and possess, in an eminent degree, that vigour which distinguishes Europeans, and gives them pre-eminence over the enervated natives of the east; nor do I imagine that the inhabitants of any country are capable of greater bodily exertion than the Birmans.

The month of May was now far advanced, and we became a little impatient at remaining so long in a state of uncertainty, especially as the officers of government did not at all relax in the formality and coldness of their deportment, nor were we yet assured what might be the nature of our reception at court. From this unpleasant state of suspense we were at length agreeably relieved by the arrival of a letter from the Maywoon of Pegue to the council of Rangoon, acquainting them that he had received the imperial mandate to make preparations for our conveyance by water to the capital; and that it was His Majesty's farther pleasure that he should accompany the deputation in person. Baba-Sheen lost no time in imparting to me the intelligence, which was soon after communicated by an official message from the Raywoon, inviting me to the Rhoom, or public hall, to hear the order formally announced in council. This was a ceremony which I begged leave to decline; but I sent my moonshee, or Persian secretary, to attend the meeting.

Our visit to Ummerapoora being now a measure decided on by the highest authority, it became requisite to make some inquiries respecting our accommodations for the voyage. Being well aware that no steps could be taken except through the regular channels of authority, I applied to the Raywoon to obtain permission to purchase suitable boats for the use of the deputation: an inferior officer waited on me, to represent, on the part of the Raywoon, that it was inconsistent with the usage of their government to admit of a public minister being at any expence for his conveyance: and that the superintendant of the port had received instructions to prepare as many boats as I thought necessary. This, I understood, was an established point of etiquette, from which they could not possibly recede. I expressed regret at putting the government to so great an expence; but requested, as the season was boisterous, and the voyage not a short one,

one, that the vessels might be examined by an English shipwright, and such alterations made as would render them commodious to Europeans, which the boats of the natives, both from their structure and insufficient covering, are far from being. My desire met a cheerful compliance.

Conformably to the imperial mandate, the Maywoon left Pegue, and arrived at Rangoon on the 25th of May: his retinue was numerous; and as no person of high official consequence, when summoned to attend the Golden Feet can assure himself of returning to his government, or office, in order to be prepared for whatever might occur, he brought with him his wife and family as the companions of his voyage. On the day after his arrival I paid him a visit; he was extremely civil, and assured me of his ready services on every occasion.

About this time an order came from court to the provincial government of Pegue, which furnished a subject of much conversation. I was told that the Emperor of China, having never seen a rhinoceros, or an alligator, entertained an ardent desire to view those formidable animals before his death, and had intimated his wish, through a provincial legate from Yunan, who had lately arrived at Ummerapooora for the purpose of settling some mercantile arrangements. The King of Ava, solicitous to gratify his august brother of China, had signified his pleasure to his chief minister, who sent the order before-mentioned, the purport of which, I understood, was to catch twenty alligators, and as many of the rhinoceros tribe, and convey them to the metropolis, whence they were to be transported to the imperial city of Pee-Kien. Those who made elephant-hunting their profession, were dispatched to the forests, and strong nets were thrown across the Pegue river, on the sands of which when the tide ebbed, I had seen in the course of my journey to Pegue, a much greater number than His Majesty required. The fishermen began successfully; several alligators were taken in two or three days, and put into boats, in the bottoms of which wells were constructed. The crocodile and alligator, although they are accounted amphibious animals, cannot long support life out of the water. The rhinoceros hunters, I afterwards learned, were not equally fortunate.

In a former part of this work it has been mentioned, that the Birmans, notwithstanding they are Hindoos of the sect of Boodh, and not disciples of Brahma, nevertheless reverence the Brahmins, and acknowledge their superiority in science over their own priests or Rhahaans. The partiality which the King, who is guided in every movement by astrological advice, manifests in their favour, has given celebrity to their predictions, and brought them so much into fashion, that there is not a Viceroy or Maywoon who has not in his household some of these domestic fages, whom he consults on all important occasions, and sometimes on occasions of no importance whatever. The Maywoon of Pegue, whose viceroyalty, though not the most extensive, is the most lucrative in the empire, maintains a number of Brahmins, whose counsel he desired as to the most fortunate day and hour to commence the journey. After due deliberation, the 28th of May, at eight o'clock in the morning, was pronounced the most propitious for departure, and that time was accordingly appointed. Unluckily our boats could not be got in readiness quite so soon; but as there was no resisting the stars, the Maywoon declared his regret at the supernatural necessity that compelled him to precede us, promising, however, to wait at the head of the Rangoon river, where it branched from the great stream of the Irrawaddy, until we should join him, the distance being not more than two days' journey. I acquiesced in the propriety of submitting every temporal concern to the disposal of fate, and hoped that he would not suffer any consideration for us to interfere with his own arrangements. On the day fixed, at seven in the  
morning

morning, he passed our habitation, and proceeded with much pomp to the water-side, himself on horseback, his lady in a palanquin, and his children carried astride on men's shoulders. His own barge was very handsome, and of the structure appertaining to nobility; it was attended by several war-boats ready manned, with a number of common vessels; some belonging to his retinue, others to merchants, who took the opportunity of his protection to transport their merchandize duty-free. The Maynoon reposed for a short time in the house that is used as an exchange; and when the great drum that proclaimed the hour struck the first stroke, he stepped on board, and was followed by his family: in an instant every boat pushed from the shore with a loud shout; the oars were vigorously plied, and, the flood tide setting strong, the fleet was soon carried to the northward of the city.

The boats, six in number, that had been provided for our accommodation, were now ready to receive us; Dr. Buchanan, Mr. Wood, and myself, had each a separate vessel; the Hindoo Pundit, whose religious prejudices rendered it irksome to him to mingle with Mussulmen, had likewise a small boat to himself. The guard, and such attendants as we did not immediately require, occupied another of a larger size, in which our heavy baggage, field equipage, &c. were stowed: a kind of cutter was equipped as a kitchen, which was seldom wanted, as our own barges were sufficiently spacious to admit of all culinary purposes, without inconvenience to the inhabitants. These barges were of a very different construction from the flat-bottomed vessels called budgerows, that are used on the Ganges; ours were long and narrow, and required a good deal of ballast to keep them steady; even with ballast, they would have been in constant danger of upsetting, had they not been provided with outriggers, which composed of thin boards, or oftener of buoyant bamboos, make a platform that extends horizontally six or seven feet on the outside of the boat, from stem to stern. Thus secured, the vessel can incline no farther than until the platform touches the surface of the water, when she immediately rights; on this stage the boatmen ply their oars, or impel the boat forward by poles; such an addition affords a convenience unknown to the navigation of the Ganges; it is the place exclusively appropriated to the crew, who sleep on it at night, and, by putting up mats, or spreading a sail from the roof of the boat to the outside edge, shelter themselves from the weather. My barge was sixty feet in length, and not more than twelve in the widest part; by taking away one thwart beam near the stern, laying a floor two feet below the gunwale, and raising an arched roof about seven feet above the floor, a commodious room was formed, fourteen feet long, and ten wide, with a closet behind it; at the stern there was a stage, on which the leedegee, or steersman, stood, and a vacant space of seven or eight feet, where a kettle might be boiled, or dinner provided. On each side of the cabin a small door opened on the platform, and there were three windows, which, when raised, admitted a free circulation of air. The roof was made of bamboos covered with mats, and over all was extended a painted canvas, that effectually secured us from the heaviest rain. The inside was neatly lined with matting. The conveyances of the other gentlemen were nearly of the same size and construction. Twenty-six boatmen composed the crew of my vessel, exclusive of the leedegee, who is the chief or captain.

CHAP. VI. — *Depart from Rangoon. — Alteration in the Temperature of the Air. — Reach Panlang. — Mosquitoes unusually numerous and troublesome. — Pass Kettorce-Rua, or Parroquet Village. — Towns of Yangain-Chain-Yab, and Denoobew. — A handsome Temple. — Segahgbee ; — Summeingtob ; — Ycounghenzab. — Singular Appearance of a Tree. — Taykyatt ; — Terriato, or Mango Village ; — Taambooterra ; — Kioumzeik, or Convent Stairs. — Indigo Plant : — Birman Method of preparing it for Use. — Manufactory of Cotton Cloth. — Shwaye-Gaim ; — Sabbaymeoun ; — Gnappezeik. — Violent Current. — Yeagaim ; — Kanounglay, or Little Kanoung. — Rich Plantations. — Kanounggbe, or Great Kanoung. — Slow Progress. — Meyahoun : — Gilded Temples, and spacious Convents : — numerous trading Boats : — Country fruitful : — Pasbeem : — Kianggain. — Violent Gust of Wind. — Tirroup-miou, or Chinese Town. — Mountains. — Tzeezau. — Peeing-ghec. — A Ship on the Stocks. — Beautiful Appearance of the Banks. — Great Difficulty in surmounting the Stream : — Extraordinary Exertions of the Boatmen : — Fleet dispersed : — Baggage-boat lost. — The Fleet reassembles. — Reach the City of Peaye-mew, or Prome.*

ON the 29th of May we were ready to depart : our baggage and attendants had been previously sent on board, and the boats containing the royal presents had received their lading from the Sea-Horse. We embarked in the evening, slept on board, and at ten o'clock next morning, when the tide served, pushed off, accompanied by our civil acquaintance, the Seredogee of Pegue, Baba-Sheen, Jacob Aguizar, the Armenian merchant, and the chief interpreter of Rangoon ; these personages had boats of their own. Pauntchoo, my Portuguese servant, being with me, and three or four of the boatmen speaking a little of the Hindostan language, I was at no loss to make myself understood. An under seree, or inferior clerk, was stationed in my boat, professedly to attend to my wants, and receive my orders, and probably with a view to observe and report my actions. It was, however, an ostensible compliment, and accepted by me in that light.

We rowed without intermission until three in the afternoon. A short way from Rangoon the river becomes narrower, with a winding course, owing to which we did not advance more than three leagues in a direct line. We passed a small village on the left : the banks on each side were shaded with trees. The fleet brought to on the north side of the river, when Dr. Buchanan went on shore, and found an extensive plain covered with short grass, beyond which there was a large village. We experienced a pleasing alteration in the temperature of the air on the water, from what we had felt on shore. The day before our departure, at two o'clock in the afternoon, the thermometer in the house stood at 98° ; next day, at the same hour, the quicksilver only reached 90° on the river. When the flood made, we got under way, rowed hard all night, and anchored in the morning near a town called Panlang, which, the seree informed me, had once been a city of considerable magnitude, and from which the Rangoon river is frequently called the Panlang-mioup. The number of boats that were moored near it, indicated that it was still a place of some importance. The soil is rich but there appeared to be little cultivation in its neighbourhood : here a branch of the river shapes its course to the south. At two in the afternoon we pursued our voyage, and continued rowing till seven in the evening, when we brought to, having passed three small villages in the way, one of which was surrounded by thick groves of plantain trees. At this place we spent a very comfortable night ; it is a part of the river remarkable for being infested by mosquitoes of an unusual size, and venomous

beyond what I ever felt in any other country : two pair of thick stockings were insufficient to defend my legs from their attacks ; when in bed the curtains afforded some protection, but the servants, and even the boatmen, got no rest all night. A kind of reed that grows on the bank, breeds and harbours these insects in the utmost abundance ; fortunately, the colony does not extend many miles ; a war-boat that rows quick can escape them, but a heavy vessel must lie for one tide within their action.

On the 1st of June, at day-break, we left Panlang, and stopped about nine o'clock at a hamlet on the right, where we saw a few gardens, and several travellers passing along a road at some distance on the plain. The river here contracts greatly, and does not appear to be more than two hundred yards across. Our people having taken refreshment, we continued our voyage. After leaving Panlang, the influence of the tide becomes much weaker, and the water, during the ebb, is fresh. Our progress was but slow, having neither wind nor stream to befriend us. In three hours we reached Kettoree-Rua, or Parroquet village ; and in two hours more came to Yangain-Chain-Yah. Here we entered the great river, and stopped for the night, our boats being fastened with hawfers to the bank. The course of the stream was nearly north and south, and about a mile wide.

Next morning, at the dawn of day, we pushed off ; and at one o'clock joined the Maywoon, who, with his suite and a vast concourse of boats, was waiting our arrival ; he sent a polite message, with a present of some milk, fine rice, and fruit. Heavy rains falling, we remained here all day : the banks were steep, and there was nothing to attract notice. At a distance on the opposite shore we could perceive the temple of Denoobew.

At eight o'clock in the morning of the 3d of June the whole fleet got under way. Being now in the great river, and no longer sheltered by high and close banks, we spread our canvas, and, favoured by a strong southerly wind, sailed against the stream. At nine we passed Denoobew, an extensive town, ornamented with a lofty temple, resembling Shoedagon in form, but of smaller size. The adjacent fields appeared cultivated ; several large mercantile boats were lying here, and more at a small village the opposite side ; and the river was still low ; the rains, although set in, had not yet materially affected it. We passed, in the course of one day's journey, many islands of sand formed by different streams of the river in the dry season, but which are entirely covered when the waters swell ; on some of these islands there are trees and verdure. We left the towns of Segahghee on the east, and Summeingtoh on the west. Our journey this day was very delightful ; the weather turned out fine, and the wind was so favourable, that though the stream was strong, we passed the banks at the rate of three miles an hour : there were not less than a hundred sail of boats of different sorts in company, and the whole was a cheerful and pleasing sight. The Maywoon being considered as commodore of the fleet, his movements regulated the rest. We stopped at sunset near the town of Yeoungbenzah, where I missed the Seredogee of Pegue, who seldom failed making an evening visit to drink tea, and ask questions about England. Baba-Sheen told me, that he was left behind at the head of the Rangoon river, where he was bargaining for another boat, his own being rather crazy, and so deeply laden with merchandize that he durst not venture it on the great river.

We left Yeoungbenzah at daybreak, and passed in our course several islands of sand. In one place we perceived the roots and stump of a tree growing close to the water's edge, under a high bank, about fourteen feet beneath the surface of the soil ; this singular appearance is to be accounted for by supposing, that where the bank was now raised, there had formerly been a sand level with the water, on which a tree took root,

and had been covered by annual accumulations from the river during the season of inundation. It is probable, that the tall reeds and coarse grass which every year rot and incorporate with the sand of the river form the fine soil of the plains; thus aquatic exuviae are to be discovered every where deep in the earth: the stream, however, washes away on one side as much as it deposits on the other, and, as is the case with all rivers flowing through champaign countries, is continually changing its channel. In the morning we passed Taykyatt, a long and straggling town on the west side; also Terriato, or Mango village, small, but beautifully situated on a high commanding bank that overlooks the country on the opposite side to a great distance; it is surrounded by groves of mango trees, from which it takes the name. Taambooterra, on the same side, is a long town. The country, in this journey, did not appear so well inhabited as that we passed through the day before. At half past four we came to for the night at Kioumzeik, or Convent Stairs: a long sand intervened between us and the town; at this season the convex side of the windings of the river always terminates in a level sand. Two temples, not large, but gilded on the outside from top to bottom, made a very brilliant appearance. There were here many monasteries, and the Rhahaans belonging to them were strolling up and down the banks, as curiosity led them. Near the river side were some fields planted with indigo, which thrive in full luxuriance, and was nearly ripe; the natives prepare it without any skill: a large quantity of the weed was steeping in an old boat sunk in the river, which was substituted in the room of a vat. They do not take the trouble, or perhaps do not know how, to purify and reduce it to a hard refined consistence, but are satisfied with it in a liquid state; they use it to colour a coarse kind of cotton cloth, which is manufactured here in great quantities. The indigo is very cheap, and doubtless might, by proper management, be cultivated in this country to the highest advantage.

The town of Kioumzeik is well built, and seems to be in a state of improvement: there are several interruptions in it, caused by watercourses, over which good wooden bridges are built. The manufacture of cotton cloth is the source of its prosperity. A town called Henzadah, near to Kioumzeik, is of much greater antiquity. Numerous cart-roads and pathways evince that there is an extensive communication maintained with the interior country; but we saw little cultivation of grain, and only a few gardens. Buffaloes and other cattle were grazing in large herds on the neighbouring plain.

On the next day, June 5th, we put off at the first dawn, and passed in the course of our journey several small villages, none of which presented any thing worth notice; Sekayebeeim, on the east, was the most considerable. The bank on one side was high, and the sands extensive on the other. The course of the river runs deep beneath an overhanging bank, at a sluggish rate, not exceeding a mile in the hour. The southerly wind was not so strong as usual, and the temperature of the air had become much hotter; the thermometer, which on the preceding day stood at 73°, on this rose to 86°; but still the heat was not oppressive. We brought to in the afternoon, south of a town called Ackeo; the evening was cloudy, and threatened a thunder storm; a long and low strand lay between the boats and the town; I did not go on shore: Dr. Buchanan, however, ventured, and met with nothing to repay the trouble he took in traversing a plain of heavy sand.

We set off the following morning at the usual hour, and saw a few villages, but none remarkable; one on the east bank was situated in a large garden of plaintain trees. At noon our boatmen tracked the boats along the sands, and thus made greater progress than they could either by rowing or setting with poles. Notwithstanding the general

general name of the Irrawaddy, I learned that different parts of it are distinguished by different appellations, taken from places of note on its banks, as though we should call the Thames at appropriate places, the Gravefend river, the London river, &c. At two o'clock, the sky lowered, and black clouds in the north-west quarter threatened one of those violent gusts which are frequent at this season; the ledeegee, of his own accord, brought-to on the west side, under the shelter of a high bank. As soon as the boat was made fast, the Doctor and I clambered up the steep; the country round was covered with reeds as tall as a man's head; there were many pathways leading through them; but we were dissuaded by the Birmans from entering, for fear of tigers, which are numerous here, and particularly frequent that kind of cover. The storm broke before it reached us, and, after a delay of two hours, we set sail with a southerly wind; passing a large village on the west, the serce told me it was named Shwaye-Gain, and that the inhabitants sometimes, during the rainy season, found gold-dust in the sand of the river, which is washed down by the periodical rains. A town nearly opposite, on the east side, is called Sabbaymeoun. It was eight o'clock in the evening when we stopped close to the town of Gnapezeik. Gnapee, or Napee, a sort of sprat half pickled and half putrid, has already been described as a favourite and universal sauce used by the Birmans to give a relish to their rice; zeik signifies a landing-place: whence we concluded that this town is an emporium for that commodity, which in itself forms an extensive branch of traffic.

Early in the morning we left Gnapee, and had to contend against a strong current; with very little assistance from the wind; the western bank was planted with pipal and mango trees. Yeagaim, on the right, and Kanounglay, or Little Kanoung, on the left, were the most remarkable places; near the latter we saw several plantations of fruit-trees, the mango, plantain, jack-fruit, and custard apple. The fields near it were regularly laid down, and well fenced; many boats, some of them of a large size, were building on the banks, and the general aspect of things denoted peace and plenty. A little time brought us to Kanoungghe, or Great Kanoung, a long town, with a good quay, and well constructed wooden stairs, consisting of one hundred steps, descending to the water's edge. The population of this part of the country must be considerable. In getting round a bluff point we found much difficulty, owing to the rapidity of the current; the fleet was in consequence widely scattered, some surmounting the stream with more ease than others; the wind was but faint, and the weather exceedingly sultry. At two o'clock the thermometer rose to 94°. Our boatmen being harassed, I brought-to early in the evening, under a pleasant bank; the Maywoon had got far ahead. Before tea I walked out with my gun, but had no success, seeing only a few quails and some wild pigeons. The country was tolerably well cleared; and, though there was not much cultivation, it seemed in a state of preparation for the husbandman.

Our progress on the following day was more expeditious; we soon reached the neighbourhood of Meyahoun, formerly Loonzay, rendered memorable in the wars between the Birmans and Peguers. It is a very ancient city, stretching two miles along the margin of the river. Houses in cities or in villages differ very little; but this town was distinguished by numerous gilded temples, and spacious convents; a great variety of tall wide-spreading trees gave the place an air of venerable grandeur; and under the shade of these, several Rhahaans were luxuriously reposing. We saw not less than two hundred large boats at the different quays, which on an average, might be reckoned each at sixty tons burthen, all provided with good roofs, and masted after the country manner. They seemed much better constructed than the unwieldy

wullocks\* of Bengal. I was informed that the neighbourhood of Meyahoun is uncommonly fruitful in rice, and that a large quantity is exported annually to the capital. Here also were capacious granaries belonging to the King, built of wood, and covered with thatch; these are always kept filled with grain ready to be transported to any part of the empire in which there happens to be a scarcity; a misfortune that sometimes occurs to the higher provinces, where the annual rains are neither so certain nor so copious as in the southern districts: this wise and humane institution strongly evinces the solicitude of the monarch for the welfare of his people. Leaving Meyahoun, we passed Pasheem, whence a nullah or watercourse, leads to the south-west; also Kilnggain: at both these places there were a number of trading boats. At half past two o'clock we were assailed by a violent north-west gust of wind, that, acting with the current, drove us back nearly two miles before we could reach the shore. The river here was more than a mile wide, although it had not yet attained its full monsoon height. At four we again got under way, and saw, on the east side, Tirroup-miou, or Chinese town. During our journey this day we plainly discerned the Anoupectoumiou, or great western hills that divide this country from Arracan; the particular mountains in sight, the boatman said, were named Taungzo. The districts we passed through this day were exceedingly populous, and in most parts cultivated. We brought to late in the evening, under a steep bank, near the inconsiderable village of Tzeezau.

We left, before daylight, a very uncomfortable situation: the night was sultry, and the high bank that hung over us prevented a free circulation of air; added to this, we were annoyed by myriads of stinking insects that issued from the reeds and coarse grass. The pleasantness of the day compensated for the inconveniences of the night. As we advanced the western range of hills closed upon the river, and in some places displayed very beautiful scenery. Approaching the town of Peeing-ghee, on the west side, the rocky banks rose abruptly to the height of two or three hundred feet, the sides of which were richly clothed with hanging trees of variegated foliage. The confinement of the water in this place increased its rapidity, and I could not but admire the exertions made by the boatmen in stemming so violent a stream; oars were useless, and the perpendicular banks afforded no footpath to track; it therefore became necessary to impel the boat forward by bamboo poles, a labour at which the Birman are uncommonly expert. When the pole is firm in the ground, they place the top of it against the muscles of the shoulder, just above the collar bone, then raising that shoulder, and bending forward, they bring the whole weight of the body to bear upon the end of the pole; in this manner they traverse the platform from stem to stern, following each other in quick succession on both sides of the boat, having small thwart bamboos fastened on the platform, a yard asunder, to prevent their feet from slipping. Owing to this mode of fixing the end of the pole against the muscles that reach from the back of the neck to the shoulder, a callosity is formed and a Birman boatmen always appears to be high shouldered. I could not discover why they preferred that method to the more obvious and easy one of pushing with the flat of the shoulder; they, however, performed what I am persuaded none but Birman could effect. We were an hour in passing the extreme force of the current, which did not exceed four hundred yards.

The town of Peeing-ghee, and that of Sahlahdan, a little above it, export a great part of the teak timber that is carried to Rangoon. The forests extend along on the

\* A heavy boat used on the river Ganges.

western mountains, and were in sight from the boats. The trees are felled in the dry season, and, when the monsoon sets in, are borne by the torrents to these towns. There was a ship on the stocks close to Peeing-ghee, of 400 tons burthen; a Muffulman merchant from Surat, out of economy, chose this place for building at, in preference to Rangoon; he meant, as soon as the hull should be finished, to float it down the stream. I was told that there was a good deal of hazard in the navigation, the distance of which, including the windings of the river, probably exceeds 150 miles; but he calculated the difference of expence to be adequate to the risk. This adventurer furnished a proof of the confidence that might be placed in the Birman government, and the security that a stranger has for his property. The teak tree, although it will grow on the plains, is a native of the mountains. The forests, like most of the woody and uncultivated parts of India, are extremely pestiferous; an inhabitant of the champaign country considers a journey thither as going to inevitable destruction. The wood-cutters are a particular class of men, born and bred in the hills; but even they are said to be unhealthy, and seldom attain longevity.

The difficulty of this day's journey had dispersed the fleet; the lightest and best manned boats of course got a-head of the rest, and several were obliged to join their crews, and carry up each vessel singly by their united strength. Half a mile above Sahladhan I overtook the Maywoon, who had arrived some time before me, and was waiting for us. The boatmen being greatly harassed, he recommended us to pass the night here. In the evening we took a walk together: the Maywoon was attended by eight or ten servants armed with spears and musquets: we both fired at game without success. The Birmans, even the common boatmen, are fond of fowling to a degree of childish delight; rather than not shoot, they will fire at sparrows. I never was more importuned than by them for shot, which they do not know how to fabricate. No schoolboy could be more pleased than the ledeegee of my boat, when I one evening lent him a gun to shoot wild pigeons. In this, as well as many other particulars, their disposition is strikingly contrasted with the habits of apathy and indolence that characterize the natives of Asia in general. My companions, Dr. Buchanan and Mr. Wood, not joining the party before dark, I expressed my apprehensions about them to the Maywoon, who was so good as to dispatch a war-boat to their assistance; the Doctor came about ten o'clock, but Mr. Wood's people being quite exhausted, he was obliged to stop three miles short of us, and the baggage-boat did not arrive at all. A little after midnight I was awakened to receive the unpleasant intelligence that she was wrecked: the boatmen, it seems, had nearly surmounted the difficult passage below Peeing-ghee when, either from a remission of their efforts, or a more impetuous gush of water than usual, the boat suddenly got stern-way, and when once she lost ground there was no recovering it; the boatmen resigned her to the current, which swept her back with irresistible violence; fortunately, she set towards the side, where a landing was practicable, and, taking the ground on a rocky bottom, she bulged, and filled with water. The people got on shore safe, and it was expected that most of the articles on board would be recovered; but such as were liable to injury from the water were irretrievably spoiled.

Early the next morning, June 10th, Mr. Wood joined company, and the Maywoon sent an officer to Peeing-ghee, with directions to procure a proper conveyance for my people, and render them every possible assistance; he likewise intimated to me his desire to remain three or four days at Meayday, a town and district two days' journey north of Prome, which he holds in jaghire by a grant from the king. This intention was far from being disagreeable to me or to any of the party, as our boatmen were  
 fatigued,

fatigued, and the servants and the guard required a short time to adjust their conveniences for the remainder of the voyage.

The country contiguous to the river, in this day's journey, was pleasingly diversified with hill and valley, and with spots of cleared ground and hanging woods; the range of mountains retired in a westerly direction as we advanced to the north, but smaller hills still skirted the river. We failed before a fine southerly breeze, and enjoyed a climate far more temperate than I ever experienced in Hindostan at the same season of the year.

We left, altern on the west, Podangmew, a large and populous city; on the right, Shwaye-do-mew was the most important town. About noon we stopped to avoid a squall from the north-west: in the evening, my boat being ahead, I reached the city of Peeaye-mew, or Prome, on the east side; the other gentlemen did not cross the river till next morning.

CHAP. VII. — *Description of Prome. — Surprise excited by an European. — Prome sometimes called Terreketteree: — Origin of the Name: — Singular Analogy. — Village of Pouoodang; — Temple; — Zee-ain; — Kamma; — Neoungbenzeik. — Gale of Wind. — Yeoungbenzeik; — Serraimew; — Trees; — Soil. — Meeaday: — House erected for the English Agent: — Mode of Structure: — Birman punctilious in whatever relates to Rank. — Town of Meeaday: — Indulgence to Strangers: — Cultivation: — invited by the Maywoon to visit his Gardens: — Remarks: — meet a Caravan: — curious Stone: — numerous Visitants: — leave Meeaday. — Pass Meculsab-gaim. — Reach Longbee. — Visit a Kioum. — Tradition respecting Longbee. — Romantic Scenery. — Tigers numerous. — Cattle; — Soil; — Produce. — Excursion of the Portuguese Pantchoo. — Tangbo: — a Fort and City of Importance. — Beetle Nut. — Kayns, or Mountaineers. — Shazebunder arrives: — his whimsical Appearance.*

PROMPTED by curiosity to view a place so renowned as Prome is in Birman history, for having been the scene of many long sieges and bloody conflicts, as soon as my boat was made fast I hastened on shore, and a short way from the bank entered a long strait street, in which I walked for near a mile. The buildings were not remarkable; but, though I saw little to notice, I found that I was myself an object of universal wonder; an English officer, dressed in uniform, was a phænomenon perhaps never before seen in this part of the world. My attendants also created no little surprise; the dogs, numbers of which infested the streets, set up a horrid barking; the men gaped, the children followed me, and the women, as usual, expressed their astonishment by loud laughter and clapping their hands; yet not the least indication of contempt was manifested, nor any thing done that could be construed into an intention to offend. Whichever way I turned, the crowd respectfully opened, and the most forward were restrained by others. The notice I took of a little girl, who was alarmed at our appearance, seemed to be very gratifying to the parents, and the mother, encouraging her child, brought her close to me. Had I entered a house, I have no doubt but the owners would have offered me the best it contained. Kindness to strangers is equally the precept and the practice of Birman.

At the upper end of the present city are to be seen the ruins of the ancient fort of Prome: it had been a small pentagon, built of brick, and from its situation must have been very strong. The modern fort is nothing more than a palisaded inclosure with earth thrown up behind it. Low hills on the eastern side approach the town, in which the rains have formed channels down to the river, that are crossed by wooden bridges.

I passed some stone-cutters' yards, where artificers were manufacturing flags for pavements, and slabs and vases for the use of temples, out of a fine freestone which is found in that neighbourhood. Adjacent to the town there is a royal menagerie of elephants, consisting of two rows of lofty well-built stables, in which these animals are lodged during the rains. I saw some that had been lately caught, under the discipline necessary to render them docile.

The city of Prome, and the province in which it stands, are the jaghire, or estate of the second son of the king; they likewise give him his title. Prome is sometimes called Terreketteree, or single skin: and the Birmanians have an old legendary tale respecting the origin of this name: it is related, that a favourite female slave of Tutebong-mangee, or the mighty sovereign with three eyes, importuned her lord for a gift of some ground; and being asked of what extent, replied in similar terms with the crafty and amorous Elisa, when she projected the site of ancient Carthage. Her request was granted, and she used the same artifice. The resemblance of the stories is curious.

I had not leisure to go through the whole of the town, but was informed that it contained more inhabitants than Rangoon, and had a better supplied market. The Seree told me, that the ruins of a large fort and city, much surpassing the present, stood about a league eastward of the town: the lateness of the hour, however, prevented me from continuing my researches.

We departed from Prome at an early hour, on the 11th of June, and sailed before a strong southerly gale till we came to Pouoodang, a small village built on the western bank of the river. A high hill, of a conical form, rises abruptly behind it, on the top of which there is a temple of peculiar sanctity, having once been the abode of Gaudma; the impression made by the foot of the divinity is shewn indented on a slab of marble. The Maywoon had gone before us to perform his devotions at this place of worship. The hill seemed difficult of ascent; several of our people went up, but the day being wet and stormy, I declined the undertaking. We afterwards made head against a violent current, by the aid of a tempestuous wind: there was, for a long way, little improvement close to the river; obscure hamlets, at distant intervals, just served to shew that the country was not without inhabitants. Zeeain, on the west, appeared a pretty village. Towards evening we reached Kammah, on the east side: it is the chief town of a district that bears the same name, and makes large exports of teak timber for the Rangoon market. We did not stop here, but continued our course as far as Neoungbenzeik, where we arrived too late to make many observations: this also is a town of some respectability. We were here on a lee shore, under a high and rocky bank. The Maywoon not liking the appearance of the weather, and thinking it unsafe to remain in such a situation all night, ordered the boatmen to row across to a long sand, where we might be secure from danger in the event of a storm: nor was this precaution ill timed; for about midnight it blew a hurricane: we, however, ran no risk; our boats touched the soft sand, and were moored by strong hawsers, reaching from the stem and stern to the shore. Mr. Wood and Dr. Buchanan, who had not come up, found shelter in a creek, where they passed the night. As soon as the storm commenced, the Maywoon detached a war-boat to their assistance.

Our associates joined the fleet betimes in the morning, and we sailed immediately. Our journey this day was disagreeable, from the violence of the southerly wind, which, meeting the stream, caused a heavy swell: the boats pitched deep, and were very uneasy. We passed a small village on the left bank, whence, I was told, a road leads through the mountains to Arracan. Yeoungbenzeik, or Indian fig-tree stairs, on the

east

east side, is a fine village, situated in a romantic country; so also is Pelon, a place remarkable for boat-building; and Sanban, famed for its iron manufactory. At a particular part the river was divided into two distinct branches, separated by a sand; each branch we judged to be a mile wide; and when the water rises so as to overflow the sands, the breadth cannot be less than four miles from bank to bank. Every village we saw was ornamented with one or more small temples. In the evening we brought to, at a town called Sirriapmew. The country around was pleasingly diversified with swelling grounds, covered with stately trees, particularly with the tamarind and mango: Dr. Buchanan measured one of the latter, and found it, at the height of his shoulder from the ground, twelve feet in circumference: some of the tamarind and pipal trees seemed still larger. Many of the rising grounds were planted with indigo; but the natives suffer the hills, for the most part, to remain uncultivated, and only plough the rich levels: they everywhere burn the rank grass once a-year to improve the pasture. We saw many people at labour. The soil is a fine mould, and would produce abundant crops in proper hands: but the Birmans will not take much pains; they leave half the work to nature, which has been very bountiful to them. Their thirst for conquest does not seem to have enriched their country.

In the morning, when we left Sirriapmew, the wind blew as usual from the southward with great violence. At noon we reached Meeaday, the personal estate of the Maywoon of Pegue, who is oftener called, from this place, Meeaday Praw, or Lord of Meeaday, than by his viceregal titles. Here, in compliance with the wishes of the Maywoon, we proposed staying a few days.

It is a mark of respect, and a distinction of rank, for a person journeying on the water to have houses built for his accommodation on the banks, at the places where he means to stop. When the king goes on the river, or travels by land, buildings of the royal order of architecture are erected wherever he is to halt. In the manner of constructing houses, whether temporary or lasting, strict observance is paid to the form, which is indicative of the rank of the occupant; nor dare any subject assume a mode of structure to which he is not legally entitled: the distinction consists chiefly in the number of stages of which the roof is composed. The subordination of rank is maintained and marked by the Birmans with the most tenacious strictness; and not only houses, but even domestic implements, such as the beetle box, water flaggon, drinking cup, and horse furniture, all express and manifest, by shape and quality, the precise station of the owner; nor can one person intrude upon the rights of another, under penalty of incurring a most severe punishment, which is never remitted. The Maywoon had obligingly given directions to have a house constructed on the bank for us, of the order appertaining to nobility, but of what particular class I could not easily ascertain; and I refrained from minute inquiries, as it might appear fastidious, and give an unfavourable impression to those whom it was my inclination to conciliate.

The materials of which these houses are made are always easy to be procured; and the structure is so simple, that a spacious, and by no means uncomfortable dwelling, suited to the climate, may be erected in one day. Our habitation, consisting of three small rooms, and a hall open to the north, in little more than four hours was in readiness for our reception: fifty or sixty labourers completed it in that time, and, on emergency, could perform the work in much less. Bamboos, grass for thatching, and the ground rattan, are all the materials requisite; not a nail is used in the whole edifice: a row of strong bamboos, from eight to ten feet high, are fixed firm in the ground, which describe the outline, and are the supporters of the building; smaller bamboos are then tied horizontally by strips of the ground rattan, to these upright posts; the  
walls,

walls, composed of bamboo mats, are fastened to the sides with similar ligatures; bamboo rafters are quickly raised, and a roof formed, over which thatch is spread in regular layers, and bound to the roof by filaments of rattan; a floor of bamboo grating is next laid in the inside, elevated two or three feet above the ground; this grating is supported on bamboos, and covered with mats and carpets: thus ends the process, which is not more simple than effectual. When the workmen take pains, a house of this sort is proof against very inclement weather. We experienced, during our stay at Meeaday, a severe storm of wind and rain; but no water penetrated, nor thatch escaped: and if the tempest should blow down the house, the inhabitants would run no risk of having their brains knocked out, or their bones broken; the fall of the whole fabric would not crush a lady's lap-dog.

Having got possession of our dwelling, Mr. Wood, Dr. Buchanan, and myself, took a walk to view the town and adjacent country: our boats had brought us to the southern extremity of Meeaday. It is a place of no great magnitude, but extremely neat: there are two principal streets, and at the north end of the present town are to be seen the ruins of a brick fort, which, like all other forts of masonry in the Birman empire, is in a state of dilapidation. At a short distance there is a pleasant river which flows through a fertile plain, affording some rich pasture-ground, and interspersed with plantations of tobacco. On the south and south-east sides, the town is inclosed by a deep ravine, the banks of which are cut perpendicular; and the remains of an old brick wall were discoverable, which was probably a defence to the former suburb. We observed many small temples and convents apart from the town, situated in groves of mango, tamarind, and pipal trees of uncommon stateliness and beauty. The Maywoon had a residence here, also a pleasure-house and beetle garden at some distance. Notwithstanding his manners were still very formal, and evidently desirous of little personal intercourse, he continued invariably attentive, and daily sent me such presents as he thought would be acceptable, such as fruit, fish, and milk. Although it is sinful, according to the Birman tenets, to deprive any being of life to satisfy a carnivorous appetite, yet the inhabitants do not scruple to kill game of all kinds, and abstain only from domestic animals; even in this they often relax, and always grant a most liberal indulgence to strangers. I was allowed to send my Portuguese servant to the neighbouring villages to purchase fowls, which we got very good, and sometimes were able to procure kids. The Birman farmers do not breed sheep, goats giving so much more milk. It was privately intimated to me, that there would be no crime if a servant of mine should shoot a fat bullock when he met one; that it would be ascribed to accident, and I might make reparation to the owner, who would think himself amply recompensed for his loss by two tackals, about six shillings; and the beast being dead, there could be no sin in eating it; but that a public sanction could not previously be given to slaughter one. I declined supplying our table by this evasive logic, and preferred the want of beef to the risk of giving offence, and wounding the feelings of people who omitted no opportunity to manifest towards us hospitality and kindness.

North of the town, about a mile, there is a good deal of cultivation, chiefly of rice; the fields were well laid down, and fenced. This quarter is beautifully wooded, and diversified with rising grounds. We observed many cart-roads and path-ways leading into the country in various directions. The soil is composed of clay and sand, and in some places is very stony, particularly near the river. Early on the 14th the Maywoon politely sent us an invitation to accompany him on the same evening to his garden-house: I was not well, and excused myself; Mr. Wood was otherwise engaged, but the Doctor undertook to represent us. The Maywoon supplied him with

a horse for his conveyance, and rode himself; they crossed the small river before mentioned, and traversed a country partly cultivated, and partly wooded: the road was indifferent, and led through two very neat villages. They also passed several straggling houses, which, considered as country cottages, were extremely comfortable. In their way they saw a caravan of waggons, which had come from a great distance, loaded with goods of different sorts for traffic. The inhabitants in many places were employed in clearing the ground, and burning the long grass and brushwood. On arriving at the garden, about five miles distant, the Maywoon and his company, among whom the doctor was the most distinguished, were regaled with tea and sweetmeats, and returned late in the evening nearly by the same road.

In the course of our walks, not the least curious object that presented itself was a flat stone, of a coarse gray granite, laid horizontally on a pedestal of masonry, six feet in length, and three wide, protected from the weather by a wooden shed. This stone, like that at Pouoodang, was said to bear the genuine print of the foot of Gaudama; and we were informed, that a similar impression is to be seen on a large rock, situated between two hills, one day's journey west of Memboo. On the plane of the foot upwards of one hundred emblematical figures are engraven in separate compartments: two convoluted serpents are pressed beneath the heel, and five conch shells, with the involutions to the right, form the toes: it was explained to me as a type of the creation, and was held in profound reverence. There is said to be a similar impression on a rock \* on Adam's Peak, in the island of Ceylon; and it is traditionally believed, both by the Birmans, the Siamese, and the Cingaleze, that Gaudama, or Boodh, placed one foot on the continent, and the other on the island of Ceylon. The neighbouring Rhahaans had no objection to my painter's taking a copy of it, a task that he performed with great exactness †.

On our return, we met a caravan of waggons travelling from the southern country towards the capital, eighteen in number: these vehicles were well constructed, and more commodious and neat than the clumsy gawries or carts of India. Each waggon was drawn by six bullocks, and several spare ones followed, to supply the place of any that might fall sick or lame. A good tilted roof of bamboo, covered with painted cloth, threw off the rain. They contained not only merchandize, but also entire families, the wives, children, monkies, cats, parroquets, and all the worldly substance of the waggoner. Each bullock had a bell under his throat. The wheels not being greased, a horrid noise announced the approach of the caravan long before it could be seen. They travel slowly, from ten to fifteen miles a day. At night the waggons are disposed in a circle, and form a barrier, within which the carriers feed their cattle, light fires, and dress their victuals, secure from the attacks of tigers, which much infest the less populous parts of the empire.

We remained at Meeaday until the 22d of June. During our stay I made short excursions to different parts of the country, and found little variation in its appearance; it was very beautiful, though but half cultivated, and I was every where treated with respect. The news of the mission had reached the place before we arrived, and excited a general curiosity to see the Boomien of the Colars, or the general of the strangers, as they were pleased to denominate me. Not only the better class of the inhabitants of Meeaday came to visit us, but likewise people of condition from all the towns and villages twenty miles round: I have sometimes received eight

\* See Baldæus; also Knox's Historical Relation of Ceylon.

† Annexed is a plate of the impression, to enable the learned antiquary to compare this curious symbolic representation with the sacred hieroglyphics of the ancient Egyptians.

or ten different companies in a morning. When a party wished to be introduced, a message was sent to ask permission; which being obtained, they entered the room in a crouching position, and sat down on their heels, men and women alike; they always brought a gift of something, whatever they supposed might be acceptable; tobacco, onions, fine rice, &c.: no company presented themselves empty handed; it would not have been respectful; of course, their offerings drew from me a suitable return, such as fillets of Indian muslin to the women, and a Cossembuzar silk handkerchief to the men. Several parties of women came unaccompanied by their husbands, or any of their male friends; and according to the notions entertained by them, there was nothing indecorous in it; they were unconscious of any thing but an innocent desire to gratify curiosity, and manifest respect: women of a better class were always accompanied by a train of female attendants; and, like the sex every where, were more lively, good humoured, and inquisitive, than the men.

Early on the 22d of June matters were arranged for the prosecution of our voyage, and the fleet was in readiness to depart. The articles saved from the boat that had been wrecked below Peeing-ghee were dried; our attendants, however, had suffered a material loss; but a serviceable boat had been provided for them in lieu of the one that was lost. At eleven o'clock we pushed off, the Maywoon leading the van: the day turned out tempestuous and gloomy, and the wind blew hard from the south. In a short time we passed Meealsah-gain, on the west, a large village at the foot of a fine swelling wooded lawn, ornamented with some neat temples. Our way through the water was very rapid, not less than five miles an hour; and at one time it blew so violently, that we were obliged to make for the shore. The range of hills, which in our course this day approached nearest to the river, were covered with a blue mist. We passed some villages of no note: the country seemed populous, and herds of cattle were grazing on the banks. About seven o'clock we brought-to for the night on the west side.

At seven in the morning, after a night of unremitting rain, we left an uncomfortable situation, and sailed till we came to an extensive island, which divided the river into two branches; we took the eastern side, and, on account of the inclemency of the weather, brought-to at the lower town of Loonghee, opposite the south extremity of the island. The width of the stream between the main land and the island is about 500 yards. In the afternoon the rain ceased, but the wind continued. Dr. Buchanan and I walked to a convent of Rhahaans, that seemed to be of more than ordinary note: we found it a good building, and, ascending a flight of steps, took the liberty of entering without ceremony. The neatness of the inside corresponded with the external appearance: a number of Gaudmas, richly gilt, and of various sizes, were ranged on a bench to receive the adorations of the pious. It was the eighth day of the moon, which is the Birman sabbath, and several persons were sauntering up and down, waiting for the hour of prayer. The superior, a man advanced in years, was sitting on his elevated seat when we went in: he expressed much surprise at our appearance and dress, but was extremely civil: he presented me with a scroll, written with a stylus on a papyrus leaf, which, he said, contained a sacred exhortation, and requested I would preserve it in remembrance of Shoedagonga Seredaw, which, it seems, was his title. He asked why the doctor did not wear a scarlet dress like mine; and being informed of his profession, begged a prescription for a sore throat, which almost hindered him from articulating. The doctor promised to send him a gargle, and we took our leave.

The infant son of the Maywoon had been unwell for some time, and his illness had

had now increased to a dangerous height : the anxious parent sent Baba-Sheen to me to intimate his desire of remaining where we were until his child grew better, the tempestuousness of the weather agitating the boat so much, that he was afraid it might increase the fever. I had no scruple in indulging so natural a wish ; but as the spot we were in was much exposed, and had many disadvantages, we moved to a more commodious situation, nearly two miles farther on, opposite the north end of the island. A war-boat was dispatched express to the capital to bring down medicine, and a celebrated professor of physic ; in the meantime all the physicians of the country, to the number of twenty, were assembled, to consult and prescribe for the sick infant.

Loonghee, or Great Cable, takes its name from the following circumstance : a curious ligament of stone unites a pointed rock, which rises in the middle of the stream, with the opposite bank ; it has the appearance of a petrified cable, and the natives relate, that one hundred years ago a large rope, floating down the river, ceased its course at this place, and that one end adhering to the rock, and the other to the bank, the rope was changed into stone. They also say that the opposite island formerly constituted a part of one situated fifteen miles higher up, but was severed from it by an earthquake, and carried down to the place where it now rests. The quality which the waters of the Irrawaddy possess of changing wood into stone, of which we afterwards saw innumerable instances, renders the transmutation of the cable by no means an impossible circumstance. The Birmans, however, are deeply tainted with that credulity which ignorance is ever disposed to pay to tales of fiction and to miraculous events.

Whether removed by an extraordinary convulsion of nature, and by a still more extraordinary transportation, or whether encircled by the river, from the disposition that all large streams flowing through a level country have to change their channel, would, perhaps, be difficult to ascertain ; but, whatever may have been the cause, the island now constitutes a principal object in one of the finest sylvan scenes I ever beheld. From a temple above Loonghee, that stands by the river side, on a commanding cliff, whose summit overhangs its base, the eye is gratified by a most delightful combination of natural beauties : a fine sheet of water three miles in breadth, broken by an island more than a mile long, and half a mile wide, covered with trees of luxuriant foliage ; eminences on the opposite shore, that rise from gently swelling grounds clothed in wood, to brown and rugged mountains, which, receding in an oblique direction, leave to the view a long and level plain ; these altogether form a landscape which I never saw equalled, and, perhaps, is not to be excelled. How much did I regret that my draftsman, though skilful in copying figures and making botanical drawings, was unacquainted with landscape painting and perspective, and that not one of ourselves possessed any knowledge of that delightful art ! Had Mr. Daniel, in his *Oriental Travels*, visited this part of the world, the view from Loonghee would have stood conspicuous among those faithful and excellent representations by which he has locally introduced India into England, and familiarized the European eye to the rich scenery of the east.

We continued at this charming place until the second of July, when the child of the Maywoon, notwithstanding the prescription of 20 doctors, was declared out of danger. So long as recovery continued doubtful, I sent the Hindoo Pundit every morning to enquire after his health : this attention was taken in good part, and the Pundit obtained the honour of being introduced into the sick chamber, where he witnessed the most amiable demonstrations of parental tenderness : both the father and mother were kneeling by the side of the infant's bed, and attended on him themselves day and night.

The disorder proved to be an inflammatory fever, and their treatment of it was perfectly simple: tea made of wild thyme, and decoctions of several vegetable productions, were the only medicines administered; the rest was left to nature, who accomplished her part. They did not, however, neglect to call in the aid of supernatural remedies; incantations were used and amulets applied, to the efficacy of which much was attributed. Whatever might have been the cause, the recovery of the child afforded very general satisfaction; every body seemed to feel an interest in his fate.

We made several short excursions during our continuance at Loonghee: the country to the southward was well cultivated, and the fields inclosed by strong hedges of thorn; the soil is light and sandy, with many loose stones; the ground, for the most part, uneven, and rising into gentle acclivities. There were several neat villages within the distance of two or three miles; a deep ravine, formed by the monsoon rains, extended inland from the river, the banks of which were covered with stunted trees. Dr. Buchanan, in following its course, perceived in the sand the fresh tracks of a tiger, and prudently returned. On enquiring, I understood that the adjacent wood contained many of these destructive beasts, who frequently at night come down the bed of the water-course to quench their thirst at the river. I went the next day with the Doctor and an armed party to the place, and plainly traced in the sand the footsteps of two tigers, a large and a small one; this discovery rendered us cautious of pursuing game into the forests. We found partridges, hares, quails, and wood pigeons, in the open fields; but the jungle fowl, or wild poultry, kept close in the thick covers, where we heard the cocks crow, but did not dare to venture after them. We saw on the island, which is a very romantic spot, a few deer, and three buffaloes; the former were extremely wild; we fired at them without success, but were more fortunate in killing a number of pigeons of a beautiful plumage and excellent to eat.

The cattle used for tillage and draft in this part of the country are remarkably good; they put only a pair in the plough, which differs little from the plough of India, and turns up the soil very superficially. In their large carts they yoke four and often six: walking out one day, I met a waggon drawn by four stout oxen, going at a hard gallop, and driven by a country girl standing up in her vehicle, who seemed to manage the reins and a long whip with equal ease and dexterity: this was a novel sight to a person accustomed to the slow moving machines of India, in which the women are almost too timorous to ride, much less to attempt to guide.

The soil in the neighbourhood of Loonghee is very favourable for the cultivation of cotton; we saw many fields planted with it, in which the shrub was growing strong and healthy. In one field a man was sowing sesamum: the light dry grains answer here better than rice, which thrives only in low and moist grounds.

My Portuguese servant Paunchoo, whom I had dispatched along with a Birman in quest both of fowls and kids, was absent for three days; a circumstance that gave rise to some uneasiness on his account, from the fear of his having been devoured by tigers: he, however, returned safe, and informed me that he had been to a town nine leagues distant, and in his way passed through several villages, and a country thickly inhabited. When he had concluded his bargain, he procured a small cart to carry his purchase to Loonghee, and could not prevail on the owner to accept of any thing more than a Cossimbuzar silk handkerchief. All the manufactures of India are highly prized by the Birmans, although many articles are not at all superior to what they make themselves. Paunchoo also reported, that there was a well-frequented road leading to the city of Tongho, which was distant fifteen days' journey, the capital of a rich and populous province,

vince, that bears the same name, and is governed by one of the King's sons, who takes his title from it, being called Tongho Teekien, or Prince of Tongho: he added, that its inhabitants excelled in the manufacture of cotton cloth, and their country produced the best beetle nut in the empire, a luxury in which Birmans of all ranks indulge so freely, that it is become with them almost a necessary of life. In one of Pauntchoo's expeditions across the river he met with a village inhabited by Kayns, a race of mountaineers perfectly distinct from the Carians, and speaking a language differing radically both from theirs and that of the Birmans. They were originally inhabitants of the Arracan mountains, whom the Birmans, since their conquest of that kingdom, have prevailed on, partly by force, and partly by mild treatment, to abandon their native hills, and settle on the plain. There are several small societies of these people established near the foot of the mountains farther north. The Carians are not to be found higher up than the city of Prome.

Every thing was now in readiness for us to take our next departure, and the first of July was fixed upon to leave Loonghee. On the morning of the 29th of June we were surprized by an unexpected visit from the Portuguese Shawbunder of Rangoon, who has already been mentioned as having been at Ummerapoor, the capital, at the time of our first arrival. He had been ordered down from court to meet the deputation, and came with all the pomp that his station would allow him to display; his barge was profusely decorated with colours, and his boatmen were dressed in uniform. On landing, he first paid his compliments to the Maywoon, and afterwards waited on me at my boat.

The appearance of this naturalized Portuguese was calculated rather to excite laughter than respect: he wore a long tunic of old velvet decorated with tarnished gold lace, and on his head a broad brimmed hat flapped, bound also with gold. He spoke the language of Hindostan imperfectly, but well enough to make himself understood. After an awkward salutation, half in the Birman, half in the European manner, he informed me that he had been sent by an order from the Lotoo, or Grand Council, to meet the English deputation, and to acquaint me that His Majesty had been pleased to direct that three officers of distinguished rank should proceed to Pagahm-mew, a city seven days' journey below Ummerapoor, to wait our arrival, and escort us to the capital. The King, he observed, had done me the extraordinary honour to send a royal barge for my personal accommodation, with two war-boats to tow it: this was considered as a flattering mark of His Majesty's good inclination, and we drew from it a favourable omen. To have our barge drawn by war-boats was an honorary privilege granted only to persons of the first consequence; it is grounded on the idea that it is inconsistent with the dignity of a man of high rank to be in the same boat with people of such mean condition as common watermen; it is a singular refinement, and furnishes an additional instance of the characteristic pride of the nation. The Shawbunder displayed great shrewdness in his conversation. He asked me several questions respecting the powers with which I was invested; and as the visit might in some degree be considered as official, I in part gratified his curiosity, by explaining in general terms the nature of the mission, and the capacity in which I expected to be received, without at all disclosing the specific objects I had in view.

CHAP. VIII.—*Leive Longhee.*—*Extensive Island.*—*Keendoo Praw.*—*Meegheung-yay, or Crocodile Town.*—*Mecin-yah.*—*Patanagoh.*—*Magway.*—*Spanziek.*—*Strong Current.*—*Hills clothed with Wood.*—*Maynbu.*—*Shoe-Lee-Rua, or Golden Boat Village.*—*Gold the Type of Excellence.*—*Taynantheum, or Petroleum Creek.*—*Petrified Wood.*—*Barren Country.*—*Pengkioun.*—*Sembewghewm.*—*Sillahmew.*—*Manufactory of Silk.*—*Crotolaria Juncea.*—*Mountain of Poupá.*—*Seenghoo.*—*Bullock slain by a Tiger.*—*Yos, an ugly Race.*—*Temple of Logah-nundah.*—*City of Pagahm.*—*Neoundah.*—*Birman Deputies.*—*Music.*—*Dancing.*—*Beautiful Manufactory of lackered Ware.*—*Temple of Shoezcegoon.*—*Destructive Conflagration.*—*Numerous religious Buildings.*—*Gigantic Figure of the Divinity in a recumbent Posture:—another Image erect.*—*Oil Mills.*

THE Shawbunder left Loonghee on the first of July, to announce our approach to the Birman officers, who were already arrived at Pagahm: we postponed our departure until the following day, and at seven in the morning quitted this pleasing and rural place. In our journey we passed many towns and villages; sometimes we went swiftly through the water, at others we were stationary, and even lost ground, as the wind frequently subsided, and the stream was very rapid. The range of Arracan mountains appeared to recede westward; and about three o'clock we came to a large island formed by separate arms of the river; there was a pyramidal temple on it, called Keendoo Praw, and several smaller ones raised on a high terrace. I estimated the extent of the island to be two miles: at the upper end we crossed the river, and stopped a mile above Meegheung-yay, at past seven in the evening.

Meegheung-yay, or Crocodile Town, is a place of much trade and importance; there were not less than 100 large boats, and several smaller ones, lying at different stairs, which, my people said, were taking on board rice, onions, garlic, and oil, for the consumption of the capital. It stands on a very high bank, and has fewer religious buildings than any town we had seen of equal magnitude. Dr. Buchanan went on shore at daybreak, and observed in his walk some neat farms, each of them containing four or five cottages, better built than houses in towns usually are: they were fenced round with wide inclosures to receive the cattle, of which there was great abundance. The fields were divided by thorn hedges; the low grounds prepared for rice, and the higher planted with leguminous shrubs, or left for pasture.

Early on the third we passed Meeinyah: between that and Patanagoh, on the eastern shore, there was a sloping bank planted with indigo, which was then ripe, and the villagers were cutting it. Melloon on the west side, seemed rich in temples, but the town was no way distinguished. Patanagoh had only one temple, which was splendidly gilded; it is a long straggling village, and every house had a comfortable garden, enclosed by a bamboo railing, with orchards of palmyra, plantain, and mango trees: here, likewise, were many boats of burthen waiting to receive a cargo. Numerous villages were scattered along the banks, which, as the wind blew strong, and we were obliged to keep the middle of the river, there was no opportunity of examining. This day we passed some sandy islands, and brought to early in the evening, on the eastern side, between the towns of Magway and Spanziek. I took a walk before tea, and could discover little cultivation in the vicinity of the river: the land was stony, and covered with low thorn trees, in which we saw jungle fowl, and other game. Herds of young cattle were grazing among the thickets: we crossed some cart roads, and met several peasants.

At

At daybreak next morning we set sail with a fair and steady wind, by the force of which the fleet stemmed a strong current. Low woody hills skirted the river, particularly on the eastern side; on the summits of some of these hills temples were raised; and one on the western bank, called Maynbu, appeared to be considerable. The river, except where it was interrupted by islands, could not be less than two miles across. We passed a village named Shoe-Lee-Rua, or Golden-boat Village, from its being inhabited by watermen in the service of the King, whose boats, as well as every thing else belonging to the Sovereign, have always the addition of shoe, or golden, annexed to them; even His Majesty's person is never mentioned but in conjunction with this precious metal. When a subject means to affirm that the King has heard any thing, he says, "It has reached the golden ears;" he who has obtained admission to the royal presence, has been at the golden feet; the perfume of otto of roses, a nobleman observed one day, "was an odour grateful to the golden nose." Gold, among the Birmans, is the type of excellence: although highly valued, however, it is not used for coin in the country; it is employed sometimes in ornaments for the women, and in utensils and ear-rings for the men; but the greatest quantity is expended in gilding their temples, on which vast sums are continually lavished. The Birmans present the substance of their gods, and ascribe its qualities to their King.

After passing various sands and villages, we got to Yaynangheoum, or earth-oil (Petroleum) creek, about two hours past noon. The country now displayed an aspect differing from any we had yet seen; the surface was broken into small separate hills, entirely barren, and destitute of vegetation, except some stunted bushes that grew on the declivities, and in the dells, and a few unhealthy trees immediately in the neighbourhood of the villages: the clay was discoloured, and had the appearance of red ochre. We were informed, that the celebrated wells of Petroleum, which supply the whole empire, and many parts of India, with that useful product, were five miles to the east of this place. The Seree brought me a piece of stone, which he assured me was petrified wood, and which certainly had much the appearance of it. In walking about, I picked up several lumps of the same, in which the grain of the wood was plainly discernible; it was hard, siliceous, and seemed composed of different lamina. The Birmans said it was the nature of the soil that caused this transmutation; and added, that the petrifying quality of the earth at this place was such, that leaves of trees shaken off by the wind were not unfrequently changed into stone before they could be decayed by time. The face of the country was altered, and the banks of the river were totally barren; the ground was superficially covered with quartz-gravel, and concreted masses of the same material were thickly scattered. The mouth of the creek was crowded with large boats, waiting to receive a lading of oil; and immense pyramids of earthen jars were raised within and round the village, disposed in the same manner as shot and shells are piled in an arsenal. This place is inhabited only by potters, who carry on an extensive manufactory, and find full employment. The smell of the oil was extremely offensive; we saw several thousand jars filled with it ranged along the bank; some of these were continually breaking, and the contents, mingling with the sand, formed a very filthy consistence. Mr. Wood had the curiosity to walk to the wells: but, though I felt the same desire, I thought it prudent to postpone visiting them until my return, when I was likely to have more leisure, and to be less the object of observation.

At seven in the morning on the 5th of July, we left the neighbourhood of Earth-oil Wells. After passing Penkioum, where a small river unites with the Irrawaddy, the face of the country resumed its verdant appearance, and the trees shot up with  
their

their usual vigour. The bed of the river from bank to bank, was very wide; we judged it to be four miles; but the stream, being divided into different channels, formed low intermediate islands of sand, which are covered when the waters attain their utmost height. On the left we saw the town of Sembewghewn, whence there is a road that leads through the western hills into Arracan, which is accounted much the least difficult passage; this is the place to which all Bengal articles of merchandize imported by way of Arracan are brought, and are here embarked on the Irrawaddy. Shortly after we saw a large town on the eastern side, with several neat temples; it was called Pakang-yay: lofty palmyra, the tamarind, and banyan trees, spread a pleasant shade around it; here also were some heavy trading boats. The western shore seemed rich and level; we brought-to about six in the afternoon, a little below Sillah-mew, a large town remarkable for its manufactories of silk. The fleet had not long been moored when the retail merchants flocked down to the water side to dispose of their wares; they carried in lackered boxes pieces of silken cloth, and of silk and cotton mixed, which they offered for sale at what I considered a very high price. I was asked fifteen tackal, about 2l. sterling, for a piece of moderate fineness, five yards long, and barely one yard wide: they were mostly woven in patterns adapted to the Birman dresses. The silk, of which these goods are made, comes from Yunan, the south-west province of China: it is brought from Ummerapoorra to this place in a raw state, and is returned in the web. The colours are bright and beautiful, but do not appear to be durable; the texture is close and strong; and it wears, as I was informed, much longer than any China or Indian manufacture.

Sillah-mew is a handsome town, shaded by wide spreading trees, and embellished with several temples. A smooth bank sloping to the river, and clothed with the finest verdure, adds much to its beauty. The soil in general is but poor; some fields were regularly fenced, and cattle in large herds were grazing in the neighbourhood. Dr. Buchanan informed me that he saw the *crotonaria juncea* growing spontaneously, which would yield good hemp or flax.

On the sixth of July we made but little way; the current was violent, and the wind not strong enough to enable us to stem it: we were obliged to have recourse to poles, and were pushed forward with excessive labour by the boatmen; in one place where an island contracted the stream, we sent out an anchor a-head in a small cutter, and hauled on it by a hawser. The Arracan mountains appeared to the west, and a conspicuous hill, lofty, and of a conical form, called Poupa, was in sight to the eastward: a few villages, and many temples, skirted the banks. In the afternoon the fleet made fast to the eastern shore; there was neither town nor village nigh; it was about four miles below Seenghoo; and though we saw little cultivation, there were several herds of cattle. Dr. Buchanan, whose ardour for botanical researches often made me apprehensive for his safety, in wandering through the thickets in quest of plants, heard the report of a musket at a distance; on his approach to the spot, he found some peasants about to skin a bullock that had just been killed by a tiger: the shot had caused the animal to abandon his prey, and in its retreat it most fortunately took another way from that which the Doctor came. This was not the only time that his thirst after knowledge, and reliance upon his gun, led him into danger. A musket is a very precarious defence against the sudden assault of the most ferocious and terrible of all animals.

Whilst we were at tea, the Seree informed us, that further on there is a small river which enters the Irrawaddy, at a place called Yoo-wa, and that two days journey up this river is a large town called Yoo-miou; he observed also, that an

extensive tract of country is inhabited by a people called Yoo, whom he represented as exceedingly ugly, having protuberant bellies and white teeth. The Birmans, it is to be observed, both men and women, colour their teeth, their eyelashes, and the edges of their eyelids, with black \*. The Yooos are subjects of the Birman state, and observe the same religious worship; they speak the language of Tavay, which is nothing more than a provincial dialect of the Birman tongue.

We left our nightly station at the customary hour, and, favoured by a fair breeze, sailed through a country diversified by small barren hills, on which there was little vegetation, and by green fertile valleys, cultivated and laid out in farms. The petrifications, like those we found at Yaynangheoum, were frequent here: indigo was growing in one of the valleys. About twelve o'clock we came to a rocky point that projected far into the river, round which the current set with such excessive rapidity that our boats were a long time in getting past, and did not at length effect it without difficulty and some danger. The Maywoon obligingly sent his war-boats to our assistance. After we had surmounted this impediment, we came to a green level bank, where there was a wide range of pasturage, and many cattle feeding. Seenghoo is a large town; in its neighbourhood, and for a great distance along the eastern bank, small temples were built close to the river. We did not make much way in this day's journey, although our labour was great. In the evening we brought to near Keahoh, a poor village where the inhabitants get their livelihood by extracting molasses from the palmyra tree, of which they make tolerably good sugar.

Although the soil near the river is in most places unproductive and barren, yet, as we advanced northwards on the following day, population increased. Every little hill and rising ground was crowned with a temple; that of Logah-nundah is distinguished for its superior size; it is a clumsy inelegant mass of building, elevated on a semicircular terrace; the base is painted with different colours, and the cupola is richly gilded.

Leaving the temple of Logah-nundah, we approached the once magnificent city of Pagahm. We could see little more from the river than a few straggling houses, which bore the appearance of having once been a connected street: in fact, scarcely any thing remains of ancient Pagahm, except its numerous mouldering temples, and the vestiges of an old brick fort, the ramparts of which are still to be traced. The town of Neoundah, about four miles to the north, which may be called a continuation of Pagahm, has flourished in proportion as the latter has decayed. We passed a small river named in the days of splendour, Shoe-kiaung, or the Golden Stream: here we spent a night, rendered unpleasant by the stormy weather.

We reached Neoundah early on the 9th of July. At this place the deputation from the capital, of which I had been apprized by the Shawbunder, was waiting my arrival. The Seree informed me, that a temporary house, which I saw on a clear piece of ground about 100 yards from the brink, had been erected as a compliment to me; it was much larger than that which the Maywoon had prepared at Meeaday. Early in the afternoon I left my boat, and was received at the house by the Birman officers with every formal testimony of respect; on a part of the floor, elevated a few inches, a carpet was spread, on which I took my seat. The principal person of the deputation was a Woondock, or junior counsellor of state; the others were the

\* This custom is not confined to the Birmans, particularly the operation of colouring the eyelashes; the women of Hindostan and Persia commonly practise it; they deem it beneficial as well as becoming. The collyrium they use is called *surma*, the Persian name of antimony.

governor of a district called Miengdong north of Ava, the governor of Pein-keing bordering on China, and the commandant of the Siamese guards. The Woondock was a lively man, about forty-five years old; the rest appeared of more advanced age, not less than sixty-five or seventy: they all wore the tialoe, or chain of nobility. The Woondock, though from his station he had the precedence of the rest, yet was not of such high rank as the two governors. The utmost decorum was preserved at this meeting; the Woondock spoke in the name of the others, and Baba-Sheen interpreted in the language of Hindostan. After pompously expatiating upon the honour which His Birman majesty had been pleased to confer on me, by sending a deputation to welcome me, and a barge with war boats to tow it, he asked some trivial questions, and offered his services to procure whatever we stood in need of. Having discoursed for a short time, a band of music and a company of dancing girls were introduced; drums, gongs, the Indian syrinda, or guitar, the Birman harp and fiddle, with loud and harsh clarionets, almost deafened us with their noise. Among the dancers, one girl much excelled her companions in symmetry of form and elegance of movement; she was richly dressed, and in shewing the modes of dancing practised in different countries, displayed a fine person to great advantage. The manner of Cassay is most consonant to the English taste, in which the time varies suddenly from quick to slow. The entertainment, however, seemed entirely lost upon the elders, who sat in solemn insensibility, chewing their beetle nut, and regarding with profound gravity the voluptuous attitudes of a very beautiful woman. The amusement did not end till past nine o'clock. I directed a few pieces of silver to be distributed among the musicians and dancers. The Birman officers retired without ceremony, and we passed the night on board our respective boats.

The next morning I was again visited in form, with the additional honour of the company of the Maywoon of Pegue, a compliment which, either from pride or policy, he had never before condescended to pay; the Woondock, however, was here his superior. We conversed for an hour on indifferent subjects, and the Maywoon informed his friends that Dr. Buchanan was a botanist, and had made several drawings of plants. On a wish being expressed to see them, the Doctor obligingly gratified their curiosity with a sight of some that had been executed by the Bengal painter, under his own inspection; these were instantly recognised by the Birmans, who mentioned the names of the originals: they are themselves fond of vegetable productions, which they use very generally in medicine. About eleven o'clock the assembly broke up, and it was settled that we should pursue our journey on the following day.

The remaining time was spent in viewing as much of this once flourishing city as the shortness of our stay would admit. On entering the town, we came into a long, narrow, winding street, about thirty feet wide; the houses were built of bamboo, and raised from the ground: this street was full of shops, containing no other articles than lackered ware: boxes, trays, cups, &c. varnished in a very neat manner, were displayed in the front of the shops; they were of various colours; some had figures painted on them, others wreaths of flowers. Leaving this street, we crossed a water-course on a good wooden bridge, and came to the bazar, or provision market: the green-stalls seemed to be well provided with rice, pulse, greens, garlic, onions, and fruit; there were also fresh fish, Gnapee, and dead lizards, which latter the Birmans account a delicacy: but there was not any meat. In our progress, we passed over another bridge, and saw several streets running in parallel lines; some of these were inhabited by carriers, whose cattle were feeding on rice straw round their houses. Having reached the extremity of the town in this direction, we came upon a well paved road, that led

to the great temple named Shoezeegoon, to which we proceeded. On each side of the road there was a range of small temples, neglected and in ruins: the kioums, or monasteries, were in good repair, and we saw some handsome houses for the accommodation of strangers. Shoezeegoon is neither so large nor so well built as the temples at Rangoon or Pegue; the height does not exceed 150 feet: it is surrounded by a spacious area paved with broad flags, on which there are a number of lesser buildings, profusely gilded, and laboriously carved. A staircase on the outside leads up to a gallery, about a third of the height of the principal temple, whence we had an extensive prospect of the country, which appeared to be exceedingly unproductive and barren: the ruins of innumerable religious buildings were to be seen in every direction, which cover a space of ground not less than six or seven miles along the river, and three miles inland. Pagahm is said to have been the residence of forty-five successive monarchs, and was abandoned 500 years ago in consequence of a divine admonition: whatever may be its true history, it certainly was once a place of no ordinary splendour. Returning by a different way, we walked through an alley occupied by blacksmiths' shops, furnished with bill-hooks, spike nails, adzes, &c. A little farther on we saw the ruins of a street that had been consumed by fire only two days before: from seventy to eighty houses were destroyed by the conflagration. It was the Tackally, and the sufferers were the already wretched, the miserable public prostitutes.

In the afternoon I directed my walk southward, and was much surprized at the number of religious edifices I beheld. They differ in structure from those which we had seen in the lower provinces; instead of a slender spire rising to a great height from an expanded base, the temples of Pagahm, in general, carry up a heavy breadth to very near the top, and then come abruptly to a point, which give a clumsy appearance to the buildings. Many of the most ancient temples at this place are not solid at the bottom; a well arched dome supports a ponderous superstructure; within, an image of Gaudma sits enshrined; four Gothic doorways open into the dome: in one of these I saw a human figure standing erect, which the Seree\* told me was Gaudma; and another of the same personage lying on his right side asleep, both of gigantic stature. The divinity, however, is rarely to be found in these attitudes; the posture in which he is generally depicted is sitting cross-legged on a pedestal, adorned with representations of the leaf of the sacred lotus carved upon the base; the left hand of the image rests upon his lap, and the right is pendent. Passing through the suburbs, we came to a part where the inhabitants were employed in expressing oil from the sesamum seed: the grain is put into a deep wooden trough, in which it is pressed by an upright timber fixed in a frame; the force is increased by a long lever, on the extremity of which a man sits and guides a bullock that moves in a circle, thus turning and pressing the seed at the same time: the machine was simple, and answered the purpose effectually. There were not less than 200 of these mills within a narrow compass. From the circumstance of the cattle being in good order, we concluded that they were fed on the seed after the oil was extracted. The land about Pagahm scarcely yields sufficient vegetation to nourish goats.

\* I suspect the authenticity of my information on this point, which, I imagine, proceeded from ignorance in the Seree. Of these figures, which he called Gaudma, I conceive the one erect to be the Hindoo Ananda, the other, Nà-rà-yàn, sleeping on the waters.

CHAP. IX.—*Embark on board the royal Barge. — Leave Pagahm. — Singular Caves. — Birman Hermits. — Pass Sirraykioum. — Gnerrouth. — Country populous. — Shwayedong. — Keonzec. — Toucheec. — Lapac, or pickled Tea. — Kiouptain, or Line of Rocks. — Tanoundain. — Tirroup-mew, or Chinese Town. — The Keenduem a large River. — Cassay Boatmen. — Taudaboo. — Manufactory of Earthen-ware. — Summeikioum. — Manufactory of Saltpetre and Gunpowder. — Gnameagbee. — Tobacco Plantations. — Sandabt, or Elephant Village. — Mcabmoo. — Yapadain. — The Shwabunder returns. — Kiouptaloun. — Periodical Risings of the River. — Ancient Ava: — description of it. — Temple of Shoegunga Praw. — Beautiful Situation of Chagain. — Appearance of Ummerapora, the Capital. — Tounzemahn. — Spacious Lake—Residence of the British Deputation, and Reception on our landing.*

AT nine o'clock in the morning of the 11th of July I took possession of the royal barge with ceremonious formality, accompanied by the Woondock and Baba-Sheen. The platform on the outside contained space for thirty-two rowers, sixteen on each side; but on this occasion the oars were not fastened, as it was meant to be drawn by war boats: the inside was divided into three small apartments, handsomely fitted up; the roof and sides were lined with white cotton, and the floor covered with carpets and fine mats. I proceeded in this barge till one o'clock, and then returned to my own boat, which was a much more convenient though less dignified conveyance.

After leaving Neoundah the eastern bank of the river rises to a perpendicular height, eighty or one hundred feet above the river. In the side of the cliff, rather more than half way up, we saw some apertures resembling doorways, and were told that they were entrances into caves which had formerly been inhabited by hermits, who, desirous of withdrawing from the world, had excavated these abodes with their own hands, and dwelt in them for the remainder of their lives, preserving no farther intercourse with their fellow creatures than what was necessary to receive their food, which was lowered down to them by a rope. The Birmans do not inflict on themselves disgusting tortures after the manner of the Hindoos, but they deem it meritorious to mortify the flesh by the voluntary penance of abstemiousness and self denial. Solitary seclusion has, at some period or other, been accounted praiseworthy in most countries: during the reign of monkish superstition it prevailed very commonly throughout Europe: our legendary tales are not wholly unfounded: the Hermit of Warkworth is said to have had its origin from a fact. Birmans, however, though bigotted, are not gloomy, and are in general blessed with a disposition too cheerful to retire from the world in hopeless despondency, or sullen discontent.

Our journey this day was slow, and we perceived little that differed from what has already been described: the islands formed by the river were long, and succeeded each other with such small intervals, that the full breadth of the river, from bank to bank, seldom could be seen; we judged it to be in most places three miles wide: our boats kept near the eastern shore, and passed, on that side, the towns of Sirraykioum and Gnerrouth. During the latter part of the day, the country seemed fertile, and the soil richer than in the neighbourhood of Pagahm; the number of inhabitants and cattle denoted a considerable population. In the evening we brought to near Shwayedong, a small but neat town, containing about 300 houses ranged in a regular street; each dwelling had a small garden, fenced with a bamboo railing. Two monasteries and a few small temples did not claim particular notice, but the tall and wide-spreading trees that over-shadowed them were objects of pleasing contemplation.

On the next day, July 12th, we continued our journey, sometimes going fast, at others slow and with difficulty, as the wind favoured us, the reaches of the river winding so much that we had it on all quarters. Keozee, on the eastern side, was the place of most consequence, and was ornamented with several neat temples. At half past five in the evening I went on shore, and found the adjacent country divided into fields, which, at a proper season, are cultivated; the remains of a tobacco plantation, that had produced a crop in the former year, were yet lying on the ground: detached hills appeared to the eastward. We brought-to, and spent the night near a small village called Toucheac, to the north of Yebbay. Here the inhabitants get their livelihood by felling læpac, or pickled tea-leaf, of which the Birmans are extremely fond. The plant, I was informed, grows at a place called Palong-miou, a district to the north-east of Ummerapoorā; it is very inferior to the tea produced in China, and is seldom used but as a pickle.

On the following day we kept close to the eastern shore, and the breadth of the river being in most places from three to five miles, it was not easy minutely to distinguish objects on the western bank. The country, as we advanced north, increased in population, and improved in agriculture; the land every where indicated a deficiency of rain, being parched, and broken into deep fissures, owing to the want of moisture. We understood that the season had been remarkably dry; rain, however, was shortly expected. The river, notwithstanding the failure of the monsoon, continued to rise. We passed, on the eastern side, Kiouptaun, or the Line of Rocks, Tanoundain, a respectable town, with several other towns and villages. In the evening we brought-to at an island opposite Tirroup-mew, or Chinese City: there is a small district that bears the same name, called so in commemoration of a victory gained here over an army of Chinese that invaded the Birman empire some centuries ago, at the period when Pagahm was the seat of government; whence it appears, that the Chinese have long considered this kingdom as a desirable conquest, and have made more than one fruitless attempt to accomplish its subjection.

The next day we stopped five miles above Tirroup-mew, where the Keenduem mingles its waters with those of the Irrawaddy: this great river comes from the north-west, and divides the country of Cassay from that of Ava. The Birmans say, that it has its source in a lake three months' journey to the northward; it is navigable, as far as the Birman territories extend, for vessels of burthen. An intelligent man belonging to Dr. Buchanan's boat informed him, that the most distant town in the possession of the Birmans on the Keenduem, was named Nakioung, and the first Shaan town\* was called Thangdat. The entrance of the Keenduem seemed somewhat less than a mile wide: the Irrawaddy, immediately above the junction, became much narrower; but I imagine a stream was concealed, and that what appeared to be the limits of the river was the bank of an island formed by another branch.

In the men who rowed the war-boats that accompanied the barge from Ummerapoorā, I had remarked features differing much from the other boatmen, and a softness of countenance that resembled more the Bengal than the Birman character of face; on inquiry, I learned that they were Cassayers, or the sons of Cassayers, who had been brought away from their native country, at times when the Birmans carried their predatory incursions across the Keenduem. Eastern invaders who do not intend to occupy

\* Shaan, or Shan, is a very comprehensive term given to different nations, some independent, others the subjects of the greater states: thus the Birmans frequently mention the Melap-Shaan, or Shaan subject to the Birmans; the Yoodra-Shaan, subject to the Siamese; the Cassay-Shaan, to the Cassayers.

the territories they overrun, usually adopt the policy of conveying away the inhabitants, particularly children, whom they establish within their own dominions, and thus acquire additional strength by augmenting the number of their subjects. This has been a practice of Asiatic warfare from time immemorial: the last contest of the English with Hyder Ally depopulated the Carnatic. Children, until they attain a certain age, may be transplanted with safety, and will assimilate to any soil: but after arriving at the years of maturity, the most lenient treatment will hardly reconcile the human mind to coercive detention in a foreign country. The spot where a person has passed the tender years of life, the long remembered and impressive interval between infancy and manhood, be it where it may, is ever dear to him. I should willingly have conversed with the Cassay boat people respecting their nation, but my situation forbade me either to gratify my own curiosity, or sanction the enquiries of others.

At ten o'clock we reached the town of Yandaboo, remarkable for its manufactories of earthen-ware; and in the course of the day we passed many towns and villages, on each side agreeably shaded by trees, particularly by the palmyra and the tamarind. Early in the evening we brought-to in a creek which leads up to a large town named Summei-kioum: after dinner Dr. Buchanan and myself took a walk along the margin of the creek, which carried us to the town by a wide circuit: we found the houses, though numerous, mean, and very irregularly built; the grounds in the neighbourhood were embanked for the cultivation of rice. The soil appeared to be good, but the inhabitants expressed the utmost anxiety on the subject of rain; not a drop had yet fallen here, although in the common course of seasons the monsoon should have commenced three weeks earlier. The poor people were carefully husbanding their rice-straw for the support of their cattle, large herds of which were endeavouring to pick up a subsistence from the parched blades of grass, in fields that were covered with dust instead of verdure. The appearance of these animals bespoke excessive poverty, if not actual famine.

At Summei-kioum there is the greatest manufactory of saltpetre and gunpowder in the kingdom: here also is prepared the gunpowder that is required for the royal magazines: it is the sole occupation of the inhabitants. Neither saltpetre nor gunpowder are suffered to be exported under any plea, nor can the smallest quantity be sold without a special licence from some man in power.

Early in the morning we left the neighbourhood of gunpowder and saltpetre: temples and villages lined the banks so thickly that it would be tedious to enumerate them. At nine o'clock we stopped at Gnameaghee, celebrated for producing the best tobacco in the Birman empire; many brick-kilns were on fire, preparing materials for building temples, of which there appeared to be already a sufficient number. Pursuing our journey, we passed numerous islands, some of them were cultivated, and had houses, inhabitants, and trees. Towards evening the wind suddenly rose to a storm; Mr. Wood and myself reached Sandaht, or Elephant Village; Dr. Buchanan's boat could not make head against wind and stream, and dropped an anchor; perceiving his situation, I dispatched one of the war-boats to his aid, when the united efforts of both crews soon brought him in safety to the fleet. Sandaht is a small town, which, together with the lands adjacent, is occupied entirely by the elephant-keepers belonging to the royal stables. The King is the sole proprietor of all the elephants in his dominions, and the privilege to ride on or keep one of these animals is an honour granted only to men of the very first rank and consequence: His Birman Majesty is said to possess 6000. In India, female elephants are prized beyond males, on account of their being more tractable: but in Ava it is the reverse; females are never used on state occasions,

occasions, and seldom for ordinary riding, which causes the other sex to be of much higher value: it rarely happens, however; that either one or the other is to be purchased; the King's exclusive right, and the limited use that is made of them, prevent their becoming an article of common sale.

We set out at an early hour next morning; Meahmoo, on the western side, appeared from the water to be a large town, shaded by groves of palmyra trees: it is remarkable for a manufactory of coarse chequered cotton cloth, such as is worn by the lower class of people. Yapadain, a town on the eastern side, was distinguished by several temples, and a handsome monastery. About twelve o'clock the Shawbunder, who, after the interview at Loonghee had returned to Ava, again met us; he had travelled with great expedition, having been at court, and made his report: the present visit was a spontaneous act of civility; he possessed a small jaghire, or personal estate, in the neighbourhood, where he had prepared some refreshments, of which he requested I would stop to partake. I complied with his desire, and accompanied him to a bower formed in a clump of bamboos on the bank of the river, and shaded from the sun by an artificial awning of grass: here we found a profusion of fruits, milk, butter, and preserves, in dishes laid out on carpets; a company of dancing girls and musicians from a neighbouring village entertained us with their music and graces. I remained as short a time as was consistent with civility, and then pursued my voyage. We passed in our progress several populous villages, pleasantly situated, and adorned with well-inclosed gardens and orchards of plantain, guava, and other fruit-trees. At night we brought-to at Kiouptaloum, where a large temple, surrounded by several small buildings, was the only object that merited particular attention.

Next day we got under way at the customary hour, and made but slow progress, the wind heading us so far that the square sails of the Birman boats could not keep full; oars and poles were plied with vigour. The river, which, though it had not yet risen to its utmost periodical height, had overflowed its banks, filled all the watercourses, and inundated the low grounds adjacent to its bed. As the force of the current lay in the middle of the stream, in order to avoid its influence we frequently navigated through fields, in which the tall grass and reeds appeared above the surface of the water, and the trees had their stems immersed beneath the flood. The swelling of the Irrawaddy is not influenced by the quantity of rain which falls in the vallies, but by the torrents that rush down from the mountains. Notwithstanding the drought in the champaign country had been greater this year than usual, the river was swollen to its regular height, which, I was informed, it rarely fell short of or exceeded: indeed, this part of the country is seldom refreshed by copious rains, but, like Egypt, depends on the overflowing of its river to fertilize the soil. The Irrawaddy, during the monsoon months, rises and subsides three or four times. As our distance from Ummrapoora diminished, towns and villages on each side recurred at such short intervals, that it was in vain to enquire the name of each distinct assemblage of houses; each, however, had its name, and was for the most part inhabited by one particular class of people, professing some separate trade, or following some peculiar occupation. We were shewn a tomb erected to the memory of a person of high distinction, who had been accidentally drowned near that place fifteen years before; it was an oblong brick building, one story high, with eight or nine doors opening towards the river. Many beautiful temples and kioums would have engaged our attention had we not already seen such numbers, and been assured that all we had viewed fell far short of those which we should have an opportunity of beholding at the capital. We brought-to late in the evening, at the lower landing-place of what was once the city of Ava, and the metropolis of all the Birman empire.

In the morning I took a hasty view of Aungwa, or Ava; it is divided into an upper and lower city, both of which are fortified: the lower, which is the most extensive, I judged to be about four miles in circumference; it is protected by a wall thirty feet high, at the foot of which there is a deep and broad fosse. The communication between the fort and the country is over a mound of earth crossing the ditch, that supports a causeway; an embankment of earth in the inside sustains the wall; the upper or smaller fort, which may be called the citadel, and does not exceed a mile in circuit, was much stronger and more compact than the lower; but neither the upper nor the lower had a ditch on the side of the river. The walls are now mouldering into decay; ivy clings to the sides, and bushes suffered to grow at the bottom, undermine the foundation, and have already caused large chasms in the different faces of the fort. The materials of the houses, consisting chiefly of wood, had, on the first order for removing, been transported to the new city of Ummerapoora: but the ground, unless where it is covered with bushes or rank grass, still retains traces of former buildings and streets. The lines of the royal palace, of the Lotoo, or grand council hall, the apartments of the women, and the spot on which the piasath, or imperial spire, had stood, were pointed out to us by our guide. Clumps of bamboos, a few plantain trees, and tall thorns, occupy the greater part of the area of this lately flourishing capital. We observed two dwelling houses of brick and mortar, the roofs of which had fallen in; these, our guide said, had belonged to colars, or foreigners: on entering one, we found it inhabited only by bats, which flew in our faces, whilst our sense of smelling was offended by their filth, and by the noisome mildew that hung upon the walls. Numerous temples on which the Birman never lay sacrilegious hands, were dilapidating by time. It is impossible to draw a more striking picture of desolation and ruin.

Among the religious buildings within the fort, one named Shoegunga Praw, noways distinguished for size or splendour, was in former times held peculiarly sacred, and is still revered above the rest. At the present day, when an officer of rank is about to enter on a great public trust, or a new commander is appointed to the army, the oath of allegiance is administered in this temple with great solemnity, a breach of which is considered the most heinous crime that a Birman can be guilty of, and is invariably punished by the severest tortures. How Shoegunga obtained this distinction I was not able to learn. We were informed that a temple of much greater magnitude, named Logatherpoo Praw, stood a short distance to the westward of the fort, in which was a colossal figure of Gaudma, formed out of a solid block of marble. This temple and image we had a better opportunity of viewing on our return.

Leaving Ava in our rear, the river bends again to the northward, when the opposite city of Chagain, and the spires, the turrets, and the lofty piasath of Ummerapoora, create an unexpected pleasure, and exhibit a fine contrast to the gloomy and deserted walls of Ava. Chagain, on the north side, once too the seat of imperial residence, is situated partly at the foot and partly on the side of a rugged hill that is broken into separate eminences, and on the summit of each stands a spiral temple; these temples, rising irregularly one above another to the top of the mountain, form a beautiful assemblage of objects, the effect of which is increased by their being carefully whitewashed and kept in repair. As we sailed near the opposite shore the sun shone full upon the hill, and its reflected rays displayed the scenery to the highest advantage; in addition to this, the swollen state of the river gave to the waters the semblance of a vast lake, interspersed with islands, in which the foundations of Ummerapoora seemed to be immersed. Numberless boats were passing up and down, and the houses on the western,

or rather southern shore, appeared, from their uninterrupted succession, to be a continued town, or the suburbs of a city.

At twelve o'clock we came to the mouth of the channel that communicates with the lake of Tounzemahn, through which it receives its waters from the river. The situation of Ummerapooora has already been described; the southern face of the fort is washed, during the rainy season, by the waves of the lake, and the houses of the city and suburbs extend along the bank as far as the extreme point of land. Across the lake, and opposite to the fort, stands the small village of Tounzemahn, near which, in a tall grove of mango, palmyra, and cocoa-nut trees, a dwelling was prepared for the British deputation. On entering the lake, the number of boats that were moored, as in a harbour, to avoid the influence of the sweeping flood, the singularity of their construction, the height of the waters, which threaten inundation to the whole city, and the amphitheatre of lofty hills that nearly surrounded us, altogether presented a novel scene, exceedingly interesting to a stranger. We rowed towards the grove, whilst the greater part of the fleet went to the opposite side: on reaching the bank, I perceived a war-boat belonging to the Maywoon of Pegue, who, I understood, was at the grove waiting our arrival. I was received on landing by Baba-Sheen, and some inferior officers; they accompanied me to the house, which was situated about three hundred yards from the brink of the lake, overshadowed by lofty trees, that completely defended it from the meridian sun. When we came to the entrance of the virando, or balcony, the Maywoon of Pegue, the governor of Bamoo, a province bordering on China, and the Woondock before mentioned, welcomed me to the capital. Being seated on carpets spread along the floor, the conversation turned on general topics, and particularly on European geography, a subject on which the governor of Bamoo appeared very desirous of information. After some time, the Woondock, addressing himself to me, said, that His Birman Majesty had been absent a few months, at a country residence named Meengoung, where he was erecting a magnificent temple to their divinity Gaudma, but was expected to return soon to Ummerapooora; that in the mean time instructions had been given to his ministers to provide every thing requisite for the accommodation of the English gentlemen, and that Baba-Sheen was commanded to reside near us, in order to supply our wants, and to communicate our wishes: to this the Maywoon of Pegue added, that the two inferior Serees, or provincial under secretaries, who had accompanied us from Rangoon, were likewise directed to attend to our orders; and being persons to whom we were accustomed, would probably be more agreeable to us than entire strangers.

These polite and hospitable attentions were received and acknowledged by me with real satisfaction; nor was it at all diminished by the freedom with which the Woondock informed me, that it was contrary to the etiquette of the Birman court, for a public minister from a foreign nation to go abroad before his first audience. He therefore hoped I would not cross the lake in person, or suffer any of my people to do so, until the ceremonials were past; but as our customs differed from theirs, and the Europeans habituated themselves to take exercise, I was at full liberty to walk or ride into the country, or over the plains that lay between our dwelling and the hills, as far as I thought proper; recommending to me, at the same time, not to go to any great distance, as it would be considered by the common people in the light of a derogation from my own consequence. I thanked him for his counsel, which was delivered with many expressions of civility, and readily acquiesced in what he assured me was an established custom.

This usage of debarring a public minister from entering the capital previous to his first formal presentation, I understood, was neither recent nor uncommon; it has long been the known practice of the Birman and Siamese governments; Monsieur Loubere makes mention of it in his Account of an Embassy to Siam, sent from the court of Louis the Fourteenth. It is founded on that cautious policy which governs all nations eastward of India in their intercourse with foreign states.

CHAP. X. — *Place of Residence described. — Deputation from China provincial, not imperial. — Rboom, a Building sometimes attached to private Houses — Reason of it. — Munificence of the Birman Government. — Letter from General Erskine — opened by the Birman Minister — Apology. — Appearance of the adjacent Country — parched for Want of Rain. — Cassay Farmers. — Women industrious — row the Boats — fond of singing. — Chinese Music discordant and troublesome. — Indolence of the Chinese. — King returns to the Capital. — Eclipse of the Moon. — Reason of Delay. — Pride of the Court — its Punctilioufness. — Letter from the Governor General translated. — Present a Memorial. — Embassies usually consist of three Members. — Visit from the junior Deputies from China. — Whimsical Ceremony. — Return the Visit. — Subject of Conversation.*

AS soon as my visitors took their leave, I made a survey of our new habitation; it was a spacious house of one story, raised from the ground somewhat more than two feet, and better covered than Birman houses usually are: it consisted of two good sized rooms and a large virando, or balcony: the partitions and walls were made of cane mats, with latticed windows in the sides; the shape of the roof was such as distinguishes the houses of nobles: it was altogether a comfortable habitation, and well adapted to the climate. Mr. Wood had a smaller house erected behind mine, and parallel to it; and Dr. Buchanan another at right angles. Small separate huts were constructed for the guard, and for our attendants; the whole was surrounded by a strong bamboo paling, which inclosed a court-yard. There were two entrances by gates, one in front of my house, the other backwards; at each of these, on the outside of the paling, was a shed, in which a Birman guard was posted, to protect us from thieves, keep off the populace, and probably to watch and report our movements.

On the skirts of the same grove, in a line with our dwelling, similar houses were erected for three Chinese deputies, who had arrived at Ummerapooora about two months before us: these personages were represented as composing a royal mission from the imperial city of Peking; but circumstances early led me to suspect that their real character did not rise higher than that of a provincial deputation from Manchegee, or Yunan, the south-west province of China, which borders on the kingdom of Ava: a conjecture that was afterwards confirmed. They had accompanied the Governor of Bamoo, which is the frontier province, to the capital; and I understood that their business was to adjust some mercantile concerns relating to the jee, or mart, where the commodities of the two empires are brought and bartered. It was not at all improbable, that the mission had been sanctioned by the authority of the Emperor of China, especially as the principal member of it was a native of Peking, and had lately come from thence: but the false pride of the Birman court suggested the

puerile \* expedient of representing it to us as an imperial embassy ; a distinction to which, I was privately informed from an authentic source, it possessed no pretensions whatever. The members, however, were treated apparently with much personal respect and attention.

The building denominated Rhoom has already been described as the official hall of justice, where the members of provincial governments and all municipal officers, are accustomed to assemble for the transaction of public business. Every man of high rank in the Birman empire is a magistrate, and has a place of this description and name contiguous to his dwelling ; but always on the outside of the enclosure of his court-yard, and not surrounded by any fence or railing, in order to manifest publicity, and shew that it is the seat of majesty and justice, to which all mankind may have free access. An imperial mandate to a governor, or an order from a governor to a petty miougee, or chief of a small town or district, is invariably opened and read aloud in this sanctified hall. The Birman government in the administration of public affairs, suffers no such thing as privacy or concealment. The rhoom is likewise an appendage of dignity, as it denotes him to whose habitation it is annexed to be a person of rank and consequence : a building of this sort was erected within a few yards of the front gate of our inclosure.

For two days after our landing, the boatmen and servants were employed in transporting our baggage from the boats to the house, and our time was chiefly taken up in arranging the domestic economy of our new residence, in which we found a liberal provision of all such necessaries as the natives themselves require ; my rooms were carpeted, but the chairs, tables, &c. were my own. Rice, gee (clarified butter), firewood, and pots for dressing victuals, were supplied to our people in abundance. A few stalls, or petty shops, were established in the grove, to afford the smaller ingredients of cookery, such as greens, spices, salt, tamarinds, &c. Here also tobacco and beetle leaf were sold ; and to enable our attendants to purchase such articles, one hundred tackal, about 12l. sterling, were distributed amongst them : this was an act of munificence which I with great difficulty avoided the obligation of, in my own person ; but no remonstrance could prevail on the Birman officer to dispense with it in the instance of our domestics.

The delinquent refugees, of whom mention has been made in a former part of this work as having been surrendered by order of the governor-general, to the justice of their country, had reached Ummerapooa some weeks previous to our arrival. The Birman guard that escorted them had brought a letter directed to me from General Erskine, the English commander at Chittigong ; this letter the Birman minister, as it was alleged, through mistake, but more probably by design, caused to be opened, and procured a translation from an Armenian interpreter. The circumstance was reported to the King, who ordered that the letter should be safely deposited in the Lotoo, and given to me on my arrival : the royal injunctions were punctually obeyed ; an officer, in his dress of ceremony, brought it over. A proposal was first made, that I should go myself to the rhoom, solicit its restoration, receive it as an act of grace,

\* The Chinese seem to have been actuated by a policy equally absurd, when they informed Sir George Staunton, at the time of the formal introduction of Lord Macartney, that " Ambassadors from Pegue" were present ; and that " Siam, Ava, and Pegue were tributary to China : " such unworthy deceptions, not being expected, could hardly be guarded against. The courts of Ava and Pekin appear to resemble each other in many points ; but in none more than in their vanity, which often manifests itself in a manner not less ridiculous than contemptible.

and do homage to the King, by bowing with my face towards the palace. From this I entirely dissented, as the cause of complaint was with me, and confidence had in some measure been violated by their breaking the feal. I do not imagine that the proposition originated from any authority, as it was immediately given up, and the letter, in a silk wrapper, was formally presented to me on a tray, by the officer who conveyed it across the lake.

Being now comfortably lodged, we had leisure to take a view of the circumjacent country, and observe the objects that immediately surrounded us. Behind the grove in which we lived was a smooth extensive plain, intersected by the embankments of what, in the past year, had been fields of rice, but which promised, this season, to be an unproductive waste, owing to the uncommon drought: notwithstanding the spot we were on was elevated very little above the present level of the lake, which had now nearly reached its utmost height, yet the ground was parched up, and divided into chasms from want of moisture. Dark and rugged mountains, about eight miles distant, bounded the prospect to the south-west: several small villages were scattered over the plain, and on the skirts of the grove, inhabited, as we were informed, by native Cassayers, or the descendants of Cassayers, who had been carried into captivity by the Birman invaders during their predatory expeditions across the Keendeum.

The Seree who accompanied me said, that these people, whom he called Munniporeans, from Munnipore, the capital of Cassay, were in general become reconciled to their state of servitude, owing to their having been brought away very young from their own country: the superior industry and skill which they possess over the Birmans in different branches of handicraft, supplied them with a comfortable subsistence. Those in our neighbourhood were farmers and gardeners, who cultivated pulse, greens, onions, and such vegetables as Birmans use; these articles they transport at an early hour across the lake to the city, where they retail them in the market, and bring home the produce at night; this business is mostly performed by females; one man, commonly a person in years, accompanies each boat, in which, standing erect, he acts as steersman, whilst the women, usually from ten to fourteen in number, sitting with their legs across, row short oars, or use paddles, according to the size of the vessel: when they set out in a morning, they proceed in silence; but returning at night they join in jocund chorus, and time the stroke of their oars to the bars of their song. We were serenaded every evening from dusk till ten o'clock by successive parties of these joyous females, whose strains, though unpolished, were always melodious and pleasing. The Birmans, both men and women, are fond of singing whilst at work: it lightens their labour: "song sweetens toil, how rude so'er the sound." Unfortunately our music was not confined to these passing chantresses; there were other performers, less agreeable, nearer to us. Our neighbours, the deputies from China, unluckily for the repose of those from Britain, happened to be amateurs in their way, and had amongst their dependants a select band of musicians, such as I certainly had never heard equalled; it is impossible to describe the horrible noises that issued from gongs, drums, cymbals, an instrument with two strings, which may be called a fiddle, and something like a clarinet, that sent forth a sound more grating to the ear than all the rest. This was their constant nocturnal amusement, which never ended before midnight, and was not once remitted till the principal personage of the embassy became so indisposed that he could endure it no longer. Whilst he lingered, we enjoyed tranquillity; but after his decease the concert recommenced,  
and

and continued, to our great annoyance, till they quitted the grove to return to their native country.

The opposite habits of different nations were here strikingly evinced in the dissimilarity between the manners of the English and those of the Chinese; the latter never left the precincts of their habitation, or manifested a desire to leave it, except to loll in easy chairs, and smoke their long pipes in the cool of the evening on the margin of the lake, about two or three hundred yards in front of their house. The English gentlemen accustomed themselves either to walk or ride three or four miles in the morning before breakfast, and the same distance in the afternoon, a circumstance that did not escape the notice of the Birmans. My customary route was in a southern direction, over pathways that led through rice fields, in my return making a circuit along the green border of the lake. Although there was not the least cause to apprehend either injury or insolence, I was always attended in my excursions by six or eight soldiers, and by as many of my private servants, armed with sabres, who seemed to attract no less notice than myself. When I met any of the natives, particularly women, they squatted down into the posture of respect. As soon as the novelty of my appearance had a little worn off, I was told that they were still anxious to know why a person consulting his own amusement, and master of his own time, should walk so fast; but on being informed that I was "a Colar," or stranger, and that it was the custom of my country, they were reconciled to this as well as to every other act that did not coincide with their own prejudices and usage.

In a few days the return of the King was announced by the discharge of rockets, and by the general bustle that so important an event caused among all classes of people: we saw nothing of the display; which we understood, on this occasion, was not at all pompous.

The period of our arrival occurred at a juncture that supplied the Birman court with a plausible excuse for postponing the consideration of public business, and delaying my formal reception, as well as the delivery of the letter from the governor-general to the King. It so happened, that in the ensuing month there was to be an eclipse of the moon, an operation of nature which they ascribe to the interference of a malignant demon. On such an occasion, affairs of state, and all important matters of business that will admit of procrastination, are put off to the following month. The astrologers were assembled to consult on the first fortunate day after the lapse of that inauspicious moon, when they discovered that the seventeenth of the month Touzelien, corresponding with the 30th of August, was the earliest that would occur, and that day was accordingly appointed for the public reception of the English embassy.

Caution and policy had, perhaps, as great a share with the Birmans as superstition, in thus retarding the ceremony of our introduction: it was to them a novel incident; they were desirous to penetrate thoroughly into the objects we had in view, before any part of the subject came into formal discussion. They might probably also wish to have an opportunity to judge of our national character, and to determine, from our conduct, in what manner to regulate their own: if such were their motives, they were consistent with that sagacity which I found invariably displayed by the Birman government in all its resolutions and acts of a public nature.

But the prevailing characteristic of the Birman court is pride; like the sovereign of China, His Majesty of Ava acknowledges no equal; indeed it is the fixed principle of all nations eastward of Bengal, to consider foreign ministers as suppliants come to solicit protection, not as representatives who may demand redress; rather as vassals to render  
homage,

homage, than as persons vested with authority to treat on equal terms. Of this system I was early apprized, and felt no disappointment at hearing of a general rumour current among the higher ranks of Birman, that a deputy had arrived from the English government, bearing tribute for their King. Reports of this nature were no otherwise regarded, than as an admonition to regulate my actions with scrupulous circumspection.

Amongst other regulations of this punctilious court, I was given to understand, that it was not customary for the King to receive any letter in a formal manner without being previously apprized of its contents. This created some difficulty in respect to the letter from the governor-general, which was at length surmounted by an agreement on my part to admit of a copy being made in my presence; but it was stipulated by them, that it should be transcribed in the room adjacent to my house, and not in my private residence. In this proposal I acquiesced; and accordingly a formal deputation, consisting of seven or eight officers of state, was directed to proceed to the room, where they were to open the letter, and see it properly transcribed: these personages came with much parade, apparelled in their robes of ceremony; on landing they walked directly to the room, and, having taken their seats, sent a Terrezogee, or inferior officer, along with Baba-Sheen, to request I would come, and bring with me the governor-general's letter; I obeyed this summons, accompanied by the other gentlemen and our usual attendants. On entering the room, I was civilly desired, as the occasion was a solemn one, to make obeisance towards the piasth, or spire of the royal palace, which was more than two miles distant, a ceremony that I complied with by raising my right hand to my head, and making a slight inclination of my body, after the manner of the Mahomedan Salaam. Being seated, I delivered the letter, which was written in English and in Persian, to the Woondock, or superior officer: it was immediately opened by a secretary: and an Armenian interpreter, named Muckatees, who spoke and wrote English fluently, was ordered to make a copy in English, whilst a Mussulman moonsthee made another in Persian. When the writing was finished, I delivered a paper, which I desired might be laid before His Majesty's council, declaratory, in general terms, of the friendly wishes and views of the governor-general in deputing me to the Birman court, and expressing my desire to maintain a confidential intercourse with such persons as His Majesty, or his council, should think proper to authorize.

The business being concluded, I returned to my house, and received a ceremonious visit from the Birman officers, among whom there were some personages of high distinction; a Woondock, but not the one that met me at Pagahn, presided; the master of the elephants, the old governor of Peenkeing, two Seredogees, or secretaries of state, and some other officers, whose names and stations I did not learn, were present; their robes, which were very graceful, were made either of velvet or flowered satin, with wide bodies, and loose sleeves: they were all invested with the chain of nobility, and wore caps covered with light green taffety. Three, of higher rank than the rest, had a wreath of gold leaves encircling the bottom of their caps, not unlike the strawberry leaves in a ducal coronet; their attendants, who were numerous, carried a variety of utensils, such as their beetle box, water flaggon, drinking cup, and spitting pot; of which latter, from their filthy practice of chewing beetle, they stood in constant need. I regaled them with tea, and English raspberry jam spread on biscuits: although they praised, I do not think they much relished our preserve; they ate sparingly, and refreshed themselves with copious bowls of tea, unadulterated either by cream or sugar.

About this time the Chinese minister, who has already been mentioned as labouring

under severe indisposition, sent me a polite message, expressing his regret that he had it not in his power to visit me in person, but that his two colleagues would wait on me whenever I should be at leisure to receive them; I returned my acknowledgments, and appointed the following day.

It is customary among nations eastward of Bengal, when a public deputation is sent to a foreign court, to nominate three members, who constitute a council: although the president or chief of these is invested with all the power, and controls the proceedings of the rest, yet the distinction between them is not so wide as to preclude the juniors from a high degree of consequence being attached to their stations; and in case of the demise of the principal, the senior survivor executes all diplomatic functions, thus wisely guarding against any impediment which a casualty might throw in the way of negotiation.

The two junior members of the Chinese deputation came at the appointed hour, accompanied by seven or eight attendants. There is no personage on earth so solemn and ceremonious as a Chinese officer of state; his dignity is preserved by profound silence, unless when occasion renders it necessary to exercise the faculty of speech, which is always slow, monotonous, and dull; even gentlemen, in the familiarity of private life, seldom depart from their gravity, or relax into a smile. On entering a room where there is company, good breeding is evinced by a modest but pertinacious refusal to sit down till the master of the house is first seated, which would be an equal violation of decorum on his part. This custom, I was told, sometimes produces a very ludicrous scene, and the guests are not unfrequently obliged to be dragged to their chairs, and placed in them almost by compulsion. My house being about to undergo some alteration, I had caused a suite of tents, which I had brought with me, to be pitched for our temporary accommodation; in these I made arrangements to receive my visitors, who were exact to their time. On entering the door of the marquee, they both made an abrupt stop, and resisted all solicitation to advance to chairs, that had been prepared for them, until I should first be seated: in this dilemma Dr. Buchanan, who had visited China, advised me what was to be done; I immediately seized on the foremost, whilst the doctor himself grappled with the second: thus we soon fixed them in their seats, both parties, during the struggle, repeating *Chin Chin*, *Chin Chin*, the Chinese term of salutation. The conversation was not at all lively or interesting; for, though I sat between them, our words had to make a wide circuit before they reached each other's comprehension. I spoke in the language of Hindostan to a Mussulman who understood Birman, he delivered it to a Birman who spoke Chinese, this Birman gave it to the first official domestic, who repeated it to his master in the Chinese tongue. Our wines, port, claret, and madeira, all excellent of their kind, were served up; these, however, were too cold for Chinese palates; my visitants did not seem to relish them; but when cherry-brandy was introduced, their approbation was manifested by the satisfaction with which each of them swallowed a large glass-full of the liquor: they tasted our tea, and, before they departed, politely presented me with some fans, two or three pieces of silk, two small boxes of tea, and three bottles of *shouchou*, a very fiery spirit distilled from rice, of which the Chinese are extremely fond. I returned the visit on the following day, and was received with as much pomp and ostentation as circumstances would admit: in front of the house a silk ensign waved, on which was embroidered the imperial dragon of China, and at their gate were suspended whips and chains, importing the power which the owner possessed to inflict corporal punishment. The two junior members met me at the threshold of their habitation, apologized for the unavoidable absence of the chief personage, and introduced

introduced me into a hall, the walls of which were concealed by screens of silk, and the chairs covered with loose pieces of fatin; this interview was rendered more interesting than the former, by a spontaneous question on the part of the senior Chinese, to know whether I had heard of the safe arrival of Lord Macartney in England. His lordship having left China only the preceding year, it was not possible to have had accounts of his reaching England, and the issue of his lordship's negotiations was at that time wholly unknown; consequently, being unacquainted both with the objects and event of that splendid mission, I felt myself rather on delicate ground in regard to the enquiries which I, on my part, wished to make. In order to draw some conclusion from their discourse, I encouraged them to pursue the topic, by asking how his lordship's health had borne the vicissitudes of climate? They replied, that they only knew of the embassy from report, and seemed reluctant to enter into particulars, with which, it is probable, they were entirely unacquainted: I did not, therefore, press the subject farther; but I was not suffered to remain long in doubt what their sentiments were. Chinese vanity scarcely yields to that of the Birmans; here was an opportunity, by exaggeration and misrepresentation, of indulging their own pride at the expence of the English nation, which, in the accounts circulated by them at Ummerapoorra respecting the embassy to China, they did not neglect. They treated us with tea and sweetmeats, and smoked their long pipes with unrelaxed solemnity. I repaid their civilities by giving them some broad-cloth and brandy, and took my leave.

The alterations in my own dwelling, which I had suggested, were quickly carried into effect; and, by an order from the Lotoo, or grand council, a small additional building, of a square form, and raised from the ground, was erected within the enclosure of our court, for the reception of the presents intended for His Majesty. I was given to understand that this building was meant as a compliment to what they they thought proper to term among themselves, "tribute from the King of England;" but as no such arrogant assumption was ever publicly professed, I could not take notice of mere rumour: it was, however, privately intimated to me, that keeping our tents pitched would be considered by the court in the light of a reflection upon its hospitality; and an inference would be drawn from it, that we were discontented with our habitation. I immediately ordered the marquees to be struck, nothing being farther from my intention than to give umbrage, or express dissatisfaction, for which, indeed, in the present instance, there was certainly no ground.

The interval that elapsed between the time of our arrival at Ummerapoorra, and of our formal introduction at court, afforded us leisure to acquire some insight into the customs, religious tenets, and moral economy of the Birman nation. Instead, therefore, of filling up the chasm by an unimportant journal, in which the acts of one day differed but little from those of the preceding, I shall dedicate a few pages to a more general account of the country, and endeavour, as far as our own circumscribed observation, and the information of others, enabled us, to illustrate the character of this people from their manners, and their state of society from the progress which the arts had made, and from the usages of the inhabitants in common life.

CHAP. XI. — *Religion of the Birmans. — Their Laws. — Jurisdiction of the Metropolis. — Lawyers. — The Royal Establishment. — Council of State. — Officers. — Honours not hereditary. — Insignia of Rank. — Dress. — Resemblance to the Chinese. — Marriages. — Funerals. — Population. — Revenue.*

AFTER what has been written, there can be little necessity to inform my readers, that the Birmans are Hindoos: not votaries of Brahma, but sectaries of Boodh, which latter is admitted by Hindoos of all descriptions to be the ninth Avatar \*, or descent of the deity in his capacity of preserver. He reformed the doctrines contained in the Vedas, and severely censured the sacrifice of cattle, or depriving any being of life: he is called the author of happiness: his place of residence was discovered at Gaya in Bengal, by the illustrious Amara †, renowned amongst men, “who caused an image of the supreme Boodh to be made, and he worshipped it: reverence be unto thee in the form of Boodh; reverence be unto thee, Lord of the earth; reverence be unto thee, an incarnation of the Deity; and, eternal One, reverence be unto thee, O God in the form of Mercy.”

Gotma, or Goutum, according to the Hindoos of India, or Gaudma, among the inhabitants of the more eastern parts, is said ‡ to have been a philosopher, and is by the Birmans believed to have flourished above 2300 § years ago: he taught in the Indian schools the heterodox religion and philosophy of Boodh. The image that represents Boodh is called Gaudma, or Goutum, which is now a commonly received appellation of Boodh himself: this image is the primary object of worship in all countries situated between Bengal and China. The sectaries of Boodh contend with those of Brahma for the honour of antiquity, and are certainly far more numerous. The Cingaleze in Ceylon are Boodhists of the purest source, and the Birmans acknowledge to have originally received their religion from that island ||. It was brought, say the Rhahaans, first from Zehoo (Ceylon) to Arracan, and thence was introduced into Ava, and probably into China; for the Birmans assert with confidence that the Chinese are Boodhists.

This is a curious subject of investigation, and the concurrent testimony of circumstances, added to the opinions of the most intelligent writers, seem to leave little doubt of the fact. It cannot, however, be demonstrated beyond the possibility of dispute, till we shall have acquired a more perfect knowledge of Chinese letters, and a readier access to their repositories of learning. Little can at present be added to the lights cast on the subject by the late Sir William Jones, in his discourse delivered to the Asiatic Society on the Chinese. That great man has expressed his conviction in positive terms, that “Boodh was unquestionably the Foe of China,” and that he was also the god of Japan, and the Woden of the Goths; an opinion which corresponds with, and is, perhaps, grafted on the information of the learned and laborious Kæmpfer ¶, corroborated afterwards.

\* Sir William Jones on the Gods of Greece, Italy, and India.

† See the translation of a Shanferit inscription on a stone found in the temple of Boodh, at Gaya, by Mr. Wilkins. *Asiat. Research.* vol. i. I am indebted for the annexed representation of the image of Boodh, at Gaya, to the kindness of Lord Teignmouth. The reader will observe the close resemblance it bears to that of the Birman Gaudma.

‡ Sir William Jones on the Gods of Greece, Italy, and India.

§ This agrees with the account of the Siamese computation given by Kæmpfer.

|| The Birmans call Ceylon, Zehoo.

¶ Speaking of the Budz, or Seaka, of the Japanese, Kæmpfer says, “I have strong reasons to believe, both from the affinity of the name and the very nature of this religion, that its author and founder is the  
very

wards by his own researches. On whatever grounds the latter inference rests, it will not tend to weaken the belief of his first position, when I observe that the Chinese deputies, on the occasion of our introduction to the Seredaw, or high priest of the Birman empire, prostrated themselves before him, and afterwards adored an image of Gaudma with more religious fervour than mere politeness, or acquiescence in the customs of another nation, would have excited: the Bonzes also of China, like the Rahaans of Ava, were yellow as the sacerdotal colour, and in many of their customs and ceremonies there may be traced a striking similitude.

Whatever may be the antiquity of the worship of Boodh, the wide extent of its reception cannot be doubted. The most authentic writer \* on the eastern peninsula calls the image of Gaudma, as worshipped by the Siamese, Somona-codom: being unacquainted with the language of Siam, which, from so short a residence as four months, it was impossible he could have acquired, he confounds two distinct words, Somona, and Codom, signifying Codom, or Gaudma, in his incarnate state; the difference between the letters C and G may easily have arisen from the mode of pronunciation in different countries; even in the Birman manner of uttering the word, the distinction between these letters is not very clear. The Boodh of the Indians and the Birman, is pronounced by Siamese Pooth, or Pood; by the vulgar, Poo; which, without any violence to probability, might be converted by the Chinese into Foe †; the Tamulic termination *en*, as Mr. Chambers remarks, creates a striking resemblance between Pooden and the Woden of the Goths; every person who has conversed with the natives of India, knows that Boodh is the *Dies Mercurii*, the Wednesday, or Woden's day, of all Hindoos. Chronology, however, which must always be accepted as a surer guide to truth, than inferences drawn from the resemblance of words, and etymological reasoning, does not, to my mind, sufficiently establish that Boodh and Woden were the same. The period of the ninth incarnation of Vishnu was long antecedent to the existence of the deified hero of Scandinavia. Sir William Jones determines the period when Boodh appeared on the earth to be 1014 years before the birth of Christ. Odin, or Woden, flourished at a period not very distant from our Saviour, and was, according to some, a cotemporary of Pompey and of Julius Cæsar. The author of the Northern Antiquities places him seventy years after the Christian era. Even the Birman Gaudma, conformably to their account, must have lived above five hundred years before Woden. So immense a space can hardly be supposed to have been overlooked: but if the supposition refers, not to the warrior of the north, but to the original deity Odin, the attributes of the latter are as widely opposed to those of Boodh, who was himself only an incarnation of Vishnu, as the dates are incongruous. The deity, whose doctrines were introduced into Scandinavia, was a god of terror, and his votaries carried desolation and the sword

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very same person whom the Bramins call Budha, and believe to be the essential spirit of Wisna, or their deity, who made his ninth appearance in the world under this name: the Peguers call him Samana Klu-tama." Hist. Japan, book iv. ch. 6.

Treating on the introduction of Boodh into China, the same author says, "About the year of Christ 518, one Darma, a great saint, and twenty-third successor on the holy see of Seaka (Budha), came over into China from Seitenfeku, as the Japanese writers explain it, that is, from that part of the world which lies westward with regard to Japan, and laid, properly speaking, the first firm foundation of the Budhoism in that mighty empire." Book iv. ch. 6.

\* Loubere.

† M. Gentil asserts that the Chinese admit by their own accounts, that Foe, their object of worship, was originally brought from India.

throughout whole regions; but the ninth Avatar \* brought the peaceful olive, and came into the world for the sole purpose of preventing sanguinary acts. These apparent inconsistencies will naturally lead us to hesitate in acknowledging Boodh and Woden to be the same person: their doctrines are opposite, and their eras are widely remote.

Had that distinguished genius †, whose learning so lately illuminated the East, been longer spared for the instruction and delight of mankind, he would probably have elucidated this obscurity, and have removed the dusky veil that still hangs over the religious legends of antiquity. The subject ‡, as it now stands, affords an ample field for indulging in pleasing theories and fanciful speculations; and as the probability increases of being able to trace all forms of divine worship to one sacred and primeval source, the inquiry in proportion becomes more interesting, and awakens a train of serious ideas in a reflecting mind.

It would be as unsatisfactory as tedious to attempt leading my reader through the mazes of mythological fable and extravagant allegory, in which the Hindoo religion, both Braminical and Boodhic, is enveloped and obscured; it may be sufficient to observe, that the Birmans believe in the metempsychosis, and that, after having undergone a certain number of transmigrations, their souls will at last either be received into their Olympus on the mountain Meru §, or be sent to suffer torments in a place of divine punishments. Mercy they hold to be the first attribute of the divinity: "Reverence be to thee, O God, in the form of Mercy!" and they worship God by extending mercy unto all his creatures.

The laws of the Birmans, like their religion, are Hindoo; in fact, there is no separating their laws from their religion: divine authority revealed to Menu the sacred principles in a hundred thousand slokas, or verses: Menu promulgated the code; numerous commentaries ¶ on Menu were composed by the Munis, or old philosophers, whose treatises constitute the Dherma Sastra, or body of law.

The Birmans generally call their code Derma Sath, or Sastra; it is one among the many commentaries on Menu: I was so fortunate as to procure a translation of the most remarkable passages, which were rendered into Latin by Padre Vincentius Sangermano, and, to my great surprise, I found it to correspond closely with a Persian version of the Arracan code which is now in my possession. From the inquiries to which this circumstance gave rise, I learned that the laws, as well as the religion of the Birmans, had found their way into the Ava country from Arracan, and came originally from Ceylon ¶¶. The Birman system of jurisprudence is replete with sound morality, and, in

\* See the account of the ninth Avatar, by the Rev. Mr. Maurice, in his History of Hindoostan. Vol. ii. part 3.

† I need hardly observe that I mean Sir William Jones.

‡ General Vallancey, so justly celebrated for his knowledge of the antiquities of his country, has expressed his perfect conviction that the Hindoos have been in Britain and Ireland. See Major Ouseley's Oriental Collections, Vol. ii. Much attention is certainly due to such respectable authority.

§ Meru properly denotes the pole, and, according to the learned Captain Wilford, it is the celestial north pole of the Hindoos, round which they place the garden of Indra, and describe it as the seat of delights.

¶ The code of Gentoo laws, translated by Mr. Halhead, I am informed, is a compilation from the different commentaries on Menu, who was "the grandson of Bramah, the first of created beings," and whose work, as translated by Sir William Jones, is the ground of all Hindoo jurisprudence.

¶¶ As an incontestible proof that the Birmans acknowledge the superior antiquity of the Cingaleze, and the reception of their religion and laws from that quarter, the King of Ava has sent, within these few years, at separate times, two messengers, persons of learning and respectability, to Ceylon, to procure the original books on which their tenets are founded; and, in one instance, the Birman minister made an official application to the governor-general of India, to protect and assist the person charged with the commission.

my opinion, is distinguished above any other Hindoo commentary for perspicuity and good sense; it provides specifically for almost every species of crime that can be committed, and adds a copious chapter of precedents and decisions to guide the inexperienced in cases where there is doubt and difficulty. Trial by ordeal and imprecation are the only absurd passages in the book; but on the subject of women it is, to an European, offensively indecent: like the immortal Menu, it tells the Prince and the magistrates their duty, in language austere, manly, and energetic; and the exhortation at the close is at once noble and pious; the following extracts will serve as a specimen.

“A country may be said to resemble milk, in which oppression is like to water; when water is mingled with milk its sweetness immediately vanishes: in the same manner oppression destroys a fair and flourishing country. The royal Surkaab \* will only inhabit the clearest stream; so a Prince can never prosper in a distracted empire. By drinking pure milk the body is strengthened and the palate is gratified; but when mingled with water, pleasure no longer is found, and the springs of health gradually decline.

“A wise Prince resembles a sharp sword, which at a single stroke cuts through a pillar with such keenness that the fabric still remains unshaken; with equal keenness his discernment will penetrate advice.

“A wise Prince is dear to his people, as the physician is to the sick man; as light to those that are in darkness; as unexpected light to the eyes of the blind; as is the full moon on a wintry night, and milk to the infant from the breast of its mother.”

The commentator then proceeds to denounce tremendous judgments against an oppressive Prince and a corrupt judge; the latter is thus curiously menaced:

“The punishment of his crimes, who judges iniquitously and decides falsely, shall be greater than though he had slain one thousand women, one hundred priests, or one thousand horses.”

The book concludes as follows:

“Thus have the learned spoken, and thus have the wise decreed, that litigation may cease among men, and contention be banished the land: and let all magistrates and judges expound the laws as they are herein written; and to the extent of their understandings, and according to the dictates of their conscience, pronounce judgment agreeably to the tenor of this book: let the welfare of their country, and the benefit of their fellow-creatures be their continual study, and the sole object of their attention: let them ever be mindful of the supreme dignity of the Roulah † and the Bramins, and pay them that reverence which is due to their sacred characters: let them observe becoming respect towards all men, and they shall shield the weak from oppression, support the helpless, and, in particular cases, mitigate the severity of avenging justice.”

“It shall be the duty of a Prince, and the magistrates of a Prince, wisely to regulate the internal police of the empire, to assist and befriend the peasants, merchants, farmers, and those who follow trades, that they may daily increase in worldly wealth and happiness; they shall promote all works of charity, encourage the opulent to relieve the poor, and liberally contribute to pious and laudable purposes; and whatsoever good works shall be promoted by their influence and example, whatsoever shall be given in charity, and whatsoever benefit shall accrue to mankind from their endeavours, it shall all be preserved in the records of heaven, one-sixth part of which, though the deeds be

\* Bittern. Surkaab is a Persian term, used by the Mahomedan translator.

† The Arracan name for Rhahaan.

the deeds, of others yet shall it be ascribed unto them ; and at the last day, at the solemn and awful hour of judgment, the recording spirit shall produce them, inscribed on the adamantine tablet of human actions. But, on the other hand, if the prosperity of the nation be neglected ; if justice be suffered to lie dormant ; if tumults arise and robberies are committed ; if rapine and foul assassination stalk along the plains, all crimes that shall be thus perpetrated through their remissness, one-sixth part shall be brought to their account, and fall with weighty vengeance on their heads ; the dreadful consequences of which surpass the power of tongue to utter, or of pen to express."

Laws thus dictated by religion are, I believe, in general, conscientiously administered. The criminal jurisprudence of the Birmans is lenient in particular cases, but rigorous in others : whoever is found guilty of an undue assumption of power, or of any crime that indicates a treasonable intent, is punished by the severest tortures. The first commission of theft does not incur the penalty of death, unless the amount stolen be above 800 kiat, or tackal, about 100l., or attended with circumstances of atrocity, such as murder or mutilation. In the former case, the culprit has a round mark imprinted on each cheek by gunpowder and punctuation, and on his breast the word thief, with the article stolen ; for the second offence he is deprived of an arm ; but the third inevitably produces capital punishment : decapitation is the mode by which criminals suffer, in the performance of which the Birman executioners are exceedingly skilful.

The city of Ummrapoora is divided into four distinct subordinate jurisdictions, in each of which a Maywoon presides. This officer, who in the provinces is a viceroy, in the metropolis resembles a mayor, and holds a civil and criminal court of justice ; in capital cases he transmits the evidence in writing, with his opinion, to the lotoo, or grand chamber of consultation, where the council of state assembles ; the council, after close examination into the documents, reports upon them to the King, who either pardons the offender, or orders execution of the sentence : the Maywoon is obliged to attend in person, and see the punishment carried into effect.

Civil suits may be transferred from the courts of the Maywoons to the lotoo ; this removal, however, is attended with a heavy expence. There are regular established lawyers, who conduct causes, and plead ; eight only are licensed to plead in the lotoo ; they are called Ameendozaan : the usual fee is five tackal, equal to 16s. ; but the government has large profits on all suits that are brought into court.

There is no country of the east in which the royal establishment is arranged with more minute attention than in the Birman court ; it is splendid without being wasteful, and numerous without confusion ; the most distinguished members, when I was at the capital were, the Sovereign, his principal Queen, entitled Nandoh Praw, by whom he has not any sons ; his second wife Myack Nandoh, by whom he has two sons ; the Engy Teekien \*, or Prince Royal, and Pêe Teekien, or Prince of Prome. The princes of Tongho, Bassien, and Pagahm, are by favourite concubines. Meedah Praw is a Princess of high dignity, and mother of the chief Queen. The Prince Royal is married, and has a son and two daughters, all young ; the son takes precedence of his uncles, the crown descending to the male heirs in a direct line. These were the principal personages of the Birman royal family.

Next in rank to the Princes of the blood royal, are the Woongees †, or chief ministers of state. The established number is four, but the place of one has long been vacant : these form the great ruling council of the nation ; they sit in the lotoo, or imperial

\* Often called Engy Praw.

† Woon signifies burthen ; the compound word implies, bearer of the great burthen.

hall of consultation every day, except on the Birman fabbath, from twelve till three or four o'clock, or later, as there happens to be business; they issue mandates to the Maywoons, or viceroys of the different provinces; they controul every department of the state, and, in fact, govern the empire, subject always to the pleasure of the King, whose will is absolute, and power undefined.

To assist in the administration of affairs, four officers called Woondocks, are associated with the Woongees, but of far inferior authority; they sit in the lotoo in a deliberative capacity, having no vote: they give their opinions, and may record their dissent from any measure that is proposed; but the Woongees decide: the Woondocks, however, are frequently employed to carry into execution business of great public importance.

Four Attawoons, or ministers of the interior, possess a great degree of influence that sometimes counteracts with success the views and wishes of the Woongees; these the King selects to be his privy counsellors, from their talents, and the opinion he entertains of their integrity; they have access to him at all times; a privilege which the principal Woongee does not enjoy.

There are four chief secretaries, called Sere-dogeas, who have numerous writers or inferior Serees under them.

Four Nachaangee sit in the lotoo, take notes, and report whatever is transacted.

Four Sandohgaan regulate all ceremonials, introduce strangers of rank into the royal presence, and are the bearers of messengers from the council of state to the King.

There are nine Sandozains, or readers, whose business it is to read all official writings, petitions, &c. Every document in which the public is concerned, or that is brought before the council in the lotoo, is read aloud.

The four Maywoons already mentioned, are restricted to the magisterial superintendance of their respective quarters of the city; they have nothing farther to do with the lotoo, than to obey the commands they receive from thence.

The Assaywoon, or paymaster-general, is also an officer of high importance; the place is at present held by one of the Woongees, who is called Assay Woongee.

There are several other officers of distinction, who bear no ostensible share in the administration of public affairs, such as the Daywoon, or King's armour-bearer; the Changeewoon, or master of the elephants; also the Woons of the Queen's household, and that of the Prince royal. Each of the junior Princes has a distinct establishment.

In the Birman government there are no hereditary dignities or employments; all honours and offices, on the demise of the possessor, revert to the crown.

The tshaloe, or chain, is the badge of the order of nobility, of which there are different degrees, distinguished by the number of strings or small chains that compose the ornament; the strings are fastened by bosses where they unite: three of open chain-work is the lowest rank; three of neatly twisted wire is the next; then of six, of nine, and of twelve: no subject is ever honoured with a higher degree than twelve; the King alone wears twenty-four.

It has already been noticed, that almost every article of use, as well as ornament, particularly in their dress, indicates the rank of the owner; the shape of the beetle-box, which is carried by an attendant after a Birman of distinction wherever he goes, his ear-rings, cap of ceremony, horse furniture, even the metal of which his spitting-pot and drinking-cup are made (which if of gold denote him to be a man of high consideration), all are indicative of the gradations of society; and woe be unto him that assumes the insignia of a degree which is not his legitimate right!

The court dress of the Birman nobility is very becoming ; it consists of a long robe, either of flowered satin or velvet, reaching to the ankles, with an open collar and loose sleeves ; over this there is a scarf, or flowing mantle that hangs from the shoulders ; and on their heads they wear high caps made of velvet, either plain or of silk embroidered with flowers of gold, according to the rank of the wearer. Earrings are a part of male dress ; persons of condition use tubes of gold about three inches long, and as thick as a large quill, which expands at one end like the mouth of a speaking trumpet ; others wear a heavy mass of gold beaten into a plate, and rolled up ; this lump of metal forms a large orifice in the lobe of the ear, and drags it down by the weight to the extent sometimes of two inches. The women likewise have their distinguishing paraphernalia : their hair is tied in a bunch at the top of the head, and bound round with a fillet, the embroidery and ornaments of which express their respective ranks ; a short shift reaches to the pit of the stomach, is drawn tight by strings, and supports the breasts ; over that is a loose jacket with close sleeves ; round their waist they roll a long piece of silk, or cloth, which reaching to their feet, and sometimes trailing on the ground, encircles them twice, and is then tucked in. When women of condition go abroad, they put on a silk sash, resembling a long shawl, which crosses their bosom, and is thrown over the shoulders, gracefully flowing on each side. The lowest class of females often wear only a single garment, in the form of a sheet, which, wrapped round the body, and tucked in under the arm, crosses their breasts, which it scarcely conceals, and descends to their ankles ; thus, when they walk, the bottom of the cloth, where it overlaps, is necessarily opened by the protrusion of the leg, and displays to a side view as high as the middle of the thigh ; such an exposure, in the opinion of an European, bears an indecent appearance, although it excites no such idea in the people themselves. There is an idle and disgusting story related by some writers, respecting the origin of this fashion, which being wholly unfounded, does not deserve repetition : it has been the established national mode of dress from time immemorial ; and every woman, when walking, must shew great part of her leg, as what may be called their petticoat is always open in front, instead of being closed by a seam.

Women, in full dress, stain the palms of their hands and their nails of a red colour, for which they use a vegetable juice, and strew on their bosoms powder of sandal wood, or of a bark called Sunneca, with which some rub their faces. Both men and women tinge the edges of their eyelids and their teeth with black ; this latter operation gives to their mouths a very unseemly appearance in the eyes of an European, which is not diminished by their being constantly filled with beetle leaf. Men of rank wear, in common dress, a tight coat, with long sleeves made of muslin, or of extremely fine nankeen, which is manufactured in the country ; also a silk wrapper that encircles the waist : the working class are usually naked to the middle, but in the cold season a mantle or vest of European broad cloth is highly prized.

The Birmans in their features bear a nearer resemblance to the Chinese than to the natives of Hindostan. The women especially in the northern part of the empire, are fairer than Hindoo females, but not so delicately formed ; they are, however, well made, and in general inclined to corpulence : their hair is black, coarse, and long. The men are not tall in stature, but active and athletic ; they have a very youthful appearance, from the custom of plucking their beards instead of using the razor : they tattoo their thighs and arms into various fantastic shapes and figures, which they believe operate as a charm against the weapons of their enemies. Neither the men nor the women are so cleanly in their persons as the Hindoos of India, among whom

whom diurnal ablution is a religious as well as a moral duty, Girls are taught, at an early age, to turn their arms in such a manner as to make them appear distorted : when the arm is extended the elbow is inverted, the inside of the joint being protruded, and the external part bending inwards; from this cause, the pendant arm in the plates seems as if it were broken : the representation is, nevertheless, perfectly faithful.

Marriages among the Birmans are not contracted until the parties attain the age of puberty : the contract is purely civil ; the ecclesiastical jurisdiction having nothing to do with it. The law prohibits polygamy, and recognizes but one wife, who is denominated Mica ; concubinage, however, is admitted to an unlimited extent. A man may repudiate his wife under particular circumstances, but the process is attended with a heavy expence. Concubines, living in the same house with the legitimate wife, are, by law, obliged to perform menial services for her, and when she goes abroad they attend her, bearing her water-flaggon, beetle-box, fan, &c. When a husband dies, his concubines, if bound in servitude to him, become the property of the surviving widow, unless he shall have emancipated them by a specific act previous to his decease. When a young man is desirous to espouse a girl, his mother, or nearest female relation, first makes the proposal in private ; if the suit be well received, a party of his friends proceed to the house of the parents of the maiden, with whom they adjust the dotal portion. On the morning of the bridal day the bridegroom sends to the lady three loongees, or lower garments, three tubbecks, or fashes, and three pieces of white muslin ; such jewels also, ear-rings and bracelets, as his circumstances will admit : a feast is prepared by the parents of the bride, and formal writings are executed : the new-married couple eat out of the same dish, the bridegroom presents the bride with some læpack, or pickled tea, which she accepts and returns the compliment : thus ends the ceremony without any of that subsequent riot \* and resistance on the part of the young lady and her female friends, with which the Sumatrian damsels oppose the privileges of an ardent bridegroom.

When a man dies intestate, three-fourths of his property go to his children born in wedlock, but not in equal proportions ; and one-fourth to the widow, who is the guardian both of the property and the children until the latter attain the age of maturity. A Birman funeral is solemnized with much religious parade, and external demonstration of grief : the corpse is carried on a bier, on men's shoulders ; the procession moves slowly ; the relations attend in mourning ; and women, hired for the occasion, precede the body and chant a dirge-like air. The Birmans burn their dead, unless the deceased is a pauper, in which case he is either buried or cast into the river, as the ceremony of burning is very expensive. The bier is placed on a funeral pile six or eight feet high, made of billets of dried wood laid across, with intervals to admit a circulation of air, and increase the flame. The Rhahaans walk round the pile, reciting prayers to Gaudma, until the fire reaches the body, when the whole is quickly reduced to ashes : the bones are afterwards gathered and deposited in a grave. Persons of high distinction, such as the Sersedaw, or chief ecclesiastic of a province, a Maywoon, a Woongee, or a member of the royal family, are embalmed, and their remains preserved six weeks or two months after decease, before they are committed to the funeral pile : during this period the body is laid in state in some kioum or religious building ; but at the capital it is placed in a sacred saloon, beautifully ornamented with gilding, and exclusively appropriated to that pious purpose.

\* See Marsden's Account of Sumatra, p. 230.

I was told, that honey is the principal ingredient made use of to preserve the body from putrefaction.

Of the population of the Birman dominions I could only form a conclusion from the information I received of the number of cities, towns, and villages in the empire; these, I was assured by a person who might be supposed to know, and had no motive for deceiving me, amount to eight thousand, not including the recent addition of Arracan. If this be true, which I have no reason to doubt, and we suppose each town, on an average, to contain three hundred houses, and each house six persons, the result will determine the population at fourteen millions four hundred thousand. Few of the inhabitants live in solitary habitations; they mostly form themselves into small societies, and their dwellings thus collected compose their ruas, or villages; if, therefore, we reckon their numbers, including Arracan, at seventeen millions, the calculation may not be widely erroneous; I believe it rather falls short of, than exceeds the truth. After all, however, it is mere conjecture, as I have no better data for my guidance than what I have related.

With regard to the revenue of the Birman state, I confess myself to be without the means of forming even a rough estimate of the amount. According to the sacred law in the chapter which treats of the duties of a monarch, Dhafameda\*, or a tenth of all produce, is the proportion which is to be exacted as the authorized due of the government; and one-tenth is the amount of the King's duty on all foreign goods imported into his dominions. The revenue arising from the customs on imports, and from internal produce, is mostly taken in kind; a small part of which is converted into cash, the rest is distributed, as received, in lieu of salaries, to the various dependants of the court. Princes of the blood, high officers of state, and provincial governors, receive grants of provinces, cities, villages, and farms, to support their dignity, and as a remuneration of their services: the rents of these assignments they collect for their own benefit. Money, except on pressing emergency, is never disbursed from the royal coffers; to one man the fees of an office are allotted; to another a station where certain imposts are collected; a third has land; each in proportion to the importance of his respective employment: by these donations, they are not only bound in their own personal servitude, but likewise in that of all their dependants; they are called slaves of the King, and in turn their vassals are denominated slaves to them: the condition of these grants include also services of war, as well as the duties of office. Thus the Birman government exhibits almost a faithful picture of Europe in the darker ages, when, on the decline of the Roman empire, the principles of feudal dependence were established by barbarians from the north.

Although it seems difficult, and perhaps impossible, under such a system, to ascertain, in any standard currency, the amount of the royal revenue, yet the riches which the Birman monarch is said to possess are immense; a supposition that may readily be admitted, when it is considered that a very small share of what enters his exchequer returns into circulation. The hoarding of money is a favourite maxim of oriental state policy; an eastern potentate cannot be brought to comprehend that the diffusion of property among his subjects is a surer source of wealth to himself, and of security to his throne, than the possession of Lydian treasures, locked up in vaults, and concealed in secret recesses, contrived by sordid avarice and foolish cunning.

\* See Appendix.

CHAP. XII. — *Military Establishment ; — Infantry ; — Cassay Cavalry ; — Artificers. — War-boats. — Gunpowder long known ; — Weapons. — Food. — Climate. — Soil. Produce. — Minerals. — Precious Stones. — Commerce. — Currency. — Weights. — Measures. — Character of the Natives : — not jealous of their Women : — ferocious in War. — Beggars unknown. — Animals. — Division of Time. — Music. — Language. — Extent of the Empire. — Rivers.*

THE Birmans may be termed a nation of soldiers, every man in the kingdom being liable to be called upon for his military services ; and war is deemed the most honourable occupation : the regular military establishment of the Birmans is, nevertheless, very inconsiderable, not exceeding the numbers of which the royal guard is composed, and such as are necessary to preserve the police of the capital. When an army is to be raised, a mandate issues from the golden palace, to all viceroys of provinces, and miougees of districts, requiring a certain number of men to be at a general rendezvous on an appointed day, under command sometimes of the viceroy himself, but oftener that of an inferior officer : the levy is proportioned to the population of the province, or district, estimated from the number of registered houses that it contains. The provincial court determines the burthen which each house is to bear ; commonly every two, three, or four houses are to furnish among them one recruit, or to pay 300 tackal in money, about 40*l.* or 45*l.* ; this recruit is supplied with arms, ammunition, and, I believe, with a certain daily allowance of grain from government, but is not entitled to pay. The families of these conscripts are carefully retained in the district which they inhabit, as hostages for the good conduct of their relation. In case of desertion or treachery, the innocent wife, children, and parents of the guilty person, are dragged to execution without the least remorse or pity ; even cowardice subjects the family of the delinquent to capital punishment. This barbarous law, which is rigorously enforced, must have a powerful effect in securing the allegiance of the troops, and of impelling them to vigorous exertion ; and it is, perhaps, the only sure mode of inciting to enterprises of danger, men who are not actuated by any innate sense of honour, and who do not feel any national pride.

Infantry and cavalry compose the regular guards of the king ; the former are armed with muskets and sabres, the latter are provided with a spear about seven or eight feet long, which they manage on horseback with great dexterity, seldom requiring or making use of any other weapon. The infantry are not uniformly clothed ; I heard various accounts of their numbers : 700 do constant duty within the precincts, and at the several gates of the palace : I think that, on the day of my public reception, I saw about 2000, and have no doubt that all the troops in the city were paraded on that occasion. I was told that there were only 300 cavalry in Ummerapoora, but that 2000 were scattered, in small detachments, throughout the neighbouring districts. All the troopers in the king's service are natives of Cassay, who are much better horsemen than the Birmans. Mr. Wood, who saw some of them at exercise, informed me, that they nearly resembled those whom he had met with in Assam ; they ride, like all orientals, with short stirrups and a loose rein ; their saddle is hard and high, and two large circular flaps of strong leather hang down on each side, painted or gilded, according to the quality of the rider. Their dress is not unbecoming ; they wear a tight coat, with skirts reaching down to the middle of the thigh ; and on their head a turban of cloth, rolled hard and plaited, which forms a high cone, that bends backwards in a graceful manner. The horses of Ava are small, but very hardy and active ; contrary

to the practice of other eastern countries, they castrate their horses, and are thus enabled to maintain them with little trouble and expence, and can also turn a number loose in a field together, without any risk of their injuring one another. Horses are frequently exported in timber ships bound for Madras, and other parts of the coast, where they are disposed of to considerable advantage.

The government of Ava is extremely attentive to provide, in times of peace, for the contingencies of war; the royal magazines, I was told, could furnish 20,000 firelocks, which, if they resembled the specimens I saw, cannot be very formidable; these have been imported, at different periods, into the country, by ships trading to Rangoon and other parts of the empire, and are either of French manufacture, or condemned muskets from the English arsenals in India. The Birmanians are very fond of their arms, of which they take great care; their gunsmiths, who are all natives of Cassay, keep them in repair; but they are in general so bad as to be out of the power of art to render them serviceable. I saw a tolerably good fowling-piece, which they said was entirely the work of a Cassay artificer; this, however, was allowed to be an extraordinary effort of genius: the person who shewed it to me presented me, at the same time, with a bamboo, which threw out a short spear of iron by means of a spring; it was executed by the maker of the gun, and seemed to be formed after a model of an English walking-stick, that contained a concealed spike; the imitation evinced much ingenuity, although the workmanship was coarse, and the iron badly polished.

By far the most respectable part of the Birman military force is their establishment of war-boats. Every town of note, in the vicinity of the river, is obliged to furnish a certain number of men, and one or more boats, in proportion to the magnitude of the place. I was informed, that the king can command, at a very short notice, 500 of these vessels: they are constructed out of the solid trunk of the teak tree, which is excavated partly by fire, and partly by cutting; the largest are from eighty to one hundred feet long, but the breadth seldom exceeds eight feet, and even this space is produced by artificially extending the sides after the trunk has been hollowed. They carry from fifty to sixty rowers, who use short oars that work on a spindle; the prow is solid, and has a flat surface, on which, when they go to war, a piece of ordnance is mounted, a six, a nine, or even a twelve pounder; the gun carriage is secured by strong lashings to strong bolts on each side, and swivels are frequently fixed on the curvature of the stern.

Each rower is provided with a sword and a lance, which are placed by his side whilst he plies the oars. Besides the boatmen, there are usually thirty soldiers on board, who are armed with muskets: thus prepared, they go in fleets to meet the foe, and, when in fight, draw up in a line, presenting their prows to the enemy. Their attack is extremely impetuous; they advance with great rapidity, and sing a war-song, at once to encourage their people, daunt their adversaries, and regulate the strokes of their oars: they generally endeavour to grapple, and when that is effected, the action becomes very severe, as these people are endued with great courage, strength, and activity. In times of peace, they are fond of exercising in their boats, and I have often been entertained with the dexterity they display in the management of them. The vessels being low in the water, their greatest danger is that of being run down by a larger boat striking on their broadside, a misfortune which the steersman is taught to dread, and to avoid, above all others. It is surprising to see the facility with which they steer, and elude each other in their mock combats. The rowers are also practised to row backwards, and impel the vessel with the stern foremost: this is the mode of retreat, by means of which the artillery still bears upon their opponent. The

largest of the war-boats do not draw more than three feet water. When a person of rank is on board, there is a sort of moving tilt or canopy for his particular accommodation, placed sometimes in the centre, and sometimes on the prow. The sides of the boat are either gilt as far as the water's edge, or plain, according to the rank of the person it carries. Gilded boats are only permitted to princes of the blood, or to persons holding the highest stations, such as a Maywoon of a province, and a minister of state.

It is by no means improbable, that the use of gunpowder was well known in India before its effects were discovered in the west; yet there is not any reason to believe that the natives of Ava applied it to the purpose of musquetry, till Europeans instructed them in the art. According to Indian accounts, cannon were fabricated in the east long before the æra of European conquest; their artillery, however, was not capable of being transported with facility, or at all used in the field: they were made of iron bars beaten into a cylindrical form, rudely put together, but of great strength and enormous weight, from which, when raised on a rampart or tower, they threw huge stones to annoy the enemy. The musket was first introduced into the Pegue and Ava countries by the Portuguese, and is an implement of war which the inhabitants unwisely prefer to their own native weapons, the spear and sabre; a partiality that is highly prejudicial to themselves, for nothing can be less formidable than such fire-arms as they possess, or have the means of procuring. The proper indigenous weapons of the country are the spear, the javelin, which is thrown from the hand, the cross-bow, and the sabre; the latter is used by the Birmans not only as an implement of war, but is likewise applied to various purposes as an instrument of manual labour; with this the peasant fells trees, shapes timbers, cuts bamboos, or defends himself against an enemy and wild beasts; he never travels without it, and generally, when on a journey, carries a shield on his left arm: they encumber themselves with less baggage than perhaps any other people; and are satisfied with a scanty portion of the hardest fare.

In their food, the Birmans, compared with the Indians, are gross and uncleanly. Although their religion forbids the slaughter of animals in general, yet they apply the interdiction only to those that are domesticated; all game is eagerly sought after, and in many places it is publicly sold; reptiles also, such as lizards, guanas, and snakes, constitute a part of the subsistence of the lower classes. During our voyage up the river, the boatmen, after we had brought-to, used frequently to hunt for camelions and lizards among the thickets. They are extremely fond of vegetables; at those places where garden greens were not to be procured, they gathered wild sorrel, and sometimes substituted the tender leaves of trees; these, boiled with rice, and moistened with a little oil, or seasoned with gnapee, or pickled sprat, compose a meal with which a Birman peasant or boatman is satisfied; the higher ranks, however, live with more delicacy, although their fare is never very sumptuous.

The climate of every part of the Birman empire which I have visited, bore testimony to its salubrity, by the best possible criterion, the appearance and vigour of the natives. The seasons are regular, and the extremes of heat and cold are seldom experienced; at least, the duration of that intense heat which immediately precedes the commencement of the rainy season is so short, that it incommodes but for a very little time. During our residence in the country we lost only one man by disease; another \* met an accidental death; in wandering through the woods he became the prey of a tiger.

\* This unfortunate man belonged to the Sea-Horse.

The soil of the southern provinces of the Birman empire is remarkably fertile, and produces as luxuriant crops of rice as are to be found in the finest parts of Bengal. Farther northward the country becomes irregular and mountainous; but the plains and valleys, particularly near the river, are exceedingly fruitful; they yield good wheat, and the various kinds of small grain which grow in Hindostan; as likewise legumes, and most of the esculent vegetables of India. Sugar canes, tobacco of a superior quality, indigo, cotton, and the different tropical fruits, in perfection, are all indigenous products of this favoured land.

Besides the teak tree, which grows in many parts of the Birman empire, as well to the north of Ummerapooa, as in the southern country, there is almost every description of timber that is known in India. Dr. Buchanan, in one of his afternoon excursions, perceived a large log of fir, which, his attendant informed him, had been washed down by the torrents from a mountainous part of the country, four days' journey northward of the capital, where it grows in abundance, and of considerable magnitude: the natives call it Tanyo; they extract the turpentine, which they turn to use, but consider the wood of little value, on account of its softness. If they could be prevailed upon to transport it to Rangoon, it might prove a beneficial material to the navigation of India. Top-gallant masts and yards made of teak are thought to be too heavy. European and American spars are often bought for these purposes at a very exorbitant price, an inconvenience which the fir of Ava, if conveyed to the market, would probably obviate.

The kingdom of Ava abounds in minerals; six days' journey from Bamoo, near the frontiers of China, there are mines of gold and silver, called Badouem: there are also mines of gold, silver, rubies, and sapphires at present open on a mountain near the Keenduem, called Woobolootaun; but the most valuable, and those which produce the finest jewels, are in the vicinity of the capital, nearly opposite to Keoumeoum. Precious stones are found in several other parts of the empire. The inferior minerals, such as contain iron, tin, lead, antimony, arsenic, sulphur, &c. are met with in great abundance; amber, of a consistence unusually pure and pellucid, is dug up in large quantities near the river; gold, likewise, is discovered in the sandy beds of streams which descend from the mountains. Between the Keenduem and the Irrawaddy, to the northward, there is a small river called Shoe Lien Kioup, or the stream of Golden Sand.

Diamonds and emeralds are not produced in any part of the Ava empire; but it affords amethysts, garnets, very beautiful chrysolites, jasper, loadstone, and marble; the quarries of the latter are only a few miles from Ummerapooa; it is equal in quality to the finest marble of Italy, and admits of a polish that renders it almost transparent. Blocks of any size that it is possible to transport might be procured, but the sale is prohibited; nor is it allowed to be carried away without a special order. Images of Gaudma being chiefly composed of this material, it is on that account held sacred. Birmans may not purchase the marble in a mass, but are suffered and indeed encouraged to buy figures of the deities ready made. Exportation of their gods out of the kingdom is strictly forbidden. The city of Chagain is the principal manufactory of these marble divinities.

An extensive trade is carried on between the capital of the Birman dominions and Yunan in China. The principal article of export from Ava is cotton, of which I was informed there are two kinds, one of a brown colour, of which nankeens are made, the other white, like the cotton of India; I did not see any of the former. This commodity is transported up the Irrawaddy in large boats, as far as Bamoo, where it is bartered at the common jee, or mart, with Chinese merchants, and conveyed by the

latter, partly by land, and partly by water, into the Chinese dominions. Amber, ivory, precious stones, beetle nut, and the edible nests brought from the eastern Archipelago, are also articles of commerce: In return, the Birmans procure raw and wrought silks, velvets, gold leaf, preserves, paper, and some utensils of hard ware.

The commerce between the capital and the southern parts of the empire is facilitated by the noble river that waters the country; its principal objects are the necessaries of life; several thousand boats are annually employed in transporting rice from the lower provinces, to supply Ummerapoora, and the northern districts; salt and gnapee may likewise be reckoned under the same head. Articles of foreign importation are mostly conveyed up the Irrawaddy; a few are introduced by way of Arracan, and carried over the mountains on the head of coolies, or labourers; European broad cloth, a small quantity of hardware, coarse Bengal muslins, Cossimbuzar silk handkerchiefs, China-ware, which will not admit of land-carriage, and glass, are the principal commodities. Cocoa-nuts also, brought from the Nicobar Islands, where they are of uncommon excellence, are looked upon as a delicacy, and bear a high price: merchants carry down silver, lac, precious stones, and some other articles to no great amount. A considerable sum of money is annually laid out at the capital in the purchase of marble statues of Gaudma, which are all fabricated in the district of Chagain, opposite Awa-haung, or ancient Ava: they are not permitted to be made at any other place.

The Birmans, like the Chinese, have no coin; silver in bullion, and lead, are the current monies of the country; weight and purity are, of course, the standard of value, and in the ascertainment of both the natives are exceedingly scrupulous and expert. What foreigners call a tackal, properly kiatt, is the most general piece of silver in circulation: it weighs ten penny-weights ten grains and three-fourths; its subdivisions are, the tubbee, two of which make one moo; two moo one math; four math one tackal, and one hundred tackal compose one viss. Money-scales and weights are all fabricated at the capital, where they are stamped, and afterwards circulated throughout the empire; the use of any others is prohibited.

Rice is sold by a measure called tayndaung, or basket, the weight is sixteen viss, about fifty-six pounds. There are many subdivisions of measurement. The average price of rice at the capital is onetackal, rather more than half-a-crown, for a basket and a half. At Rangoon and Martaban one tackal will purchase four or five baskets.

The bankers, called by foreigners Pymon, are likewise workers in silver, and assayers of metal: this is a class of people very numerous, and indispensably necessary, as no stranger can undertake either to pay or receive money without having it first examined. Every merchant has a banker of this description, with whom he lodges all his cash, and who, for receiving and paying, gets an established commission of one per cent.; in consideration of which he is responsible for the quality of what goes through his hands; and in no instance did I ever hear of a breach of trust committed by one of these bankers. The quantity of alloy varies in the silver current in different parts of the empire; at Rangoon it is adulterated twenty-five per cent.; at Ummerapoora, pure, or what is called flowered silver, is most common; in this latter all royal dues are paid. The several modifications are as follows:

Rouni, or pure silver.	
Rounika,	5 per cent. of alloy.
Rounizee,	10 per cent.
Rouassée,	20 per cent.
Moowadzoo,	25 per cent.
Woombo,	30 per cent.

Any person may have his silver either purified or depreciated to whatever standard he chooses; the nearest silversmith will be glad to perform the work, free from charge for his labour, as the bringer by the operation must lose a trifle, which the artist gains: the small quantity of metal that adheres to the crucible is his profit. I was informed, that the silversmith can sell these crucibles afterwards to refiners for forty tackals a thousand, and that an adequate gain accrues to the purchaser from the metal extracted from the pot after it is broken.

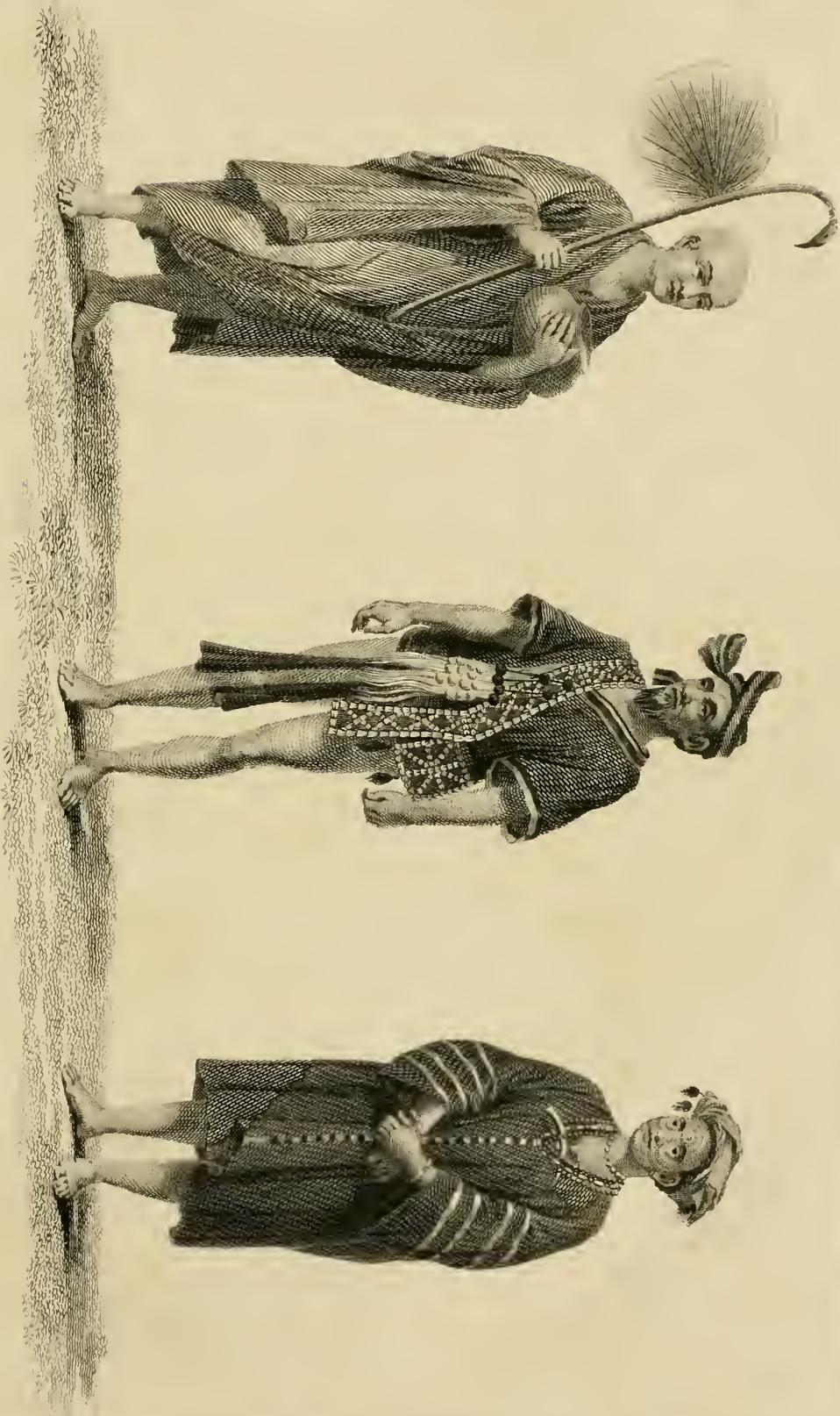
The Birman measures of length are, a paul-gaut, or inch, eighteen of which compose the tain, or cubit.

The faundaung, or royal cubit \*, equal to twenty-two inches.

The dha, or bamboo, which consists of seven royal cubits; 1000 dha make one Birman league, or dain, nearly equal to two British miles and two furlongs; the league is also subdivided into tenths. The Birman keep their accounts in decimals, after the manner of the Chinese.

It has already been noticed, that the general disposition of the Birmans is strikingly contrasted with that of the natives of India, from whom they are separated only by a narrow range of mountains, in many places admitting of an easy intercourse. Notwithstanding the small extent of this barrier, the physical difference between the nations could scarcely be greater, had they been situated at the opposite extremities of the globe. The Birmans are a lively, inquisitive race, active, irascible, and impatient; the character of their Bengal neighbours is too well known as the reverse to need any delineation; the unworthy passion of jealousy, which prompts most nations of the east to immure their women within the walls of an haram, and surround them with guards, seems to have scarcely any influence over the minds of this extraordinary and more liberal people. Birman wives and daughters are not concealed from the sight of men, and are suffered to have as free intercourse with each other as the rules of European society admit: but in other respects women have just reason to complain of their treatment; they are considered as not belonging to the same scale of the creation as men, and even the law stamps a degrading distinction between the sexes; the evidence of a woman is not received as of equal weight with that of a man, and a woman is not suffered to ascend the steps of a court of justice, but is obliged to deliver her testimony on the outside of the roof. The custom of selling their women to strangers, which has before been adverted to, is confined to the lowest classes of society, and is perhaps oftener the consequence of heavy pecuniary embarrassment, than an act of inclination: it is not, however, considered as shameful, nor is the female dishonoured; partly perhaps from this cause, and partly from their habits of education, women surrender themselves the victims of this barbarous custom with apparent resignation. It is also said, that they are very seldom unfaithful to their foreign masters; indeed they are often essentially useful, particularly to those who trade, by keeping their accounts and transacting their business: but when a man departs from the country, he is not suffered to carry his temporary wife along with him; on that point the law is exceedingly rigorous: every ship, before she receives her clearance, is diligently searched by the officers of the custom-house: even if their vigilance were to be eluded, the woman would be quickly missed; and it would be soon discovered in what vessel she had gone, nor could that ship ever return to a Birman port but under penalty of confiscation of the property, and the infliction of a heavy fine and imprisonment on the master: female children also, born of a Birman mother, are not suffered to be taken

\* This cubit varies according to the will of the monarch.



Engraved by G. S. S.

of P. Madan or S. Madan  
of H. H. & W. H. in the 18th of



away. Men are permitted to emigrate : but they think that the expatriation of women would impoverish the state, by diminishing the sources of its population.

One vice is usually the parent of another : the Birman, being exempt from that of jealousy, do not resort to the diabolical practice of emasculating male children, to educate them as spies over their women. Chastity, they know, is more safely guarded by principles of honour and attachment than by moats or castles. When Arracan was conquered by the Birman, several eunuchs were made prisoners, belonging to the prince of the country, who had adopted that degenerate custom of Mahomedan growth. These people are maintained by the Birman monarch rather as memorials of his conquest, than for any services they are required to perform. Infidelity is not a characteristic of Birman wives ; in general they have too much employment to leave leisure for the corruption of their minds. A woman of the highest rank seldom sits in idleness at home ; her female servants, like those of Grecian dames of antiquity, ply " the various labours of the loom," whilst the mistress superintends and directs their industry. On the occasion of a formal visit to the mother of the present queen, we observed, in one of the galleries of her palace, three or four looms at work, wrought by the damsels of her household. Weaving is chiefly a female occupation. Most Birman families make all the cotton and silk cloth that is required for their domestic consumption.

The Birman, in some points of their disposition, display the ferocity of barbarians, and in others, all the humanity and tenderness of polished life : they inflict the most savage vengeance on their enemies ; as invaders, desolation marks their track, for they spare neither sex nor age : but at home they assume a different character ; there they manifest benevolence, by extending aid to the infirm, the aged, and the sick : filial piety is inculcated as a sacred precept, and its duties are religiously observed. A common beggar is no where to be seen : every individual is certain of receiving sustenance, which, if he cannot procure it by his own labour, is provided for him by others.

During the several excursions which we made into the country, we did not perceive any of the feathered tribe that were peculiar to this part of the world, or that were not to be met with in India, the ornithology of which is already well known. The Henza, the symbol of the Birman nation, as the eagle was of the Roman empire, is a species of wild fowl, called in India the Braminy goose ; but the natives of Ava do not deify the bird. Of the beasts of Ava, the only one that I saw, with which I was unacquainted, was the ichneumon, or the rat of Pharaoh, called by the natives Ounbaï. It is a singular circumstance, that there should not be such an animal as the jackal in the Ava dominions, considering that they are so numerous in the adjoining country. Pegue abounds in elephants ; for though they are to be met with in other parts of the empire, that seems to be their favourite abode. One of His Birman Majesty's titles is, Lord of the White Elephant, and of all the Elephants in the World.

The Birman divide their time as follows :

The space in which the finger can be raised and depressed is called charazi ; ten charazi make one piaan ; six piaan one bizana (about a minute). The day, of twenty-four hours, commencing at noon, is divided into eight portions, or yettee, of three hours each, thus denominated :

Moon Yettee, or noon.  
 Loung Yettee, 3 P. M.  
 Lay Yettee, 6 P. M.

Gneah Yettee, 9 P. M.  
 Gneah Gnek Yettee, midnight.  
 Gneah Laghee Loung Yettee, 3 in the morning.  
 Mieh Ling Yettee, 6 A. M.  
 Gneah Tek Yettee, 9 A. M.

These divisions of time are ascertained by a machine resembling the hour-glass, and sometimes by a perforated pan placed in a tub of water: they are announced by a stroke on an oblong drum, which is always kept near the dwelling of the chief magistrate of the city, town, or village; it is commonly raised on a high bamboo stage, with a roof of mats to protect it from the weather.

The edifice at the royal palace for the reception of this instrument is of masonry, and very lofty, whence the sound is said to be distinctly conveyed to the remotest extremes of the city.

The Birman year is divided into twelve months, which, strictly speaking, cannot be called synodical, although they comprehend the same number of days. A revolution of the moon, in passing from one conjunction with the sun to another, is performed in 29 days, 12 hours, and 44 minutes; but the Birman lunations consist of 29 and 30 days, alternate, which causes a difference between the Newtonian and Birman lunar account of 8 hours and 48 minutes. The Birman months are as follow:

	Days.
Tagoo contains - - - - -	29
Kayoung - - - - -	30
Nay Young - - - - -	29
Wazoo - - - - -	30
Wagoung - - - - -	29
Toozelien - - - - -	30
Sandaing Guite - - - - -	29
Tazoung Moang - - - - -	30
Gnadoh - - - - -	29
Pceazoo - - - - -	30
Taboodway - - - - -	29
Taboung - - - - -	30

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In order to complete a solar revolution, they intercalate in every third year a month of 30 days, which is called Toodea Wazoo; in this third year the months of Tagoo and Nay Young have each 30 days instead of 29; they likewise suppress or pass over a day, which, if reckoned, would either be the 31st Taboung, or the 1st of Tagoo: by these means the number of days in three solar years is thus computed:

	Days.
Three lunar years, of 354 days each - - - - -	1062
Intercalary month in the third year - - - - -	30
Two intercalary days in Tagoo and Nay Young	2
Suppressed, or passed over at the end of the year	1
	<hr style="width: 10%; margin: auto;"/>
	1095
	<hr style="width: 10%; margin: auto;"/>

This computation corresponds, in the number of days, with three years; every fourth year, however, will occasion the difference of a day, on account of our bissextile or leap-year; of this the Birman are fully sensible, as well as of many other defects in their manner of reckoning: to remedy the confusion likely to ensue from such erroneous calculations, their style or mode has frequently been altered by arbitrary authority. His present Birman Majesty, however, is so desirous to ascertain and establish, by accurate tables, a permanent and unvarying measurement of time, that he made an application to the late governor-general of India to send to his capital a Bramin well versed in astronomy, to assist the deliberations of his council of professors, among whom His Majesty always presides in person, and he is said to be no inconsiderable proficient in the science of astronomy.

The manner in which the Birman month is subdivided, I imagine, is peculiar to their nation: instead of reckoning the days progressively from the commencement to the close of the month, they advance no farther than the full moon, from which they recede by retrogressive enumeration until the month is finished.

Thus the new moon is called,

- Lahzan terrait gnay, or first day of the increasing moon.
- Lahzan gnerait gnay, second day, &c.
- Lahzan loungrait gnay, third day, &c.
- Lahzan layrait gnay, fourth day, &c.
- Lahzan narait gnay, fifth day, &c.
- Lahzan kioukrait gnay, sixth day, &c.
- Lahzan koonrait gnay, seventh day, &c.
- Lahzan sheafeddainrait gnay, eighth day, &c.
- Lahzan karait gnay, ninth day, &c.
- Lahzan fayrait gnay, tenth day, &c.
- Lahzan fay terrait gnay, eleventh day, &c.
- Lahzan fay-generait gnay, twelfth day, &c.
- Lahzan fay foungrait gnay, thirteenth day, &c.
- Lahzan tassay fayrait gnay, fourteenth day, &c.
- Lah bee, fifteenth day, &c.
- Lah bee-goo terrait gnay, or the first day of the decreasing moon.

The seventeenth, eighteenth, &c. correspond with the second and third of the increasing moon, substituting Lah Bee-goo for Lahzan. The last day of the month, whether of twenty-nine or thirty days, is called Lah gnay.

The Birman month is divided into four weeks of seven days each; the days are distinguished by the following names:

- Tamaing nuaye, Sunday, the first day of the Birman week.
- Talain lah, - Monday.
- Aing gah, - Tuesday.
- Boodt-hoo, - Wednesday.
- Keah-subbeday, Thursday.
- Zoup keah, - Friday.
- Sunnay, - - Saturday.

The eighth day of the increasing moon, the fifteenth or full moon, the eighth of the decreasing moon, and the last day of the moon, are religiously observed by Birman as sacred festivals. On these hebdominal holidays no public business is transacted

in the Rhoom: mercantile dealings are suspended; handicraft is forbidden; and the strictly pious take no sustenance between the rising and the setting of the sun; but this latter instance of self-denial is not very common, and, as I understood, is rarely practised, except in the metropolis, where the appearance of sanctity is sometimes assumed as a ladder by which the crafty attempt to climb to promotion. The sovereign himself is a great favourer of the austerities of the Birman religion; and his chief minister, or Woongee, has for many years, on a Birman sabbath, abstained from food so long as the sun continues above the horizon.

The Birmans are extremely fond both of poetry and music; they call the former Yeddoo: when repeated by a scholar, it flows soft and measured to the ear; it is sometimes in successive, and often in alternate rhimes. A line is called Tagoung; a stanza, Tubbouk. They have epic as well as religious poems of high celebrity, and they are fond of reciting, in heroic numbers, the exploits of their kings and generals. I was informed, that the prowess of Alompra is recorded in verses not unworthy of a monarch.

Music is a science which is held in considerable estimation throughout the Birman empire, and is cultivated at the present day more generally than in India, notwithstanding it is there termed, as by the ancient Greeks, the language of the gods. The royal library of Ummerapoorra is said to contain many valuable treatises on the art. Some of the professional musicians display considerable skill and execution, and the softer airs are pleasing even to an ear unaccustomed to such melody. The principal instruments are a Soum, or harp, made of light wood, hollowed and varnished, in shape somewhat like a canoe with a deck; at the extremity a piece of hard wood is neatly fastened, which tapers to the end, and rising curves over the body of the harp; from this curvature the strings, usually made of wire, are extended to a bridge on the belly of the instrument: there are two founding holes, one on each side of the bridge. The size of the Soum varies from two to five feet in length.

The Turr resembles our violin; it has only three strings, and is played on with a bow. I at first imagined it had been of European introduction, and brought to Pegue by the Portuguese; but I was assured it was an original instrument of the country.

The Pullaway is a common flagelet.

The Kyezoup is a collection of cymbals, which are suspended in a bamboo frame; these cymbals, varying in size, produce modulated gradations of sounds; there were eighteen in the Kyezoup that I saw.

The Patola, or guitar, is a curious instrument; it is the exact form of a crocodile in miniature; the body of which is hollow, with founding holes on the back; three strings of wire extend from the shoulder to the tail, and are supported on bridges at each extremity; the strings are tuned by means of pegs in the tail, to which they are fastened; it is played on by the finger, and is generally used to accompany the voice.

The Boundaw is a collection of drums, oblong in form, and varying in size, which are suspended perpendicularly in a wooden frame by leather thongs. The whole machine is about five feet in diameter, and four feet high. The performer stands in the centre, and beats on the drums with a small stick. This instrument is always introduced when there is a full band, and is much used in processions, being carried by two men, whilst the performer shuffles along in the inside, playing as he goes.

The Heem is the pipe of Pan, formed of several reeds neatly joined together, and sounded by a common mouth-piece; when played with skill, it produces a very plaintive melody.

These are the principal instruments of music in use among the Birmans. Dr.

Buchanan purchased a complete concert set for fifty-four tackal, which is about five or six guineas. Melody has charms for all mankind: among the boatmen that rowed my barge, I doubt whether there was one who did not possess an instrument of some sort; he who could procure no better, had what we call a Jew's harp, with which he delighted to beguile half an hour of a cool evening, after a day of hard labour under a burning sun.

Of the ancient Pallis\*, whose language constitutes at the present day the sacred text of Ava, Pegue, and Siam, as well as of several other countries eastward of the Ganges; and of their migration from India to the banks of the Cali, the Nile of Ethiopia, we have but very imperfect information. As a nation, they have long ago ceased to exist: they are said to have possessed, in former times, a dominion stretching from the Indus as far as Siam, and to have been conquered by the Rajaputras, who changed the name of their country from Palisthan to Rajaputra. In the old books of the Hindoos they are called Paliputras, and it may, I think, be concluded, that they were the Palibothri of the ancients.

It has been the opinion of some of the most enlightened writers † on the languages of the East, that the Pali, the sacred language of the priests of Boodh, is nearly allied to the Shanacrit of the Bramins; and there certainly is much of that holy idiom engrafted on the vulgar language of Ava, by the introduction of the Hindoo religion. The character in common use throughout Ava and Pegue is a round Nagari, derived from the square Pali, or religious text; it is formed of circles and segments of circles, variously disposed and combined, whilst the Pali, which is solely applied to the purposes of religion, is a square letter, chiefly consisting of right angles.

The Birman language contains thirty-three simple sounds, to represent which their alphabet, commonly called kagye kague, consists of an equal number of distinct characters, exclusive of various marks and contractions, that supply the place of long and short vowels, diphthongs, &c. These are explained and enumerated in separate series in the Birman spelling-book, entitled kaynboungie, in which every possible combination is given and exemplified.

It should be observed here, that there is no representation of the vowel corresponding with our short *ä*, as from the frequent occurrence of that sound in the middle and at the end of words, it was found convenient to omit it in writing; it is nevertheless to be pronounced after every simple sound or consonant not supplied with another vowel, unless it be forbidden by a mark of elision placed over the letter, or excluded by the junction of two or more consonants, in the form of a compound character. These singularities, I am informed by Mr. Wilkins, are common to all the alphabets of the Hindoo class.

The Birmans write from left to right, and though they leave no distinguishing space between their words, they mark the pauses of a sentence and the full stops. Their letters are distinct, and their manuscripts are in general very beautiful.

\* In Captain Wilford's elaborate and learned Dissertation on Egypt and the Nile, from the ancient books of the Hindoos, there is the following passage:

“The history of the Pallis cannot fail to be interesting, especially as it will be found much connected with that of Europe; and I hope soon to be supplied with materials for a full account of them. Even their miserable remains in India must excite compassion, when we consider how great they once were, and from what height they fell, through the intolerant zeal and superstition of their neighbours. Their features are peculiar, and their language different, but perhaps not radically, from that of the other Hindoos. Their villages are still called Palli.” *Afiat. Research. vol. iii.*

† Captain Wilford on Egypt and the Nile. *Louber's Account of Siam. Chambers on the Ruins of Mavalipuram. Afiat. Research. vol. i.*

The common books of the Birman, like those of the Hindoos, particularly of such as inhabit the southern parts of India, are composed of the palmyra leaf, on which the letters are engraved with a stylus; but the Birman far excel the Braminical Hindoos in the neatness of the execution, and in the ornamental part of their volumes. In every kioum, or monastery, there is a library or repository of books, usually kept in lacquered chests. Books in the Pali text, are sometimes composed of thin stripes of bamboo, delicately plaited, and varnished over in such a manner as to form a smooth and hard surface upon a leaf of any dimensions; this surface is afterwards gilded, and the sacred letters are traced upon it in black and shining japan. The margin is illumined by wreaths and figures of gold on a red, green, or black ground.

In the recitation of poetry the language is exceedingly melodious; even the prose of common conversation appears to be measured, and the concluding word of each sentence is lengthened by a musical cadence, that marks the period to the ear of a person wholly unacquainted with the meaning.

The annexed plate exhibits the simple elementary characters, with the sound that each expresses, and the name in the Birman tongue: this name has an appropriate meaning, such as "great ka," "spiral ka," "circular za," &c. but some of these characters are very rarely used, such as No. 4, 9, 11, 12, 13, 14, 15, 19, 23, and 32.

To this alphabet is added the Shanfcrit elementary character, analogous to each of the Birman characters; also the Birman cyphers, and a specimen of the ancient Pali, taken from a very beautiful manuscript in my possession, which contains an account of the ceremony used in the consecration of Rhahaans\*.

It is difficult to ascertain with precision the exact limits of the Birman empire. Dr. Buchanan, who accompanied me, sought for geographical information with the most diligent inquiry; he procured, but not without considerable trouble and expence, sketches of every part of the Birman territories; and he has transmitted the materials which he thus collected to the East India Company. Those sketches, however, being contained in various and detached pieces, not forming any connected body, nor yet reduced to a graduated scale, can hardly be brought into the shape of a regular map without the aid of some further communications; they are nevertheless documents of much intrinsic value and importance; it is therefore to be hoped that, with the aid of some additional lights, a vacuum on the terrestrial globe will, ere long, be filled up, and a portion of the earth delineated, which heretofore has been very imperfectly known. On a probable calculation from Dr. Buchanan's papers of the extent of the present Birman empire, it appears to include the space between the 9th and 26th degrees of north latitude, and between the 92d and 107th degrees of longitude east of Greenwich, about 1050 geographical miles in length, and 600 in breadth: these are the ascertainable limits, taken from the Birman accounts; but it is probable that their dominions stretch still farther to the north. It should, however, be remarked, that the breadth often varies, and is in many places very inconsiderable on what is called the eastern peninsula.

\* I am indebted for the Shanfcrit character to the kindness of my friend Mr. Wilkins.

CHAP. XIII. — *Permission granted to make Astronomical Observations. — Message from the King. — River rises. — Present of Wheat. — Bees : — Honey. — Bengal Painter employed at Court. — Mode of catching wild Elephants. — King solicitous to introduce the Art of Glass-making. — Attentions from Viceroys to foreign Ministers. — Letters arrive from Bengal. — Our People healthy ; — Chinese the reverse : — the Cause. — Ceremony arranged ; — Procession ; — Manner of Entrance ; — Introduction into the Lotoo, or Grand Council Hall. — Description of the Court ; — its Magnificence. — King not present. — Questions proposed. — Banquet. — Formalities observed in returning.*

THE occurrences that took place in the interval between our arrival and the 30th of August, the day appointed for our formal introduction, were not of sufficient importance to require a minute relation. We enjoyed whatever personal convenience the country could supply ; and I gladly embraced every opportunity to evince the most implicit confidence ; which I am induced to think was productive of beneficial consequences. To my public character, as will appear in the sequel, the conduct of the Birman court was punctilious and haughty, even to insufferable arrogance ; but my accommodation and security as an individual were attended to with all the urbanity that could be expected from the most polished state of Europe.

Geography is the foundation of all historical knowledge, without which history becomes little better than romance. Having hitherto found the most authentic geographical information that I could obtain respecting countries eastward of the Ganges to be extremely erroneous, I was on that account more particularly desirous to determine the true situation of the capital of Ava ; especially as I had now a favourable opportunity of profiting by the assistance of a gentleman of high professional talents. It seemed expedient, however, to obtain the sanction of the Birman government, before I authorized Mr. Wood to commence astronomical observations ; and, in reply to an application I made through the Maywoon of Pegue, I received the most liberal acquiescence ; a compliment that was afterwards enhanced by a gracious message from His Birman Majesty, desiring to know, according to our calculation, the exact time when the expected eclipse of the moon was to take place, and, as it was partial, what portion of the lunar body would be in shade ? Mr. Wood satisfied him in both particulars, and we were informed that the King, on comparing Mr. Wood's account with his own predictions (for he is said to be himself an adept in the science), discovered only a slight difference in the segment of the moon which was to be obscured. Mr. Wood's knowledge procured him considerable respect among the better informed natives, but it excited the terror of the vulgar. Being obliged at night to leave the grove and go out on the plain, in order to have a distinct view of the heavenly bodies, the peasants that inhabited the neighbouring villages believed him to be a necromancer, and his telescope and time-keeper instruments of magic ; in their wonder they sometimes crowded about him so as to disturb his operations ; but it was nothing more than harmless curiosity ; they wanted to discover by what means he held communication with the Natts, the supernatural and invisible agents of the air.

The river, which had now risen to its utmost height, had encroached so much on the grove, as to threaten a general inundation ; and we began to think it not improbable that we should be obliged some night hastily to change our residence from

the house to the boats. The cause of the swelling of the waters was not apparent, as there had not fallen with us a sufficient quantity of rain to produce the smallest alteration in the body of the river: the Birman, however, who knew the exact limit to which it would rise, laughed at our proposing to make arrangements for a sudden embarkation, and assured us that, within the memory of man, the floods had never surpassed a certain boundary.

Although, from the nature of the grounds in the neighbourhood of our dwelling, rice was the only grain that could be cultivated, we understood that on the other side of the lake near the city, there were extensive fields of wheat, which, from the samples brought to us, seemed to be equal in quality to the finest growth of England. The market price at Ummerapooora was one tackal, nearly half a crown, for a taindaung, or basket weighing about fifty-six pounds; but we had no occasion to purchase any, as the provision made by the commissary of government, and the presents from those who visited us, kept our store-room full. Every person who came brought something, either fruit, flowers, a plate of fine rice, of wheat, or some similar mark of respect. In return, I treated those of the higher order with tea and sweetmeats; of the former they were extremely fond; and I can truly say, that from ten in the morning until evening, the tea equipage was never unemployed. An old man who acted as commissary, and lived in the room adjacent to our dwelling, whose title was Keywoon, brought all the females of his family to see us; they produced as their offering, fresh honeycombs hanging from the branches of the bamboo tree; the honey was dropping from the boughs into pans. I was told that the bees were wild in the woods, and in such plenty that wax formed a staple article of commerce. The natives have a mode of gathering the honey without destroying the insect. The soldiers of the guard and our domestics continued to receive two tackal, at stated periods, in addition to their allowance of rice; and beetle-leaf was to be had fresh from gardens belonging to the adjacent villages. In one of these plantations, which very much resembled an English hop-garden, I saw a man watering his plants by means of a wheel, which raised water out of a well from a considerable depth. The machine was constructed with much ingenuity.

The reputation that my Bengal draughtsman had acquired by his botanical drawings, performed under the inspection of Dr. Buchanan, having come to the knowledge of His Birman Majesty, or, in the Birman phrase, having reached the Golden Ears, the King was pleased to desire a specimen of his skill, and sent over a painting on glass, executed by a Siamese artist in his own service, signifying his royal will that it should be copied upon paper. This picture, which was a tolerable performance, represented the mode of catching wild elephants in the forests. It was thus described to me: the hunters, mounted on tame elephants that are trained to the business, by lying flat on their backs, introduce themselves unnoticed into a wild herd, and take an opportunity to cast a running noose in the track of the one that is meant to be secured. The other end of the rope is fastened to the body of the tame elephant, who immediately throws the wild one down; a battle then ensues, in which the trained elephant, being assisted by its associates, soon overpowers the inhabitant of the woods, who is deserted by all the others; it is afterwards borne away a prisoner, fast bound to two of its captors, whilst another moves on at its head, and a fourth urges it behind. In a few weeks, by proper discipline, the animal becomes docile, and submits to its fate. Those that are taken in the manner delineated in the plate, I was told, are for the most part females. Male elephants are usually enticed by the blandishments

of the females \*, trained for the purpose, into an enclosure or keddah, from whence they cannot extricate themselves, and are easily secured. My painter performed the task so much to His Majesty's satisfaction, that a request was made for his further services, in executing a drawing of a celebrated image of Gaudma, in which I willingly acquiesced. He was employed on it a week, and when it was finished, His Majesty condescended to express his approbation of the performance, which was certainly much superior to any thing that his own painter could produce.

Among the articles of foreign trade which had found their way into the Birman country, nothing was held in higher estimation than the European glass-ware, imported into Rangoon from the British settlements in India. The art of vitrification has long been known and practised in most countries of the east; but no where can they make a pure transparent substance, like that which is brought from Europe. The Birman monarch, who is a great admirer of the manufacture, was particularly desirous to introduce it into his dominions; and supposing that every Englishman must be versed in the knowledge of making whatever comes from his own country, he sent a message to request that I would furnish his artificers with such instructions as might enable them to fabricate glass of a quality equal to what was made in England. Unluckily, none of us happened to be skilled in the mystery of a glass-house; all, therefore, that we could do, was to explain the principles of the art, which Dr. Buchanan obligingly undertook; and in order to facilitate the acquirement, and guide them in the practice, I lent them the *Encyclopædia Britannica*, and pointed out the article where the process is fully explained. Baba-Sheen and the Armenian interpreter translated it into the Birman tongue; but I much fear that the theory alone, conveyed in terms of science, will not, without practical experience, advance them very far in an art which His Birman Majesty is so laudably solicitous to bring to perfection among his subjects.

It is a matter too remarkable to pass unnoticed, that of the numbers who did me the honour of a visit, there was not one that had any share in the administration of public affairs, the Woondock that met me at Pagahm excepted, who, though of distinguished rank, is but an inferior minister: none of the Woongees or Attawoons condescended to pay me the compliment. The Maywoon of Pegue sometimes honoured me with his company: his official consequence, however, was here diminished into insignificance, notwithstanding he was of the highest order, except one, of nobility, wearing a tzaloe of nine strings.

When a public minister is delegated from a foreign power to the Birman court, it is the established custom for the Maywoon, or governor of the frontier province which the minister first enters, to provide for his safe conveyance to the capital, and to attend to his convenience so long as he continues to reside in the country; a service which he is frequently obliged to perform in person, as in the present case of the English deputation. The governor of Bamoo, the province bordering on Yunan, performed the office to our Chinese neighbours with the utmost kindness and urbanity, and in his frequent visits to them took the opportunity of calling upon me. He was a sensible man, exceedingly courteous in his manner and address. He said that he had been twice to Pekin in the capacity of legate before he obtained his present station; and described the journey as very fatiguing, but, at the proper season, not at all

\* For a more ample description of the manner of catching wild elephants in Tipura, near the mountains that divide Bengal from the Birman dominions, see a Paper by John Corse, Esq. in the third volume of the Asiatic Researches. The practice of Pegue differs somewhat from that of the Bengal hunters.

perilous; he was upwards of three months in performing it. The road from the frontiers of the province of Bamoo until he penetrated far into Manchegee, or Yunan, lay through mountains: during the last thirty days he travelled in a boat on canals and rivers. He informed me that there were two languages spoken in China: one the Tirroup or native Chinese; the other the Tarrait or Tartar tongue: the latter is the language of the conquerors. The Birmans have not liberty to pass at will into the Chinese territory, nor the Chinese into that of the Birmans; but the governor has power to grant passports. He gave me an impression of the chop, or seal, which he was accustomed to affix to such papers, and likewise promised me a chart of his route to Peking, which he afterwards presented to me. I had various occasions to acknowledge the attention and kindness of this truly well bred and intelligent man, who seemed to have profited from his travels, and to have overcome that affected reserve which is the national characteristic of a Birman courtier.

On the 15th of August, the arrival of a messenger from Rangoon, sent by Captain Thomas, as the bearer of letters and newspapers that had been brought from Calcutta, diffused among us that satisfaction which they only who have been in remote countries, and long absent from their friends, can truly estimate; it was the first communication we had received since our departure from Bengal, and the situation of affairs in Europe was at that time extremely interesting.

In addition to the comfort we experienced from living at ease, and having every want liberally supplied, our gratitude was due to providence for the inestimable blessing of health, which we enjoyed to a degree that fully evinced the salubrity of the climate; not a symptom of sickness, in a single instance excepted, had manifested itself among our people; but this was not the case with our Chinese neighbours: they were less fortunate; a dysentery, which had early attacked the senior member of the embassy, began to spread among his domestics; and although they were not numerous, we heard of frequent deaths and of general illness among them. As no doubt could be entertained of the healthiness of the situation we were in, their malady was to be ascribed to some other cause than the atmosphere. The governor of Bamoo, however, explained the matter very sensibly, by observing, that the sickness under which they alone laboured, entirely originated in their own indolence, and in the pernicious diet that they used. The Chinese are said to be naturally great lovers of swine's flesh; and these personages possessed all the partiality of their country for that unclean animal; they had erected a pig-stye within the inclosure of their dwelling, where they fed pork for their own table, and, as a matter of compliment, sometimes sent a joint of the meat to me; but though it seemed to be good, we could not bring ourselves to use it. In addition to the ill effects of such gross food, they took no exercise, and drank immoderately of shouchow, a fiery and deleterious spirit. The governor of Bamoo, who accounted for the cause of their ailment, condemned their sensuality, which, he said, he had in vain endeavoured to correct by advice and persuasion. At length the principal legate became so seriously ill that his life was judged to be in danger: the governor, anxious for the preservation of a person whose safety was in some degree entrusted to his care, with a humanity that did him honour, applied to me for medical assistance. Dr. Buchanan willingly accompanied him to the sick man's chamber, and on examining his patient immediately perceived that the case was desperate. He was an emaciated old man, reduced by a disease of such long continuance as to leave no prospect of recovery: medicines, however, were administered, which, though they afforded but a temporary relief, raised a fallacious hope in the breast of the sufferer, who expressed the utmost anxiety to be able to attend

attend on the day appointed for our public reception, at which time the Chinese deputies were likewise to be introduced: they had before been admitted to an informal audience of the King, when the court was at Meengoung, soon after their first arrival, where His Majesty met them as though by chance. It is not usual for the King to receive public ministers ceremoniously, except in the metropolis.

As the time approached that was appointed for our public entry into Ummerapoora, which as yet we had only viewed from our residence on the opposite bank of the lake, I judged it proper to make some inquiry respecting the ceremonials usually observed on such occasions, and the exterior forms of homage that would be required. I wished also to ascertain the relative degree of rank that would be granted to the agent of the Governor-general of India; and as I was officially given to understand that the Chinese deputies were to be introduced on the same day, I urged my right to precedence, on the thorough persuasion that they did not constitute an imperial embassy, but were merely a provincial legation, although probably sanctioned by the monarch of China.

The necessity of ascertaining these points became evident, from the scrupulous regard to external forms which the Birmans manifested upon every occasion. The Maywoon of Pegue being the channel of my official communication, I received through him, in reply to my first application, a general assurance of due attention, but an equivocal answer with respect to the Chinese. Repeating the requisition for satisfactory particulars, I was informed that I should be allowed parity of rank with the nobility of the court, and that precedence over the Chinese deputies would be granted to me. With those assurances I remained satisfied.

On the 29th of August, the day preceding that of our formal introduction, I received a message, desiring to know what number of attendants I meant to take with me, and to specify the rank they bore, particularly that of the pundit, the moonshce, and painter. I was at the same time acquainted, that it was not customary to admit armed men into the palace, a form to which I readily assented. Late in the evening, another message was brought to inform me, that the profession of Dr. Buchanan was held by the Birmans in a less dignified estimation than it bore among us; and that it was unusual, on such solemn occasions, to receive a person of his station into the lotoo, or great council hall. I took some pains to vindicate the dignity of the liberal and enlightened profession of medicine, and explained to them, that there was no monarch of Europe who did not consider a physician as worthy to hold a place in the most distinguished ranks of society. This difficulty was at length conquered; they agreed to receive the Doctor, but stipulated that he should ride on horseback in the procession, and not be indulged with an elephant: a privilege which, they said, was granted only to persons of the highest consequence.

Preparatory to our visit, the presents intended for His Majesty were carefully assorted, and put into separate boxes: they were both handsome and costly, consisting of various kinds of European and Indian articles, such as mirrors, cut glass, fire-arms, broad cloths, embroidered muslins, and Indian silks, all of the finest quality that could be procured; among other things there was a Shanscrit manuscript, superbly illuminated, and written with beautiful minuteness; it was a copy of the Bagwaat Geeta, inclosed in a case of gold, and designed as a personal compliment from Sir John Shore, the Governor-general to His Birman Majesty: there was also an electrical machine, of the effects of which some of the Birmans were not ignorant\*. The boxes were covered with red satin, and fastened to poles, for the convenience of being carried on men's

\* An electrifying machine had been introduced several years ago by a Frenchman.

shoulders. Every matter was arranged on the day before the ceremony was to take place.

On the 30th of August we took an early breakfast, and about eight o'clock a Sere-dogee, or secretary of the lotoo, came to acquaint us that boats were prepared to convey us across the lake. Our domestics had received orders to hold themselves in readiness, dressed in the livery of the embassy, and the guard was paraded without arms. The presents having been sent before, we walked to the water-side attended by Baba-Sheen, the Sere-dogee, and several inferior officers: at the same time the two junior members of the Chinese mission, the senior being now at the point of death, came forth from the gate of their inclosure, attended by a retinue comparatively very small. We found three war-boats at the bank ready to receive us; these boats were sufficiently capacious for the number they were destined to contain: the largest was of fifty oars, but they were not above one-third manned, probably with a view to our accommodation, as the vessels are so narrow that persons unaccustomed to them cannot sit between the rowers without inconvenience: it did not, however, escape our notice that they were quite plain, without either gilding or paint. We were about twenty minutes in rowing to the opposite side of the lake, and found a crowd of people collected near the water's edge to see us land. The place where we landed appeared to be nearly a mile, in a direct line below the fort, the southern walls of which are washed by the lake when the waters are swollen. Three elephants and several horses were waiting to convey us, and some Birman officers of inferior consequence attended at the bank, dressed in their robes and caps of ceremony. The furniture of the animals we were to ride was far from being superb. Men of rank in the Birman empire always guide their own elephants, and sit on the neck, in the same manner that the drivers or mohaats do in India: owing to this custom, they are unprovided with those commodious seats in which an Indian gentleman reposes at ease on the back of this noble beast, whilst the government of it is entrusted to another person. A large wicker basket, somewhat resembling the body of an open carriage, but smaller, without any elevated seat, and covered with carpets at the bottom, was fastened on the back of the elephant by means of iron chains that passed under his belly, and were prevented from chafing him by tanned ox-hides. This equipage was neither comfortable nor elegant; but as I had not learned how to manage an elephant and ride between his ears, there was no alternative; I was obliged either to take what was provided, or submit to a less dignified conveyance. The drivers, instead of making the beast kneel down to receive his rider, as is the custom in other countries, drove him up to a temporary stage that had been erected for the purpose of mounting. Each of the Chinese deputies was also honoured with an elephant. Mr. Wood and Dr. Buchanan rode on handsome spirited horses, of the small Pegue breed, which had been prepared for them, and were equipped with much better furniture than was assigned to the elephants. The Birman saddles, however, not being well calculated for the ease of an European rider, two of English manufacture, which we had brought with us, were substituted in their stead. The moonthee, the pundit, and the painter, were likewise permitted to ride on horseback. After we had adjusted the ceremonial of mounting, the procession was marshalled in the following order:

- A Sandohgaan, or master of the ceremonies, on horseback;
- An Oniroupseree, or register of strangers, on horseback;
- A Letzounferee, or register of presents, on horseback,  
dressed in their official robes and caps;

Soldiers that composed the escort ;  
 The elephant of the representative of the Governor-General ;  
 Mr. Wood, and Dr. Buchanan, on horseback ;  
 Baba-Sheen, as chief Interpreter ;  
 The Chinese Deputies, on elephants, preceded by their servants, bearing flags.  
 A Woondock, or second counsellor of state ;  
 Two Terrezgees, or officers who hold judiciary stations.

The servants of the embassy walked on each side, two by two ; and a number of constables attended, with long white rods, to keep off the populace.

The procession being thus arranged, we commenced our march, keeping a moderate pace, so as not to distress the bearers of the presents. After proceeding a short way, we entered a wide and handsome street that was paved with brick : the houses on each side were low, built of wood, and covered with tiles ; they had been evidently prepared for the occasion, being fresh whitewashed, and decorated with boughs and flowers ; the shops, which are usually open towards the street, displayed their best goods. In front of each house was a slight latticed railing of bamboo, advanced into the street, to the distance of three or four feet ; over this space was spread a shade of bamboo mats, that reached from the eaves of the houses to the railing, forming a sort of covered balcony, every one of which was crowded with spectators, men and women indiscriminately. Boys sat on the tops of the houses, and the streets were so thronged as to leave only a sufficient space for the procession to move without interruption ; but what rendered the scene most remarkable was, the posture which the multitude preserved ; every person, as soon as we came in sight squatted on his hams, and continued in that attitude until we had passed by : this was an indication of high respect. Throughout the crowd there was no disturbance nor any extraordinary noise ; the populace looked up and gazed in silence, nor did they attempt to follow us, but were satisfied with a transient view. The pagwaats, or constables, armed with long rods, sometimes affected to strike those who were most forward, in order to make them recede ; but in this act they humanely avoided hurting any one, generally directing the blow to the ground close to those whom they intended to remove. Thus we passed through several wide streets running in a straight direction, and often crossed by others at right angles. We perceived only two brick houses, and these we were informed belonged to foreigners. Contiguous to the fort was a small street, entirely occupied by the shops of silversmiths, who exhibited their wares in the open balcony, and displayed a great variety of Birman utensils in plate. The distance from the landing-place to this street we computed to be two miles. Immediately after we crossed the ditch of the fort, which was wide, deep, and faced with brick, but had little water in it : the passage was over a causeway formed on a mound of earth, in which there was a chasm of about ten feet to carry off the rain, and across this a strong bridge of planks was laid. Between the bridge and the foot of the wall there was a space, eighty or a hundred feet wide, on which two redoubts were raised to defend the passage of the ditch : the rampart, faced by a wall of brick, was about twenty feet high, exclusive of the parapet, which had embrasures for cannon, and apertures for musquetry. Small demi-bastions projected at regular distances beyond the wall, but they did not appear to contain sufficient space to admit of heavy ordnance. The body of the rampart was composed of earth, sustained externally and within by strong walls ; the gate was massive, with a wicket in it ; and the fort altogether, considered as an eastern fortification, was respectable, but insufficient to resist the approaches of an enemy skilled in the science of war. The Birmans, however,

ever, believe it to be impregnable; they put their trust in the height and solidity of their wall, which they conceive to be strong enough to resist all assaults, independant of the cover of a glacis, or any other advanced work than the ditch. I did not attempt to mortify their pride by telling them a disagreeable truth, that a battery of half a dozen cannon would, in a few hours, reduce their walls to a heap of ruins; and indeed if I had told them so, it is probable they might not have credited the information.

We entered by the western gate: there was little distinction between the houses in the fort and those of the city, except that the dwellings of persons of official consequence, and the members of the royal family, who resided within the walls, were surrounded by a wooden partition that inclosed a court. We passed, making several angles in our way, through a market supplied with rice, pulse, and other vegetables, but saw neither meat nor fish. At the distance of two short streets from the palace, we came to a spot where bamboo stages were erected for us to alight, similar to those at the landing-place; here we dismounted, and walked in the same order as we had rode. Coming to the top of a short street leading down to the palace, we were desired by the Sandohgaan, or master of the ceremonies, through Baba-Sheen, to stop and make obeisance to the residence of majesty, by a gentle inclination of the body, and raising the hand to the head, as they did; a desire with which I complied, although I conceived the distance so great as hardly to require that mark of respect. When we had proceeded two or three hundred yards farther, the Sandohgaan repeated the ceremony of bowing, to which I offered no objection; nor should I have felt the smallest reluctance in complying, had not the manner of the Sandohgaan been what I considered extremely disrespectful. Thus we proceeded, until we came to the room, which was a lofty hall, raised four or five feet from the ground, and open on all sides; it was situated about a hundred yards from the gate of the palace court, on the left hand, and in the centre of a spacious area. Putting off our shoes we entered the saloon, and sat down on carpets that were spread for us, with our faces towards the palace gate; here the presents were deposited, whilst the Chinese deputies took their places on the other side.

It was now about ten o'clock, and the Woondock intimated that we must wait until all the princes of the royal family arrived, before it would be proper for us to enter: we had but a short time, when the Prince of Pegahin, the junior of the King's sons in point of rank though not in years, being born of a different mother, made his appearance. He was mounted on the neck of a very fine elephant, which he guided himself, sitting on a scarlet cloth embroidered with gold, whilst a servant behind, on the back of the animal, screened him from the sun with a gilded parasol. About fifty musqueteers led the way; these were followed by a number of halberdiers, carrying spears with gilded shafts, and decorated with gold tassels. Six or eight officers of his household (each of the King's sons have a separate establishment) came next, dressed in velvet robes with embroidered caps, and chains of gold depending from the left shoulder to the right side; these immediately preceded the Prince's elephant; another body of spearmen, with his palanquin of state, closed the procession. On entering the gate, he gave to one of his attendants a polished iron hook, with which he governed his elephant; as not any thing that can be used as a weapon is suffered to be brought within the precincts of the palace, not even by His Majesty's sons. The Prince's escort halted without the gate, and the greater number of his attendants were stopped, those only being admitted who were of higher rank, together with the men who carried his large beetle-box of gold, and his flaggon of water, which are brought rather for state than for refreshment. When the Prince had alighted, his elephant returned, and all the attendants

ants ranged themselves in the area between the rroom and the palace gate. Soon after the Prince of Pegahm had entered, the Prince of Tongho, the next in precedence, appeared: he was attended by a suite nearly similar to that of his brother; and in succession came the Princes of Bassin and of Prome: the Engy Teekein, or heir apparent, came last; when he arrived it was twelve o'clock, which the great drum that proclaims the hours sounded from a lofty tower near the palace. The state in which the latter personage made his public entrance was highly superb, and becoming his elevated station. He was preceded by a numerous body guard of infantry, consisting of four or five hundred men, armed with muskets, who marched in regular files, and were uniformly clothed and accoutred. Next came a party of Cassay troopers, habited in their fanciful dress, with high conical caps bending backwards. We were told that through respect they had alighted from their horses nearly at the same place where we had dismounted. Twenty or thirty men followed these, holding long gilded wands: then came eighteen or twenty military officers of rank, with gilded helmets; next, the civil officers of his household and his council, wearing the tzaloe, or chain of nobility, and arrayed in their robes and caps of state, varied according to their respective ranks. The Prince, borne on men's shoulders, in a very rich palanquin, but without any canopy, followed; he was screened from the sun by a large gilded fan, supported by a nobleman; and on each side of his palanquin walked six Cassay astrologers, of the Braminical sect, dressed in white gowns and white caps studded with stars of gold; close behind, his servants carried his water flaggon, and a gold beetle-box, of a size which appeared to be no inconsiderable load for a man. Several elephants and led horses with rich housings came after; some inferior officers, and a body of spearmen, with three companies of musqueteers, one clothed in blue, another in green, and a third in red, concluded the procession.

In every part of this ostentatious parade perfect regularity was maintained, which considerably increased the effect. All things seemed to have been carefully predisposed and properly arranged. If it was less splendid than imperial Delhi in the days of Mogul magnificence, it was far more decorous than any court of Hindostan at the present day. The rabble was not tumultuous, the attendants and soldiery were silent, and every man seemed to know his own place. No noisy heralds, as is the custom in India, ran before, vociferating titles, and overturning people in their way. The display of this day was solemn and dignified, and I doubt much whether, in any other capital, such multitudes could be brought together with so little confusion; as, besides the attendants and the military, there were many thousands of spectators.

Our delay in the rroom had now been protracted to two hours, a circumstance which, though it gratified our curiosity with a most novel and interesting spectacle, yet could not be considered as a mark of respect, especially as we had not the company of any person of distinguished rank, the junior Woondock excepted, who stayed with us but a very short time. The attendance of the Maywoon of Pegue was, according to the usage of the country, on this occasion our undoubted right; and the example of the viceroy of Bamoo, who paid that compliment to the Chinese deputies, placed the omission in a more striking point of view, whilst the singular character of the people put it out of my power to attribute the neglect to chance or to casual inadvertency.

A few minutes after the Engy Teekien, or Prince Royal had entered, we received a summons, in compliance with which we proceeded from the rroom, observing the same order as before; the presents carried in front, and the members of the Chinese embassy following the English deputation. As we proceeded, the Sandohgaan was exceedingly

exceedingly troublesome, by calling on us to make frequent superfluous obeisances whilst his manner of requiring them was conspicuously uncivil. I checked his insolence by observing, through Baba-Sheen, that if he wished me to proceed, he must alter his tone and demeanour. This reproof, however, had only a momentary effect; he soon resumed his arrogant behaviour, which he repeated throughout the day whenever opportunity offered.

On approaching the gate, the greater part of our attendants were stopped, and not permitted to follow us; and we were desired to put off our shoes, with which we immediately complied.

The area we now entered was spacious, and contained the lotoo, or grand hall of consultation and of audience, where the Woongees meet in council, and where affairs of state are discussed and determined. Within this inclosure there is an inner court, separated by a brick wall, which comprehends the palace, and all the buildings annexed to the royal residence. Within the gate a troop of tumblers were performing their feats, while dancing girls were exhibiting their graces in the open air, and on the bare ground, to the sound of no very harmonious music. We were next ushered up a flight of stairs, into a very noble saloon, or open hall, called the lotoo, where the court was assembled in all the pomp that Birman grandeur could display. On entering this hall, a stranger cannot fail to be surprised at the magnificence of its appearance: it is supported by seventy-seven pillars, disposed in eleven rows, each consisting of seven. The space between the pillars I judged to be about twelve feet, except the central row, which was probably two feet wider. The roof of the building is composed of distinct stages, the highest in the centre. The row of pillars that supported the middle, or most lofty roof, we judged to be thirty-five or forty feet in height; the others gradually diminish as they approach the extremities of the building, and those which sustain the balcony are not more than twelve or fourteen feet. At the farther part of the hall there is a high gilded lattice, extending quite across the building, and in the centre of the lattice is a gilded door, which, when opened, displays the throne; this door is elevated five or six feet from the floor, so that the throne must be ascended by means of steps at the back, which are not visible, nor is the seat of the throne to be seen, except when the King comes in person to the lotoo. At the bottom of the lattice there is a gilt balustrade, three or four feet high, in which the umbrellas, and several other insignia of state, were deposited. The royal colour is white, and the umbrellas were made of silk of that colour, richly bespangled with gold. Within this magnificent saloon were seated, on their inverted legs, all the Princes and the principal nobility of the Birman empire, each person in the place appropriated to his particular rank and station: proximity to the throne is, of course, the most honourable situation; and this station was occupied by the Princes of the blood, the Woongees, the Attawoons, and other great officers of state. The Engy Teekien (or heir apparent) sat on a small stool, about six inches high; the other Princes on fine mats. The space between the central pillars that front the throne is always left vacant, for this curious reason, that His Majesty's eyes may not be obliged to behold those whom he does not mean to honour with a look. The place allotted for us was next to this unoccupied part, but we afterwards discovered that the Chinese deputies had taken possession of those seats which, according to the etiquette that had been agreed upon, the English gentlemen were to have occupied. So trivial a circumstance would not have merited attention, had it not been followed by circumstances which left no room to suppose, that any act relating to external forms was either accidental or unpremeditated on the part of those who regulated the ceremonials.

After

After we had taken possession of mats that had been spread for us, it was civilly intimated, that we ought not to protrude the soles of our feet towards the seat of majesty, but should endeavour to sit in the posture that was observed by those around us. With this desire we would readily have complied if it had been in our power, but we had not yet learned to sit upon our own legs: the flexibility of muscles which the Birman, and indeed all the natives of India, possess, is such as cannot be acquired by Europeans. A Birman, when he sits, seldom touches the seat with his posteriors, but is supported by his heels. It is scarcely practicable for an European, dressed in close garments, to place himself in such an attitude: and if he were able, it would be out of his power to continue long in it. We inverted our legs as much as possible, and the awkwardness with which we did this excited a smile from some; not a word, however, was uttered, and our endeavours, I thought, seemed to give satisfaction. In a few minutes eight Bramins, dressed in white sacerdotal gowns, and silk caps of the same colour, studded with gold, assembled round the foot of the throne, within the balustrade, and recited a long prayer in not unpleasing recitative; this ceremony lasted a quarter of an hour. When they had withdrawn, the letter from the governor-general which I delivered to a Woodcock, was placed on a silver tray in front of the railing, and a Sandohgaan, or reader, advanced into the vacant space, and made three prostrations, touching the ground each time with his forehead: he then read, or rather chanted, in a loud voice, what I understood was a Birman translation of the letter. When this was done, the reader repeated his prostrations, and next proclaimed a list of the presents for the King. These several readings being finished, he repeated his obeisances and retired: after an interval of a few minutes, an officer, entitled Nakhängee, advanced, and proposed a question to me, as if from His Majesty: on receiving my answer he withdrew, as it might be supposed to communicate the reply, and returned in an adequate time to ask another: thus he put three separate questions to me, which were as follows: "You come from a distant country; how long is it since you arrived? How were the King, Queen, and Royal Family of England, when the last accounts came from thence? Was England at peace or war with other nations? and was your country in a state of disturbance?"

The latter question alone contained more than words of compliment and ceremony, and coming in such a solemn manner, required a clear and determinate answer on my part. I replied in the Persian language—"That Great Britain was at enmity with France; that the continent of Europe was the seat of war; but that the kingdom of England enjoyed perfect tranquillity, which it was not probable would be disturbed." This interrogation seemed to indicate, that the Birman had received impressions of our situation in Europe from no very favourable quarter; and I had afterwards occasion to know, that the unremitting and restless industry of French propagators had pervaded even this remote region; and that though, in such a country, they dare not avow their equalizing principles, they left no art unpractised, through the means of their emissaries, to insinuate doubts, excite fears, and create distrust of the English.

These were all the questions that were proposed; neither the Chinese, nor any other person, being interrogated. In a few minutes after my last reply had been conveyed, a very handsome desert was brought in and set before us; it consisted of a variety of sweetmeats, as well China as Birman; lapack, or pickled tea-leaf, and beetle, formed part of the entertainment, which was served up in silver, china, and glass-ware: there appeared to be not less than a hundred different small dishes: we tasted of a few, and found some of them very palatable; but none of the courtiers partook, or moved from their places. About half an hour had elapsed, when we were informed by the Sandohgaan

dohgaan that there was no occasion for us to remain any longer. The non-appearance of His Majesty was a considerable disappointment, as I had been taught to expect that he would have received the governor-general's letter in person: it was not, however, until some time afterwards, that I was made acquainted with the true reason of his absence.

When we rose to leave the Lotoo, the Sandohgaan desired us to make three obeisances to the throne, by a slight inclination of the body, and raising the right hand to the head; we were then reconducted to the saloon, where we were informed it was necessary we should remain until the princes came forth from the palace, and had got upon their elephants, as their etiquette did not allow any person, on such occasions, to mount before the members of the royal family; we accordingly took our places in this hall as before: shortly afterwards the court broke up, with as much form and parade as it had assembled.

The ceremony of departure differed from that of entrance: the Engy Teekien came out first, who went in last; next followed the other members of the royal family in rotation, and after them came the Chobwaas, or petty tributary princes: these are personages who, before the Birmans had extended their conquests over the vast territory they now possess, had held small independent sovereignties, which they were able to maintain so long as the balance of power continued doubtful between the Birmans, Peguers, and Siamese; but the decided success that has attended the Birman arms since the accession of the present family, having deprived them of their independence, their countries are now reduced to subordinate provinces of the Birman empire. As many of their governors as confidence could be placed in, and who were willing to take the oath of allegiance to their conquerors, were continued in the management of their former possessions, and are obliged to make an annual visit to the capital, to pay homage in person at the golden feet. The moderation, as well as the policy of this measure, is said to have fully answered the ends that were proposed.

As soon as the royal family had departed, we returned to the place where we had left our elephants, and proceeded home; with this difference, that the Chinese deputies, who had followed us to the palace, preceded us in our return; a circumstance which, in addition to several others, gave me cause to attribute want of ingenuousness to those who had the management of the ceremonials. My claim of precedence had been unconditionally stipulated and admitted; a precedence, which the certainty that the Chinese deputies constituted only a provincial mission of very inferior consideration, gave me an undoubted title to demand.

With a people less attentive to punctilio, or less regardful of the privileges and external indications of rank, I should certainly not have considered it necessary to controvert matters of no intrinsic moment in themselves, but which, when intended to produce an effect on the minds of those who can only judge from appearances, become, to a person in a public capacity, of real importance. Every occurrence of this day, and every object that presented itself, evinced the previous care that had been bestowed on the minutest points of etiquette: the utmost splendour of the court had been displayed on the occasion; and I was credibly informed, that the non-appearance of His Majesty was neither customary when a foreign minister from a sovereign state was introduced, nor owing to any accidental prevention: but that it was a matter predetermined, in order to afford a pretext for spreading abroad that the representative of the English nation had delivered his dispatches, and rendered tribute (for so they denominated the presents), without being honoured by an interview of their King. These apparent indications of arrogance, which were not diminished by the unworthy artifice,

artifice, of making me believe that His Majesty was to have received in person the letter from the governor general, as coming from a sovereign and an equal power, gave me reasonable grounds to be dissatisfied with the manner in which the ceremonials had been conducted, and made me suspect the real light in which it was the wish of the court that I should be considered. As nothing degrading to my public character, however, had yet been avowed, I refrained from any formal declaration of my sentiments till subsequent circumstances confirmed my conjectures, and rendered an explanation unavoidable.

We did not arrive at our dwelling in the grove till past three o'clock. In our way home the spectators were few, in comparison with the numbers collected to gaze at us when we went. The day had been oppressively hot; we were nevertheless highly gratified by the scene we had beheld, which was uncommonly splendid, and in every respect suited to the dignity of an imperial court. The evening, however, proved cool; and refreshing breezes recompensed us for the sultriness of the day, the transactions of which supplied an interesting topic of conversation until the hour of repose.

CHAP. XIV. *Presents expected by the principal Officers:—of trivial Value:—Matter of Form.—Visit the Engy Teekien.—Conduct of the Public Officers more respectful.—Splendour of the Court.—Engy Teekien.—Ceremony at departing.—Chobwas, or tributary Princes.—Meedaw Praw,—a Princess of high Dignity:—her Court—venerable Person: Curiosity:—Politeness.—Visit to the Princes of Prome;—of Bassien;—of Tongho;—and of Pegahm.—Reception at their respective Courts.—View the Picdigaut Tiek, or Royal Library.—Noises renewed by the Chinese.—Effects of Despotism.—Pride of the Ministers.—Insurmountable Difficulty in a point of Etiquette.—Politeness of the Governor of Bamoo.—Visit to the Sere daw Poundagee Praw, or Arch Priest.—Magnificent Kioum.—Numerous religious Buildings.—Knebang Kioum,—a beautiful Building,—to what Purpose applied.—A Kioum of extraordinary Splendour.—Visit the Arracan Gaudma;—enthusiastic Adoration of the Multitude.—Chounda, or Place of Accommodation for Strangers.—Partake of Refreshment.—Return.—Description of the Port of Ummerapoora.*

THE next morning, August 31st, the Shawbunder of Rangoon, and Baba-Sheen, waited on us with information, that as our formal introduction was now past, I might command elephants and horses to go wheresoever I pleased; and that they had received an order to attend and to shew me whatever was most worthy the notice of a stranger. They intimated also, that the Engy Teekien, or heir apparent, was to hold a court on the following day for the purpose of our introduction, and that our attendance would be expected about the hour of noon. These instructions they had received from the Maywoon of Pegue; to whom I wrote in reply, that as the stipulated formalities, which had been agreed to by all parties, had been infringed on the preceding day, it became necessary, before I could accept of the Prince's invitation, to receive a positive assurance that they would be better observed on this occasion. I likewise represented the conduct of the Sandhougan as obviously disrespectful, and hoped that he would not be allowed to officiate again on our introduction; but, above all, I desired to be explicitly informed, whether or not the Engy Teekien purposed to appear in person, without which I could not possibly think of attending his court.

To this letter I received a civil reply in the Persian language, assuring me that some part of what to me seemed objectionable, originated in mistake; that the Sandhougan

should be confined for his improper conduct; and that the Prince intended to receive me in person: these assurances, coming from such a quarter, were perfectly satisfactory.

Since my arrival I had been apprized of a circumstance, of which I was before unaware, that it was customary for a person in a public capacity to present something of the manufacture of his country, or some rarity, to each member of the royal family to whom he is introduced; it was likewise usual, though not indispensably necessary, to pay the same compliment to the chief ministers and the principal officers of the court. This present, being no more than a piece or two of muslin, or silk, was too trifling to be regarded by the individuals for its value: it was, nevertheless, expected, and the omission would be considered as unhandsome: in addition, therefore, to the things that I had brought with me, I gave directions to purchase such articles, of European and Indian manufacture, as were most esteemed, and could be procured; these I allotted agreeably to the instructions of Baba-Sheen and the Shawbunder, who were so good as to acquaint me with the established forms, and the proportion to be presented to each person.

At nine o'clock on the first of September we crossed the river, nearly with the same attendance as on the former day. In consequence of an application I had made to the Maywoon of Pegue, elephants were now provided for Mr. Wood and Dr. Buchanan. This was a circumstance which neither the gentlemen themselves nor I should have deemed of sufficient importance to deserve any attention, had not the junior members of the Chinese embassy been supplied with them; but as these people paid such strict attention to the minutest article expressive of relative rank, I did not think it right that the gentlemen with me should be considered in a degree inferior to the subordinate members of a provincial delegation, of which, an acquiescence, in a less dignified mode of conveyance than the Chinese were allowed, would, on my part, have been a tacit admission.

We proceeded through the city by the route we pursued before, with the presents carried in front, and observing the same order of procession. Many of the houses were decorated with flower-pots and garlands, but the spectators were by no means so numerous as when we made our first entrance. We dismounted at the top of a street within a few hundred yards of the surrounding wall of the Prince's palace, where stages had been erected for our convenience; from thence we were conducted to the room, which was situated a little to the right hand of the principal gate; there was another building of a similar kind opposite to us, which we were informed was used only for trials, and the transaction of public business; but the one that we occupied, was appropriated to ceremony and state. In the formalities of this day, a much more respectful demeanour was preserved towards us, than on the former occasion, and we sat in the room with better company. Two Woodocks, the master of the elephants, and some other officers bearing emblems of rank, attended us; another Sandohgaan also officiated in the ceremonials, and behaved very differently from the person whose manners had been so offensive, and whom I did not observe at court on this day. This conduct fully compensated for the former incivility, though perhaps the Sandohgaan did not receive any severe reprehension for what he had done.

The King of the Birmans, who seems to have a parental fondness for all his children is said to be particularly attached to the Engy Teekien, or eldest Prince; and with a liberal policy has granted him a share of the government almost equal to what he himself exercises. The establishment of the heir apparent is becoming his high station

station and future expectations; and his Woon, or chief minister, stands among the foremost of the Birman nobles in reputation for wisdom and integrity.

There was little in the etiquette of this day different from that of the visit to His Majesty: we waited in the rroom until all the younger Princes had arrived, which they did, as before, in rotation, beginning with the junior. The members of the royal family went within the gate, before they alighted from their elephants and palanquins; but the ministers and the nobility dismounted on the outside, and proceeded on foot. After each person had entered, the gate was immediately closed, and opened as soon as another visitant presented himself. When we advanced to the gate, we expected it would have instantly been thrown open to admit us; a delay, however, occurred, which at first I was inclined to attribute to some accidental circumstance: but after I had waited some minutes under a burning sun, finding that there was an unnecessary and apparently a studied protraction, I turned round and walked towards the rroom; on this the door was immediately opened, and the interior court, on the right hand of the gate, as we entered, displayed several men dancing in masquerade, and on the left was a band of musicians, and a set of dancing girls without masks. A little farther on were two handsome houses; one of masonry, with doors and windows closely resembling Gothic structure, flat roofed, and of a peculiar but far from inelegant construction; the other was of wood. We were conducted to the latter, and ascended into a capacious saloon, open on three sides. Here we found the court assembled, nearly in the same manner as at the lotoo. The hall consisted of six rows of pillars, seven in each row; but there was neither gilding nor paint bestowed upon them, such ornaments being strictly confined to the sovereign and the priesthood. The naked pillars gave a very rude appearance to the apartment, which was disadvantageously contrasted with the brilliant dresses of the courtiers. We occupied the same relative position to the rest of the assembly as at the lotoo, with this difference, that the gentlemen of the English mission had the place assigned to them, which the Chinese deputies, either through mistake, or design, possessed on the former day. At one end of the saloon, against a wainscot, stood the Prince's sofa of state, covered with embroidered cloth, and on each side were ranged several utensils of gold of a very large size; such as his beetle-box, cup, spitting-pot, and water-flaggon: above the sofa there was a window in the wainscot, six or eight feet from the ground, with folding shutters, that were closed when we entered the hall. Soon after we had taken our seats, four Bramins dressed in white sacerdotal garments, chanted a prayer that lasted a quarter of an hour; their devotions being finished, the window before mentioned suddenly opened, and discovered the Engy Teekien seated behind it. The courtiers immediately bent their bodies, and sat in a crouching attitude, with their hands joined: the English gentlemen joined their hands like the rest of the company. The Prince seemed to be about twenty-eight or thirty years of age, of an open countenance, and rather inclined to corpulency; but of his person we could not judge, as his head and shoulders only were visible. His habit, as much as could be seen of it, shone with gold, and he wore on his head a pyramidal cap, that glistened exceedingly, but of its real richness we could not form any estimate, being at too great a distance. A list of the presents were then recited in a loud voice by a reader kneeling in front of the sofa; after which total silence prevailed throughout the assembly: not a word was spoken by the Prince; he noticed no one, but sat erect and motionless, without appearing to look either to the right or the left. About a quarter of an hour elapsed in this dumb interview, when on a sudden,

sudden, by some agency invisible to us, the window-shutters were closed, and we saw him no more.

A very handsome dessert was then served up on dishes spread on gilded trays. We tasted of several things, and, when the repast was ended, returned to the room, in which we remained until the royal family passed by. As much form was observed this day, as when the court assembled at the lotoo; and the demonstrations of respect manifested towards the Engy Teekien, as well by his brothers as by inferior subjects, fell little short of what is offered to the sovereign himself, a circumstance that strikingly evinces the wisdom and policy of the government. The chobwas, or petty Princes, who followed the royal family was this day very numerous: we were told, that there were altogether fifty-six chobwas dependent on the Birman state; if this be true, their territories must be very inconsiderable. On the present occasion the governor of of Bamoo walked amongst them in procession, from which we concluded that he was a temporary regent; a station to which the King occasionally appoints Birman officers, when the hereditary Prince of the country happens to be a minor, or incapable of the administration of public affairs.

The mother of the principal Queen, named Medaw Praw, has already been mentioned as a Princess of high dignity, venerable for her years, and illustrious from the affinity that she bears to the royal family; her sister had been the wife of the famous Alompra, the deliverer of his country; and, her daughter being espoused to the reigning monarch, she stands in the double relation of aunt and mother-in-law to the King. I had been apprized that a visit to this lady would be an acceptable mark of respect to His Majesty; and as the rank she bore gave her precedence over all the sons of the King except the heir apparent, it was proper that I should wait upon her before I paid my respects to the junior Princes. I gladly embraced the opportunity which this offer gave me, to attend the drawing-room of an Asiatic Princess, and promised myself much gratification from a sight so uncommon among the jealous nations of the east. When the ceremony at the palace of the Engy Teekien had ended, it was not more than two o'clock, and there was yet sufficient time to wait upon the Medaw Praw, who, we were informed, had made preparations to receive us. Mounting our elephants, we went in form to attend her, and found her possessed of a very handsome mansion in the neighbourhood of the imperial palace; it was situated in the centre of a court, surrounded by a palisade, at the gate of which there was a stage erected for our convenience in alighting. We entered the enclosure without any of the parade observed in our former visits: at the bottom of the stairs we put off our shoes, and ascended into a handsome hall, supported by several lofty pillars; at the farther end a portion of the floor was elevated six or eight inches, and separated by a neat balustrade from the rest of the room; within this space, under a white canopy, was placed a large cushion of blue velvet fringed with gold, on a carpet covered with muslin. There was a numerous assemblage of both sexes, but particularly women, sitting round the balustrade. As soon as we entered, a space was immediately vacated for us to occupy, in front of the door and opposite to the cushion. After we had been seated a few minutes, the old lady came forth from an inner apartment, and walked slowly towards the elevated seat, supported by two female servants, whilst another held up her train; her long white hair hung loose upon her shoulders, but she wore neither covering nor ornament upon her head. Her dress, which was extremely fine, without being gaudy, became her advanced years and high dignity; it consisted of a long robe of white muslin, and over her shoulders

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was thrown a fash of gauze, embroidered with sprigs of gold. She advanced to where the cushion was placed, and took her seat on the carpet, supporting her head on her arm that rested on the pillow, whilst the two female attendants, neatly dressed, kneeling, one on each side fanned her with long gilded fans. Every person seemed to pay her profound respect, and when she entered, both men and women bent their bodies in the attitude of submission. I had brought, as a token of my veneration, a string of pearl and some fine muslin. The Sandohgaan announced the offering, and enumerated the articles with a loud voice, entreating, in my name, her gracious acceptance of them. She looked at the English gentlemen with earnestness, but seemed entirely to disregard the Chinese, although their dress was much more showy than ours: her manner was on this occasion extremely complaisant, and she asked several questions, such as, what were our names? how we were in health? what were our ages? On being informed, she obligingly said she would pray that we might attain as great a longevity as herself; adding, that she had reached her seventy-second year. I did not perceive, amongst the numerous company that attended, any of the junior Princes, or of the principal ministers, although there were several personages of distinction. After she had retired, a very handsome dessert was served up: the fruit and preserves were delicious: whatever China could yield was united with the produce of their own country. Having tasted of various dishes, we withdrew without any ceremony; and as none of the royal family were present, there was no necessity to delay our departure: we accordingly returned home, a good deal oppressed by the heat of the weather, and wearied by the repetition of tedious formalities.

On the two following days we visited the Princes of Prome, of Bassien, of Tongho, and of Pegahm, titles taken from the provinces over which they respectively preside. These brothers are not all by the same mother; the Prince of Prome alone being full brother to the Engy Teekien, or heir apparent. In the course of our visits we had a better opportunity than before of viewing the streets and buildings, the former of which were invariably laid out in strait lines, crossing each other at right angles. The houses in general differed little from those of Rangoon; they were all covered with tiles, and on the ridge of the roofs was a long range of earthen pots, filled with water, in readiness to be broken in case of fire: the few houses of brick and mortar which we saw were said to belong to the members of the royal family. Rows of trees were planted in several streets, five or six feet in front of the houses, forming a shady walk for foot passengers. As the younger Princes do not assume the state of royalty, our reception was much more gay and less ceremonious at their palaces, than at that of the Engy Teekien. At the palace of the Prince of Prome, or, as he is termed, the Pee Teekien, the preparations made for our entertainment were extremely splendid. When the gate of the inclosure was thrown open to admit us, we were surprised with a view of a lane of elephants on one side, and of horses on the other; there were fifteen of the former, some of which surpassed in size and beauty any I had ever seen: the horses were more numerous, and several of them very richly caparisoned. Passing through these, we came to an open space, where rope-dancers and tumblers were performing in the open air. We stopped to look at them, but observed nothing remarkable in their feats; they were much inferior in agility to the tumblers of Southern India. One man, however, surprised us a good deal, by applying the point of a spear to his shoulder and resting the other end against a pillar, thus pushing on it, apparently with great force, until he bent and broke a thick shaft; this,

this he effected without piercing his own skin, which, though the spear was not very sharp, must have been wonderfully firm to have resisted such evident violence.

While we were viewing the sports, a message was brought from the Prince, to acquaint us that these people had been procured for our amusement, and that after we had satisfied our curiosity he would be glad to see us. We immediately proceeded to the hall of reception, which was a handsome wooden building, but not so large as that of the elder brother. At the upper end there was a sofa, curiously gilded, and decorated with pieces of mirror, disposed in such a manner as to produce a pleasing effect. None of the royal family were present, and we did not observe any of the Woongees or Attawoons. A few minutes after we had taken our seats the Prince entered, splendidly dressed; he proceeded to his sofa with much solemnity, and spoke only a few words. We were, as usual, entertained with a handsome dessert, of which the Prince himself solicited us to eat. As soon as he withdrew, our attention was called to a select company of figure-dancers, who had commenced their performance in the virando, or balcony of the hall. This band of females did not at all discredit the festival of a Prince; three of the number were beautiful, and moved with graceful ease, in perfect harmony to the music: their outer dress was a flowing robe, made of transparent gauze, delicately embroidered with flowers of gold and silver, and a profusion of gold chains encircled their necks and arms. We remained a quarter of an hour beholding this elegant spectacle, and then returned to the place where our elephants were waiting. The Prince of Prome is in person rather above the middle size; his age does not exceed twenty-seven or twenty-eight years; and, like his elder brother, his appearance promises future corpulency: his countenance is naturally cheerful and pleasing, which, we were told, was the true index of his mind: he bears an excellent character, and is said to be much esteemed in the province over which he immediately presides.

Our next visit was to the Prince of Tongho, by whom we were received with every mark of attention. His dwelling was much inferior to those of his elder brothers, and the attendance was comparatively small; there were, however, a number of state elephants paraded in the court-yard, and we passed through a line of musqueteers, drawn up in single files on each side. This military array had a very singular appearance; hardly any two were dressed alike, and some of them were without any other clothing, than a fillet that encircled their head, and a cloth rolled round their waist: through respect, they were all seated on their heels, some with their firelocks shouldered, and others with the butts resting on the ground. Here also we found tumblers, musicians, and dancers; and there were two carriages in waiting, handsomely gilded, with a pair of horses harnessed to each; these vehicles were of a light construction, on four wheels, open at the sides, and covered with a convex canopy. The Prince sat on a gilded chair; he was a slender man, and appeared to be older than the Prince of Prome, whom he is said not to resemble in any particular. The power which this Prince possesses must be considerable, as his government, formerly the independent kingdom of Tongho, is rich, extensive, and populous; and the fort of Tongho is, at the present day, deemed the strongest in the empire. Persons of rank, we observed, were here permitted to introduce their beetle-boxes and spitting-pots, which was not the case at any of the other courts. Our visit being concluded, we returned home. The heat, during the early part of this day, had been very intense; but a refreshing shower towards evening cooled the air, and rendered the night pleasant. We were not surprised, when we came back, to learn that the senior of the Chinese embassy had died during our absence, as he had been so ill in the morning that his colleagues declined taking a share in the ceremonials of the day.

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On the following day, at the customary hour, we crossed the lake, and proceeded with the same attendants as before to the house of the Prince of Bassien. His dwelling was very handsome, and the pillars of his hall, which the law prohibits him either to gild or paint, were covered with flowered satin. Many men of rank graced the assembly, and some who wore high military insignia; but none of the royal family, or the principal ministers were present. The Prince seemed a very awkward, bashful youth, about seventeen years of age. The situation of his government, which extends along the sea coast as far south as Cape Negrais, gives him the power either to obstruct or assist, in a material degree, the merchants who trade to Bassien; and ships being sometimes obliged to take shelter in the Negrais river, during the adverse monsoon, his people have frequent opportunities of affording aid to the distressed. After sitting some minutes, and finding he was not inclined to begin a discourse, I broke through the general silence, by addressing him in a complimentary manner, expressing acknowledgment of the kindness which had been extended by the officers of his government to British merchants and mariners, as well as my reliance on his future influence in their favour. I spoke in the language of Hindostan, and each sentence was translated by Baba-Sheen. The Prince was embarrassed; he twice attempted to reply, but had not the power; two of his courtiers crept towards him, and, in a prostrate attitude near the foot of his seat, suggested what they conceived he ought to say: their aid, however, was ineffectual; his Highness could not utter a connected sentence. At length his Woon, or chief minister, relieved him, by making an apposite reply in his name. Our entertainment was nearly the same as at the houses of the other princes. From hence we went to the palace of the junior prince, entitled Pegahm Teekien; a title derived from the ancient city of that name, which is the seat of his government. He seemed livelier than his brother whom we had just left, and his Woon was a very venerable personage. On this occasion, the repast differed in one particular from any we had yet received; a roast fowl was introduced, no doubt in compliment to us; and as their religion does not forbid them to eat meat, but only prohibits the slaughter of animals for the purposes of food, there was no crime in the act of serving it up to us, or partaking of it themselves: the only question was, how the bird came to be deprived of life? to which, no doubt, an exculpatory answer could have been given. This, however, was a matter which it did not become us to discuss; it was certainly a handsome and liberal testimony of their desire to provide what they thought would be agreeable to their guests.

In addition to the band of dancing girls that performed here for our amusement, there were two comedians, who recited passages, and exhibited various distortions of countenance; but they were far inferior to the inimitable performer we had seen at Pegue.

Having finished our introductory visits to the different members of the royal family, we had now leisure to gratify curiosity, by viewing whatever the capital contained that was most deserving the notice of strangers. The day not being far advanced, we walked from the palace of the Prince of Pegahm, to see the Piedigaut Tiek, or royal library: it is situated at the north-west angle of the fort, in the centre of a court paved with broad flags, and close to a very handsome kioum, or monastery. Before we entered the library we ascended the kioum, and found the inside correspond with the external appearance; the building was spacious and richly gilded; the pillars, the ceiling, and the pannels were entirely covered with gold leaf; and the image of Gaudma shone with brilliant lustre. A balustrade of wood, minutely and beautifully carved, protected the image from intruders. On the pannels of the walls

were represented figures of inferior agents of the divinity, and of prostrate Rhahaans in the act of devotion: these were all shaped in fret-work in the wood, and were of no contemptible workmanship: a well wrought foliage of the same bordered the pannels. The image of Gaudma, in this kioum, was large, and made of marble; it was seated on a broad pedestal, entirely gilded; in front of which, within the balustrade, stood a handsome girandole of cut glass, of European manufacture: near the image was a gilded couch, which, we were informed, was the customary bed of the principal Rhahaan, or head of all the Birman priesthood, when he chose to pass the night in the fort, which rarely happened. It was splendidly gilt; the bottom, however, was only a bare board: pillows were not wanting; for there were two, but they were made of wood. A mat spread on the floor is the highest luxury of repose in which the Rhahaans indulge.

From the kioum we proceeded to visit the adjacent library; it is a large brick building, raised on a terrace, and covered by a roof of very compound structure. It consists of one square room, with an inclosed virando, or gallery, surrounding it: this room was locked, and as we had not brought a special order for seeing it, the person who had the care of the library said that he was not at liberty to open the doors, but assured us that there was nothing in the inside different from what we might see in the virando, where a number of large chests, curiously ornamented with gilding and japan, were ranged in regular order, against the wall. I counted fifty, but there were many more, probably not less than a hundred. The books were regularly classed, and the contents of each chest were written in gold letters on the lid. The librarian opened two, and shewed me some very beautiful writing on thin leaves of ivory, the margins of which were ornamented with flowers of gold, neatly executed. I saw also some books written in the ancient Palli, the religious text. Every thing seemed to be arranged with perfect regularity, and I was informed that there were books upon divers subjects; more on divinity than on any other; but history, music, medicine, painting and romance, had their separate treatises. The volumes were disposed under distinct heads, regularly numbered; and if all the other chests were as well filled as those that were submitted to our inspection, it is not improbable, that His Birman Majesty may possess a more numerous library than any potentate from the banks of the Danube to the borders of China.

It was late when we returned home, and our repose was disturbed by a renewal of the noises which the Chinese were accustomed to make; they sounded all night on loud gongs, the funeral knell of the departed ambassador, uttering at intervals horrible cries and lamentations. One of the mourners imitated with his voice the howling of a dog so naturally that all the curs belonging to the boat people, and the Cassay huts in our neighbourhood, joined in the chorus. Our proximity to these personages proved to us a source of great molestation.

About this time a ludicrous circumstance happened, which only deserves notice as it tends to illustrate the character of the people, and shews to what an abject state despotic tyranny can debase the human mind. The Engy Teekien, or Prince royal, took a pleasure in collecting foreign beasts: among others he had procured male goats from almost every country of the east. A flock of these, consisting of more than thirty, were sent to feed on the borders of the lake, near our dwelling: we happened to have three or four she-goats, that had been brought from Bengal for the sake of their milk. Allured by the bleat of the females, the whole flock of males one night broke through the paling, and made a forcible irruption into our court: the suddenness of the attack, at such an hour, surpris'd us not a little; I got up, and ordered the Birman guards that were posted at the

gates, to drive them away, which they attempted to do by shouting at them, but without any effect, as the animals, some of which were very large, had now become furious, and after fighting with each other, began to rush through our houses. I then desired the Birmans to make use of sticks; but this they positively refused, saying that the goats were "praws," or lords, meaning that they were ennobled by belonging to the Prince, and that no person dared, on any account, offer injury to them: having no other alternative, we armed our servants and the soldiers with large bamboos, who subdued these troublesome invaders, though not without much difficulty, and some risk, whilst the Birmans lifted up their hands and eyes in astonishment at our temerity: the praws, however, were severely beaten. Having at length got rid of them, I returned to rest, and heard no more of the matter.

The intense heat of the three days spent in the formalities of visiting the Princes, made me postpone any further ceremonies until the 6th of the month (September), which day was appointed to pay our respects to the Seredaw Poundagee Praw, or the arch priest of the Birman empire: in the intermediate time a difference of opinion arose in regard to the etiquette of compliments, in which I did not think myself at liberty to depart from what I considered an attention due to my public character.

The grand ruling council of the Birman nation has already been described as consisting of four chief members, entitled Woongees, and four junior members, called Woondocks, between whom there is a wide disparity of rank. The place of third Woongee was vacant, and the junior bears very small comparative importance with the two seniors, who, in fact, govern the empire. These personages, whose power is so great, possess a corresponding degree of pride; the governors of provinces are in their esteem men of little consequence, and are often treated by these ministers with excessive arrogance, which is not solely confined to those whose situation and expectations place them in a state of dependence, but is indiscriminately extended to all; nor could I hope to be exempted from receiving a share in common with others. I was informed, that after paying my respects to the Royal Family and the Seredaw, it was expected that I should wait on the two senior Woongees, and offer them in person the customary presents. I observed in answer, that I had no objection to paying these ministers a mark of attention by the trifling present which usage had established; but to wait on them at their houses, unless I received an assurance that my visit would be returned, was a ceremony I begged leave to decline. This intimation I imagine was rather a disappointment to them, as much pains were taken to induce me to alter my resolution. I however refused to concede, but I offered to meet them at the house of the Maywoon of Pegue, a proposal from which they dissented, remarking, that to visit me would be more eligible than to go to the Maywoon's house. I replied, that our formalities were not less strict than theirs, and that I could no more relinquish my claim to the respect due to my public station, than they could descend from their elevation; and I saw no remedy unless they themselves chose to apply that which was in their own power, and which they must be sensible I had a right to require. Finding that I was not inclined to yield, they requested, if I could not visit them in person, that I would allow the other gentlemen to pay them the compliment; a desire to which I readily acceded, as well from a wish to open a channel of communication, as to manifest on my part a conciliatory disposition. Mr. Wood and Dr. Buchanan obligingly made no objection; I therefore answered that the gentlemen would wait on them, and expressed my regret that I was deprived of the same pleasure.

During this interval of rest the Governor of Bamoo frequently favoured me with a visit, his business bringing him almost daily to the residence of the Chinese. By his desire I sent them compliments of condolence, with a piece of coarse white muslin, which it seems is the etiquette on such occasions. On one of these days the Bamoo Governor brought with him the chart of his journey to Peking, as he had formerly promised; it was delineated in a curious manner on a sort of black paper commonly used by the Birmanians, on which they write with a pencil made of steatite, or soap-stone. The places were distinctly marked; but not having any scale, the measurement was extremely confused, and so disproportionate that it was impossible to judge of distances with any degree of precision. We could, however, trace his progress through the Chinese dominions in the Jesuits' map that is prefixed to Du Halde's account of China.

On the day appointed for our visit to the Seredaw, we took boat at seven in the morning, and, attended by our usual retinue, crossed the lake; one of the surviving Chinese also accompanied us. Baba-Sheen, the Shawbunder of Rangoon, and some Birman officers, met us on the opposite bank, where our elephants were waiting. When we approached the causeway or bridge, instead of crossing it we turned to the left and proceeded close to the ditch, parallel with the west face of the fort, till we came to the north-west angle. At this place the river approaches so near to the walls as to render a continuation of the ditch impracticable; we then went along the north side, passing on our left a handsome kioum crowned with a gilded spire, or spire, which we were told had been erected by Meedaw Praw, the venerable lady whom we had visited. On arriving at the north-east corner, we observed at some distance on the plain another religious edifice of distinguished splendor, dignified by the title of Kioumdogee, or royal convent, where, we were informed, the Seredaw or chief priest intended to receive us, and not at his usual residence, which was at a kioum about two miles farther. The articles I designed to present to him having been sent forward to his customary abode, we were obliged to wait in an adjoining house until they could be brought back. Being prepared, we were conducted into a spacious court surrounded by a high brick wall, in the centre of which stood the kioum, an edifice not less extraordinary from the style of its architecture, than magnificent from its ornaments, and from the gold that was profusely bestowed on every part. It was composed entirely of wood, and the roofs, rising one above another in five distinct stories, diminished in size as they advanced in height, each roof being surrounded by a cornice curiously carved and richly gilded. The body of the building, elevated twelve feet from the ground, was supported on large timbers driven into the earth after the manner of piles, of which there were probably one hundred and fifty to sustain the immense weight of the superstructure. On ascending the stairs we were not less pleased than surprised at the splendid appearance which the inside displayed; a gilded balustrade, fantastically carved into various shapes and figures, encompassed the outside of the platform. Within this there was a wide gallery that comprehended the entire circuit of the building, in which many devotees were stretched prostrate on the floor. An inner railing opened into a noble hall, supported by colonnades of lofty pillars; the centre row was at least fifty feet high, and gilded from the summit to within four feet of the base, which was lackered red. In the middle of the hall there was a gilded partition of open latticed work, fifteen or twenty feet high, which divided it into two parts, from north to south. The space between the pillars varied from twelve to sixteen feet, and the number, including those that supported the galleries, appeared to be not fewer than one hundred, which, as they approached the extremities, diminished in height; the outermost row not exceeding

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fifteen feet. The bottom of these was cased with sheet lead, as a defence against the weather. A marble image of Gaudma, gilded, and sitting on a golden throne, was placed in the centre of the partition; and in front of the idol, leaning against one of the pillars, we beheld the Seredaw sitting on a satin carpet. He was encompassed by a circle of Rhahaans, from whom he could be no other ways distinguished, than by his preserving an erect position; whilst the others bent their bodies in an attitude of respect, with their hands joined in a supplicating manner. On entering the hall, the Birmans and the Chinese who accompanied us prostrated themselves before the figure of Gaudma, after which they kneeled down and made their reverence to the Seredaw, touching the ground with their foreheads, whilst we took our seats on fine mats, that were spread at a little distance from him. He received us with much politeness, and in his looks and demeanour affected more liveliness and complaisance than any of the fraternity I had hitherto seen. His appearance denoted him to be about forty years of age; not meagre and austere as they generally are, but fat and jocular. I presented to him my offering, which consisted of a piece of yellow cloth, the sacerdotal colour; some sandal wood, and a few wax candles covered with gold leaf. He asked several questions respecting England, such as how long the voyage usually was from thence to India: being told this, he observed that we were an extraordinary people to wander so far from home. I noticed the magnificence of the kioum: he replied, that such sub-lunary matters did not attract his attention; he was on earth but as a hermit. I desired his prayers; he said they were daily offered up for the happiness of all mankind, but that he would recommend us to the particular protection of Gaudma. He made some observations on our appearance, which I did not understand, and he even smiled; a relaxation very unusual in a Rhahaan. We retired without ceremony, and, mounting our elephants, proceeded along a wide road leading to the northward, which soon brought us to an extensive plain, that seemed to stretch in an uninterrupted level to the foot of a range of mountains ten or twelve miles distant. The soil was a poor clay, and the pasturage indifferent. We saw at a distance some fields of grain, and understood, that capacious reservoirs had been constructed with great labour and expence, by order of the King, in the vicinity of the mountains, which enabled the inhabitants of the low countries to water the grounds, and render the earth productive in a season of drought. Several kioums and villages were scattered over the plain; but when we had advanced about two miles, religious edifices increased, beyond our power to calculate the number. The first that we entered was called Knebang kioum, or the kioum of immortality, from the centre of which rose a royal piasath, to the height of a hundred and fifty feet: the roofs were of the customary complicated structure, one above another. This was the place where the embalmed bodies of deceased Seredaws are laid in state: the building rested on a terrace of brick, and was not elevated on pillars, as kioums and dwelling-houses usually are. The hall was very handsome, about seventy feet square, surrounded by a wide gallery: the roof was sustained by thirty-six gilded pillars, the central forty feet in height. Mats were spread in different parts for the repose of the Rhahaans, and on each was placed a hard pillow; there was also a tray containing books on the duties of Rhahaans, on religion, and the forms of religious worship.

Having rested here for a short time, we next visited the kioum, which was the ordinary residence of the Seredaw. This building far exceeded, in size and splendour, any that we had before seen, and is perhaps the most magnificent of its kind in the universe; it is constructed entirely of wood, and resembles in the style of its structure and ornaments, that in which we had an interview with the Seredaw, but

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was much more spacious and lofty. The numerous rows of pillars, some of them sixty feet high, all of which were covered with burnished gilding, had a wonderfully splendid effect: it would be difficult to convey, either in language or by pencil, an adequate description of this extraordinary edifice. The profuse expenditure of gilding on parts exposed to the weather, as well as in the inside, cannot fail to impress a stranger with astonishment at the richness of the decoration, although he may not approve of the taste with which it is disposed: I could not have formed in my imagination a display more strikingly magnificent. This kioum was also divided by a partition, which separated it in the middle from north to south. There was a small room on one side made of gilded boards, which we were told was the bedchamber of the Seredaw. Mats were spread on the outside for the attendant Rhahaans. The figure of Gaudma was made of copper, and an European girandole of cut-glass stood before his throne.

Leaving this building, we passed through many courts crowded with smaller temples and kioums. Several gigantic images of Rakufs, the Hindoo demon, half beast, half human, made of brass, were shewed to us, as composing a part of the spoils of Arracan. From these we were conducted to a magnificent temple which is erecting for the image of Gaudma, that was brought from the same country. The idol is made of polished brass, about ten feet high, and sitting in the usual posture, on a pedestal within an arched recess; the walls are gilded, and adorned with bits of different coloured mirrors, disposed with much taste. Peculiar sanctity is ascribed to this image, and devotees resort from every part of the empire, to adore the Arracan Gaudma, which is not exposed at all hours to the view of the vulgar. The doors of the recess are only opened when persons of particular consequence come to visit it, or at stated times, to indulge the populace. As we approached, a crowd of people thronged after us with tumultuous enthusiasm, striving for admittance to offer up a prayer to this brazen representative of the divinity. We soon turned from these wretched fanatics, and the object of their stupid adoration, to view the noble spire, or royal spire, that crowned the building, and attracted much more of our attention and respect, than an image, from which even the statuary could claim no praise. The spire rose in seven separate stages above the roof of the kioum; and the gold leaf which had recently been applied, glistening in the sun-beams, reflected a brilliant lustre. This temple, with its auxiliary buildings, which are yet in an unfinished state, will, when completed, be the most elegant in the empire, though perhaps not so spacious as that which is the present residence of the Seredaw. From hence we were conducted to what is called the chounda, or place for the reception and repose of strangers who come from a distance to offer up their devotions. It communicates on the north side with the great temple, and is also a very beautiful specimen of Birman architecture; it comprehends five long galleries separated by colonnades, each consisting of thirty-four pillars, or two hundred and four altogether; the two central rows were about twenty-five feet high, but the external ones did not exceed fourteen; they were painted of a deep crimson ground, enlivened by festoons of gold leaf encircling them in a very fanciful and pleasing manner, and in a style much more conformable to European taste than an unvaried surface of gold. The ceiling likewise was embellished with a profusion of carved work, executed with great labour and minuteness. Measuring by our steps, we judged the length to be five hundred and seventy-six feet, and the breadth of each distinct gallery about twelve; the central rather wider than those on either side. A low railing extended along the outer pillars, to prevent improper persons and dogs from defiling the place. It is  
built

built upon a terrace of brick, elevated three feet from the ground; and the floor is made of chunam, or fine stucco, composed of lime, pounded steatites, and oil, the cohesion of which forms a hard and smooth surface, that shines like marble\*. Our conductor informed us, that this edifice had been lately erected at the sole expence of the senior Woongee. It certainly reflects credit on the projector, and is an ornament to the country.

The heat of the day, which had now attained its greatest force, and our having been in constant exercise from seven in the morning till two o'clock in the afternoon, rendered a place of repose extremely acceptable; and here we not only rested ourselves, but likewise found a plentiful collation prepared for us. Our conductors, aware that the attention of strangers could not fail to be engaged for some hours by such a multitude of new and striking objects, thought it would be more prudent for us to wait under the shade of this hospitable roof till the afternoon, than expose ourselves unnecessarily to a burning sun. We had brought with us, at the instance of our friends, wine, bread, and butter, and cold fowl, to which the Shawbunder had added a tureen of excellent vermicelli soup, and a tolerable good pillaw. We sat down to our repast about two o'clock, and after it was finished continued to recline upon our mats until evening, fanned by a cool and refreshing breeze from the west, whilst we conversed, and contemplated the scene around. The crowd of people, whom the novelty of our appearance had collected, were neither intrusive nor troublesome. On such an occasion, in most other countries of the East, it is probable, that, from the prejudices of bigotry, we should not have been suffered to depart without receiving some insult, or remarking some indication of contempt; but here, notwithstanding we entered their most sanctified recesses, we were every where treated with uniform civility. The presence of those who accompanied us had doubtless some influence in commanding the awe of the multitude; and if their respect was owing to this motive, it speaks highly for the state of their police; but I am inclined also to give them credit for a disposition naturally kind and benevolent.

In the afternoon we returned home by the same road that we came; and our attention being less engaged than in the morning, we had a better opportunity to judge of the form and extent of the fortress, as we passed along the north side, from one end to the other †.

The fort of Ummerapoora is an exact square: there are four principal gates, one in the centre of each face; there is also a smaller gate on each side of the great gate, equidistant between it and the angle of the fort, comprizing twelve gates in all. At each angle of the fort there is a large quadrangular bastion, that projects considerably. There are also eleven smaller bastions on each side, including those that are over the gateways. Between each of these bastions is extended a curtain about two hundred yards long. From this calculation, a side of the fort occupies two thousand four hundred yards; the Birmans, however, called it four thousand nine hundred royal cubits, which I conceive to be an exaggerated account. Every bastion and gateway is covered by a tiled roof, supported on four pillars of wood, to prevent injury from the lodgement of rain.

At each corner of the fort there is a gilded temple, nearly one hundred feet in height, but so insignificant, comparatively, with those we had just seen, as not to attract particular notice.

\* The reader may see a particular account of the chunam and its properties in Dr. Anderson's "Recreations in Agriculture," &c.

† See a plan of the fort of Ummerapoora in the Map prefixed to this work.

We could perceive, from our elephants, the roof of a range of buildings in the inside, parallel to the walls, and extending along one entire side of the fort, which our conductors said was the public granary and store-rooms.

We arrived at our grove half an hour after dark, wearied by the heat of the weather and the exercise of the day, but gratified to the highest degree with the multiplicity and extraordinary splendour of the objects we had seen. Much as we had heard of the magnificence of their religious buildings, our expectations had been more than fulfilled. The unbounded expenditure of gilding which they bestow on the outside of the roofs, as well as within, must exhaust immense sums. I was informed that the gold leaf is exceedingly pure, and bears exposure to the air for a long time, without suffering injury. The size or glue used to make it adhere is called *see-fee*: it is the juice of the croton sebiferum, after undergoing a certain preparation. This is the only manner in which a people, naturally frugal and disinclined to luxury, seem to apply their superfluous wealth. It is to be lamented, that their edifices are in general composed of such a perishable material as wood, which, though of the most durable kind perhaps in the world, cannot last for many generations, or leave to posterity a monumental proof of the taste and magnificence of the national architecture.

CHAP. XV. — *Reason to hope for a prosperous Termination of the Embassy: — meet with strenuous Opposition: — on what Grounds. — Vessel arrives at Rangoon from Mauritius. — News from Europe unpleasant: — industriously propagated. — Mr. Wood visits the Woongees: — polite Reception. — Remarkable Circumstance. — Require to know His Majesty's Pleasure. — Day appointed for the Delivery of Presents from the Birman King. — Conversation at the Lotoo. — Arrogance of the Birman Court: — resolve to remonstrate: — uncivil Treatment. — Mr. Wood presents a written and solemn Declaration: — Ferment caused by it: — favourable Conclusion. — A Day appointed for our Reception by the King. — Liberal Return of Presents. — Different Articles. — Proceed to the Palace: — Introduction. — Hall of Audience. — The King: — his Dress: — Person: — Manner: — receive official Papers in the Rhoom. — Formality in conveying the King's Letter. — Return.*

WHILST we were thus passing our time in amusement, and the indulgence of our curiosity, the more important interests of the mission were not forgotten. The council, I was informed, had held frequent deliberations on some general propositions which I had submitted with a view to assist the mercantile interests of the two countries, and place commerce on a liberal and secure basis. I had reason given me to conclude, that my suggestions had met with a favourable reception, and I was likewise informed by an authority which I conceived to be competent, that it was intended to depute a Birman officer of distinction in an official capacity to Bengal, there to confirm, on the part of His Birman Majesty, the good understanding that was henceforth to subsist between the Court of Ummerapoor, and the Government General of India. Assurances of this nature, together with the attention paid to our private accommodation, induced me to hope for a favourable termination of the mission with which I was intrusted.

I soon found, however, that the attainment of these objects, which were obviously calculated to be of reciprocal advantage to British India and the Birman empire, was opposed by the indirect artifices of individuals possessing weight, whose interests might eventually be affected by any innovation, and who on that account sedulously fomented jealousy and distrust. I likewise learned, that the pride of the court had been early awakened,

awakened, by a representation, that the government of Bengal being provincial, and the governor-general, from whom I derived my commission, only the subject of a king, it would therefore be derogatory to the Birman monarch to treat on terms of equality with an administration that was subordinate, or to correspond with any person beneath the dignity of a crowned head. It is doubtful however whether the Birman court would have manifested its sentiments so unequivocally as to draw from me a formal explanation, had not circumstances subsequently occurred, which served to strengthen its arrogance, and gave plausibility to the representations that had been fabricated to mislead.

Matters were in this state, when advice came of the arrival of a small vessel at Rangoon from the Isle of France, under Birman colours, which brought an unfavourable account of the situation of affairs in Europe; exaggerating the disappointment of the allies on the continent to a total defeat; and adding, that the Dutch and Spaniards having joined the republicans, the utter ruin of the English was not far distant. An obscure agent maintained at Rangoon by the French, transmitted this information to a person of some official importance at the Birman capital, who immediately promulgated it with an addition, that a powerful fleet was on its voyage from France to India, and that four French ships of war were triumphantly cruising in the Indian seas.

This intelligence, which was asserted with confidence, was diligently improved by the Armenian and Mussulman merchants, who insinuated that, if our present overtures sprung not from treachery, they originated in fear; at the same time renewing a report, which had more than once been current, of a combination of all the powers of India to deprive Great Britain of her possessions in the East, and to expel all Europeans from those shores, which they were represented to have first visited as merchants, and afterwards invaded as usurpers. Although the Birmans probably did not give implicit credit to the last mentioned rumour, yet the news from Europe co-operating with their own pride determined them to persist in that arrogant assumption of superiority, which had hitherto been manifested rather in their actions than by their words.

On the 7th of September, Mr. Wood, in conformity with the instructions he received, waited on the two senior Woongees, accompanied by Dr. Buchanan, and attended by a proportion of the public servants. On his return, he addressed an official letter to me, (Appendix, No. I.) by which it appears, that in his reception no part of the respect due to his public character was omitted; whilst in the solicitude expressed for our personal welfare, there was displayed the refined politeness of a polished court. The conversation that he held with the Woongees was nevertheless marked by a circumstance which served to indicate more pointedly the precise line that was intended to be drawn.

On the day of my public introduction at the lotoo, it was an omission too remarkable to escape notice, that no enquiry whatever had been made respecting the Governor-general of India, nor in the conversations which I afterwards held with the several Princes was the name of the Governor-general once mentioned by them. Such however was not the case at the interview between Mr. Wood and the Woongees; these ministers enquired particularly concerning Sir John Shore, and the younger Woongee desired to be informed of the extent of the Governor-general's authority, which implied, on his part, either real or assumed ignorance. These questions also, as appears from Mr. Wood's report, did not arise from the casual suggestion of the moment, but were all preconcerted and methodically arranged; the inferences there-

fore to be deducted from them were grounds on which I might form a judgment; they conveyed something more than a presumption of the real sentiments entertained respecting the delegating authority under which I acted.

There being no plausible pretext for any longer delay, I pressed the Woongees to inform me what His Majesty's pleasure was, regarding the several points which I had submitted to his council; and intimated the necessity I was under of obeying the orders of my own government, by returning as speedily as was consistent with the objects for which I had been deputed. In reply to this application, I was apprized that the presents which His Birman Majesty designed to send to Bengal, in return for those he had received, would be prepared on the 19th of September, on which day, if I would come to the lotoo, they should be delivered to me, matters of business might be discussed, and I might fix on whatever day I thought proper to depart.

With this desire I willingly acquiesced, as affording me an opportunity of requiring to know His Majesty's real sentiments, as well as the motives that on their part gave rise to a conduct of so mysterious a nature.

Nothing passed in the interval, except that I received intimation through a private and respectable channel, that the court, although no objection would be formally stated, had come to a decided resolution of considering me as a person deputed from a provincial and subordinate power, and not as a representative of an equal and sovereign state; and that in pursuance of this estimation His Majesty did not intend to honour me with a personal audience of leave. Of the truth of this information I had no reason to doubt; but before I took any measures to undeceive the court in a public manner, I deemed it expedient to have an assumption so haughty and imperious verified by the highest authority.

On the 19th of September I proceeded to the lotoo, where I arrived about twelve o'clock, and found the council of state already assembled; the ministers and the attendant officers being all dressed in their robes and caps of ceremony. A few minutes after we had taken our seats, the presents were brought, consisting of three large boxes, covered with red cloth, and two elephant's teeth of considerable size. These I was desired to receive, in the name of the Birman King, for the English government: at the same time, two large rings were presented to me; one a single ruby set in gold, the other a sapphire, which I was requested to accept as a personal token of His Majesty's favour: a ring was also given to Mr. Wood, and another to Dr. Buchanan. When this ceremony was ended, I addressed myself in the Birman language to the Woongees, and desired to know whether there were any reasons which applied to my situation, that had induced His Majesty to decline honouring me with a personal audience; which compliment, I understood, was usually paid by their court to the deputies of all sovereign states. To this interrogation I received an equivocal reply; and on repeating it, they persisted in returning an evasive answer. I then desired to be informed, whether or not it was His Majesty's intention to receive me in person, before my departure, as the representative of the Governor-general. This question they said they could not answer, not knowing His Majesty's pleasure. I afterwards asked, whether the King preserved his intention of sending an authorized person from his court to Bengal, as had been intimated to me by what I conceived to be competent authority; and whether the suggestions, which I had submitted for the advancement and protection of commerce, had been taken into consideration. These several points, they said, were then under discussion, and would be speedily determined; they acquainted me at the same time, that if I would fix

on any precise period for my departure, the necessary papers and letters should be prepared and delivered to me two days previous to my setting out. I mentioned the 3d of October; they replied, that the letters should be in readiness by what I understood to be the 1st of October; but by some misapprehension was the 30th of September; adding their hope that I would come to town on the 28th of September, the anniversary of Sandaing-guite, a day on which all the nobility pay homage to His Majesty. To their invitation I answered, that my having that honour must depend on circumstances not yet ascertained.

This interview left me little room to doubt of the estimation in which the Birman court held my public character, notwithstanding it was judged advisable, from motives of policy, to avoid making any direct avowal of such sentiments. Proceeding upon this plan, they concealed all their acts and determinations with a veil of ambiguity, which it sometimes was extremely difficult to penetrate.

Pride, the chief actuating principle of this arrogant court, was the source to which its conduct, in every transaction of a public nature, might ultimately be traced. The first object of their government is to impress on the minds of the people the most reverential awe of their own sovereign, whose greatness they do not admit to be equalled by that of any monarch upon earth. Without attempting to diminish their veneration for their own Prince, it became my duty, from the mode that was adopted in the display of his consequence, to acquaint the ministers, in terms which could not be misconstrued, that there was another power, at no great distance, which would not readily subscribe to its own inferiority, or admit of any act in its negotiations with other states, which might either express or imply an assumption of superiority. It became necessary to inform them, that the Governor-general of India was not, in his relation to their court, or to that of any other eastern potentate, a subordinate provincial officer; but a personage in whom sovereign authority over a widely extended empire was efficiently vested; that, as the representative of such authority, I held an indisputable claim to whatever consideration was granted to the ministers of other nations; and that the withholding it would be accounted an incivility so great, as probably to prevent the English government from making any future advances for the establishment of a friendly and confidential intercourse.

To convey a truth not less important for them to know than incumbent on me to declare, I determined to address a letter to the principal Woongee and the council of state, expressing my dissatisfaction at the conduct which the Birman court had thought proper to observe in regard to my public character; to require an explanation of those points which comprehended the objects of the embassy; and to demand, that I should be received and acknowledged by the King in person as the representative of an equal and sovereign state.

Had there even been room left for me to hesitate upon the adoption of this step, the following circumstances, which occurred immediately after my interview with the Woongees at the lotoo, would have decided me, in making a public declaration of my sentiments on a mode of behaviour which exceeded even their usual extent of official arrogance, and fell little short of personal indignity.

The custom, which imposes an obligation on a foreign ministry, to pay a mark of respect by a trifling present to each member of the royal family to whom he is introduced, has already been noticed: this compliment I offered in person to the several Princes on the days of my presentation; and, in order to manifest that it was not my desire to withhold any attention consistent with my situation to grant, soon after the visits of ceremony were ended, I had directed my Moonhee, or Persian

secretary, to wait on each of the ministers and the principal officers of the court, and request in my name their acceptance of some rarity, the produce of Europe or of India. The gift to each individual was very trifling; a few yards of European broad cloth, an article of cut-glass, a piece of Bengal muslin or of silk, was received as a polite and handsome testimonial of a friendly disposition. These civilities, I was informed, were, by a special mandate, ordered to be returned, by every person to whom the attention had been shewn, in some production of the Birman country, and of value equal to what had been bestowed.

It being expected that I should wait on the royal Princes to receive in person the remuneration which they designed to make for the presents they had obtained, I sent, on the 21st of September, a message to the Engy Teekien, to acquaint him that, if it suited his convenience, I would pay my respects to him the following day, or postpone my visit to any other that he might think proper to appoint: I likewise dispatched a messenger with a similar notification to the Prince of Prome. From the first I received a civil reply, excusing himself from seeing me on account of the indisposition of the Princesses, who had lately been brought to bed; but acquainting me, that if I chose to attend, the presents for the English government would be delivered to me in the room of his palace; or to any person whom I might appoint to receive them. I replied, that being debarred of the honour of seeing him, I would depute Mr. Wood to accept his presents in the name of the Governor-general of India; from the Prince of Prome I had not the honour of an answer.

On the 22d, Mr. Wood waited on the Engy Teekien, and was received with much civility at the room by his ministers; the presents were formally produced, and conveyed to our residence by the Prince's servants. As the Prince of Prome had not returned an answer to my message, I imagined that some misapprehension had occurred. Being desirous of appearing to put the most favourable construction on every part of their conduct, I requested Mr. Wood to send a messenger, when he went to the house of the Engy Teekien, to apprise the Prince of Prome that he meant afterwards to pay his respects to him. To this intimation was returned what Mr. Wood considered a satisfactory reply: and as soon as the first visit was ended, he proceeded to the Prince of Prome's palace, where the treatment he received was extremely rude; after standing for some time at the outer gate, exposed to the sun, he was informed that the Prince was not at home.

However deficient the members of the royal family might be in politeness to me, I determined not to suffer their example to influence my conduct towards them, or to neglect any mark of deference that was due to their illustrious rank. Meedaw Praw, the mother of the Queen, being a personage venerable from her age, and dignified from her high connections; her behaviour also on our introduction having been distinguished by affability and politeness; I was, for these reasons, desirous of paying such a character particular respect; and with that view sent a complimentary message to her, similar to that which had been delivered to the two Princes: she returned, in answer, that the next day would be perfectly convenient to her for my reception. I likewise intimated to the younger Princes my intention of paying them a visit, to which they replied by a verbal compliment.

On the next day, the 23d, I proceeded in form to the house of Meedaw Praw at the appointed hour, and was received with sufficient politeness by her Woon, or principal officer; there were several persons of rank assembled in the hall when I entered. After we had been seated about a quarter of an hour, a person came forth from the inner apartment, and informed us that the Princesses had gone to the palace

to see the Queen her daughter, but would return in a few minutes. This I thought rather an extraordinary step, as she herself had determined the precise time when I was to come. These minutes, however, were protracted to an hour: in the interval, pawn, fruit, and sweetmeats were served up. At length, when her ministers perceived that my patience was exhausted, and I would wait no longer, a message was delivered to me from the Princess, excusing her non-appearance on a plea of indisposition; at the same time three gold rings, set with rubies and sapphires, and several boxes, handsomely japanned and painted, were laid before me, and my acceptance of them desired. A conduct marked by such deliberate unpoliteness would have justified retaliation on my part, by a contemptuous rejection of her presents; I however refrained from any farther indication of displeasure, than withdrawing unceremoniously, without taking any notice of the boxes or rings, which were immediately conveyed to my residence by her servants. Having reason to apprehend that the junior Princes meant to observe a similar line of conduct, I declined visiting them, but sent Mr. Wood to go through the ceremony of calling at their separate houses. As was expected, he saw not one of the Princes, but was received by their Woons, who, though they carefully refrained from absolute rudeness, yet evinced in their conduct the utmost arrogance, under the cloak of supercilious civility.

Such strange and unwarrantable insolence could not be measured by any scale of true policy, and was hardly to be reconciled to reason or common sense; nor could any part of their conduct be laid to the account of ignorance; for no people on earth better understand, or more pointedly observe, the minute punctilios of official form. No candid and determinate reply could be extorted from them on any point in which their vanity was concerned: what their court intended to concede, I understood, was to be granted, not as an equivalent for reciprocal privileges on our part, but as a boon, as an act of gratuitous condescension to me, in the character of a petitioner, bearing the tribute of homage from an inferior state. Without the hardness to avow these principles, which a sense of British power, and the proximity of the country, probably suppressed, they nevertheless acted upon them as an assumed fact, with a view to gratify their own pride, elude disagreeable explanations, and reap all the advantages derivable from an intercourse with British India, to which they certainly were far from being averse, provided the correspondence could be maintained upon their own terms.

In pursuance of my determination, I addressed the letter (Appendix, No. II.) to the chief Woongee and council of state; and, to give it all the publicity that such a declaration ought to have, I sent Mr. Wood to deliver it in person to the minister, directing him afterwards to wait on the two junior Woongees, and apprise them formally of my having written a letter of such a tenour.

Nor did I resolve on this measure without maturely considering the effect it was likely to produce, as well as the necessity in which it originated. The court had evidently been embarrassed, in the first stages of the business, and was undetermined in what manner to act; to this irresolution I ascribe the petty artifice of misinforming me in matters of fact. The accounts from Europe certainly had great weight in influencing their conduct, and those could only be discredited by my holding higher language than before: to have acquiesced in silence would have been construed into at least a presumptive evidence of our weakness, whilst the slight that was attempted to be cast on the authority delegated to me, left no alternative but to endeavour to remove it by a temperate remonstrance, such as my letter was intended to convey, or to decline any further communication, and withdraw without ceremony. This latter

latter step was not to be taken under any provocation short of personal injury, than which I believe nothing was farther from their intention. To enhance their own importance by the unworthy mode of lessening that of others, seemed to be the sole motive that actuated them, and which, as far as related to the government that I represented, it was clearly my duty to oppose.

My letter was written in the English and the Persian languages \* ; the intervention of holidays prevented the delivery of it before the 26th, when Mr. Wood waited on the principal Woongee, and presented it in form ; he afterwards called upon the junior Woongees, and acquainted them of his having laid before the senior an address which required their serious consideration.

I imagine, that if this explicit avowal of my sentiments had been made previously to our last-mentioned visits to the members of the royal family, we should have had less cause to complain of incivility. Such language, I believe, was not expected ; the court had assured itself that the state of our affairs in Europe and in India was so critical, that we would tolerate yet greater arrogance of manner, rather than hazard the interruption of intercourse, and give our enemies the advantage of an alliance which the native vanity of the Birmanians rendered them not unwilling to over-rate.

Information was conveyed to me from a respectable quarter, that the fermentation which my remonstrance excited in the council of the lotoo was by no means moderate : the Woongees, I was told, were divided in their opinions ; the discussion continued till twelve o'clock on the night of the 27th, when the result of their deliberations was laid before the King.

Whatever might have been their separate sentiments, the ultimate decision was temperate and wise. I was apprized late on the evening of the 28th, by a verbal communication from the Maywoon of Pegue, that on the day appointed for the delivery of the reply to the Governor-general's letter, I should be formally received at the palace of the King, who would grant me a personal audience in the character to which I laid claim, and that the propositions which I had suggested, for the regulation and encouragement of commerce, had for the most part received His Majesty's approbation.

I expressed, in answer, the satisfaction I felt from hearing a resolution so creditable to themselves ; but added, that as the letter I had written was a public and solemn declaration, I should require more than a verbal assurance, before I could consistently subject myself to a repetition of former disappointments, and requested that he would take the trouble to reduce his obliging message to writing : with this he readily complied by a short note written in the Birman language.

The form of receiving the presents, which were brought to me as a return for those that had been given, occupied a considerable portion of the last days. One of

\* It afforded me particular satisfaction to know, that the full purport and expression of my letter could not fail to be conveyed, through the channel of either of these languages, to the Birman court. The Armenian interpreter of English, who had spent the greater part of his life in the Birman country, was a man eminently qualified for the task : he spoke, read, and wrote English, superior to any person I ever knew who had not been in Great Britain. It is a singular fact, that the first version of the late Sir William Jones's Translation of the Institutes of Hindoo Law, should be made in the Birman language. When I arrived at Ummerapooora, the Armenian had just completed the work, by command of His Birman Majesty. This circumstance offers no mean proof of the liberal and enlightened policy of a Prince, who, superior to general prejudice, was willing to seek for information through a medium by which few other nations of the East will condescend to accept of knowledge, however beneficial the attainment might prove to themselves.

the three boxes that had been sent by the King contained amber in large pieces, uncommonly pure; another, a mass of stone of considerable size, in appearance resembling the chrysoptase; and the third, a large and beautiful group of crystals, rising from a matrix of amethyst, in the form of prisms, mostly hexagonal or pentagonal, slightly striated on the surface, and terminated at one end by a pyramid composed of three rhomboidal planes. It was a very curious production of nature, and doubtless, coming from such a quarter, must have been accounted of great value. The present from the Engy Teekien consisted of six ruby and sapphire rings, two elephant's teeth, several japanned boxes, and three horses, small, like all those which the country produces, but extremely well formed; two were piebald, to match in a carriage; and the other was a bright bay. The principal Queen also, whose title is Nandoh Praw, and the second Queen, called Myack Nandoh, sent their separate offerings, and added to several rings and specimens of japanned ware, some handsome articles of plate, two large beetle-boxes, of embossed silver, two trays and two drinking cups of the same metal, the workmanship of which did not afford a favourable proof of the skill of their artists. Retributory donations were now brought in troublesome abundance from every individual to whom the smallest gratification had been given; and in some instances the return far exceeded in value what had been received: my house was encumbered with all sorts of Birman utensils in painted and japanned ware, several of which were by no means of a portable size. I was also presented with pieces of silk and cotton cloth, of different dimensions and quality, in number not less than eighty or a hundred; also elephant's teeth, amber wrought into beads, fifty or sixty pieces of plate formed into beetle-boxes, mugs, spitting-pots and cups; precious stones too constituted a very general gift, chiefly rubies and sapphires in their native state, rudely set in gold. I received from various persons nearly a hundred of these stones, few of which were valuable, though some of the sapphires, on being polished by a lapidary, proved to have a very fine water. I must not, however, omit mentioning a beautiful specimen of filagree, in a large silver beetle-box, which was presented to me by one of the Attawoons; the workmanship was minutely delicate, and exquisitely finished; and, in order to enhance the value of the gift, the donor, with a politeness that could not be surpassed in any court, had his title engraven in English letters on the side of the box: a compliment so handsomely conveyed demanded my best acknowledgments, and I regretted exceedingly that the official character which I held denied me the personal acquaintance of this minister, as well as of some others, with whom I should have been happy, under any other circumstances, to have cultivated an intimacy.

On the 30th of September, the day appointed by His Birman Majesty to receive the English gentlemen in the character of an imperial deputation, we crossed the lake at ten o'clock in the morning, attended by our customary suite, and accompanied by Baba-Sheen and several Birman officers. We entered the fort, as usual, by the western gate, when, instead of passing, as on former occasions, along the north side of the enclosure of the palace, to reach the street leading down to the lotoo, we now proceeded round by the south, and in this new direction observed many more houses of distinguished structure than by the other route. In our way we passed through a short street, entirely composed of saddlers' and harness makers' shops. On alighting, we were conducted into the room, to wait there until the Engy Teekien should arrive, which he did precisely at the hour of twelve. Several Chobwas, who were to be introduced on this day, had taken their seats in the room

before we entered; each of them held a piece of silk or cotton cloth in his lap, designed, according to the established etiquette, as a propitiatory offering to His Majesty; and on the cloth was placed a saucer, containing a small quantity of unboiled rice, which it seems is an indispensable part of the ceremony. The Birman custom differs in this particular from the usage of Hindostan: a person, on his presentation at the imperial court of Delhi, offers to the sovereign an odd number of the gold coin commonly called Mohurs\*, an even number being considered as inauspicious; but the court of Ummerapoor, with a more delicate refinement, never permits an offering in money, but requires from a foreigner something of the produce of his country, and from a subject some article of manufacture. The donation of rice is not, as in India, when presented by Brahmins to the incarnations of Vishnu, meant as an acknowledgment of divine attributes, but is merely designed as a recognition of the power of the monarch, and an acknowledgment of the property of the soil being vested in him; a truth which is expressively declared, by offering him its most useful production. During our continuance in the room, tea was served to us; and when we advanced to the outer gate, we were not obliged to put off our shoes, but were permitted to wear them until we had reached the inner inclosure that separates the court of the lotoo from that of the royal palace, within which not any nobleman of the court is allowed to go with his feet covered. There is a double partition wall dividing the two courts, with an intervening space of ten or twelve feet, through which a gallery leads, that is appropriated exclusively to the use of the King when he chuses to preside in person in the lotoo.

On entering the gate, we perceived the royal saloon of ceremony in front of us, and the court assembled in all the parade of pomp and decoration. It was an open hall, supported by colonnades of pillars twenty in length, and only four in depth: we were conducted into it by a flight of steps, and, advancing, took our places next the space opposite to the throne, which is always left vacant, as being in full view of His Majesty. On our entrance, the basement of the throne, as at the lotoo, was alone visible, which we judged to be about five feet high; folding doors screened the seat from our view. The throne, called Yazapalay, was richly gilded and carved; on each side a small gallery, inclosed by a gilt balustrade, extended a few feet to the right and left, containing four umbrellas of state; and on two tables, at the foot of the throne, were placed several large vessels of gold, of various forms, and for different purposes: immediately over the throne, a splendid parasol rose in seven stages above the roofs of the building, crowned by a tee, or umbrella, from which a spiral rod was elevated above the whole.

We had been seated little more than a quarter of an hour, when the folding doors that concealed the seat opened with a loud noise, and discovered his Majesty ascending a flight of steps that led up to the throne from the inner apartment: he advanced but slowly, and seemed not to possess a free use of his limbs, being obliged to support himself with his hands on the balustrade. I was informed, however, that this appearance of weakness did not proceed from any bodily infirmity, but from the weight of the regal habiliments in which he was clad; and if what we were told was true, that he carried on his dress fifteen viss, upwards of fifty pounds avoirdupois of gold, his difficulty of ascent was not surprising. On reaching the top he stood for a minute, as

\* Molur is a corrupt name given by Europeans to this coin. Ashurfi is its proper term; Pagoda likewise, as applied to a coin, is an illegitimate word, of which the natives know nothing except on the authority of their conquerors.

though to take breath, and then sat down on an embroidered cushion with his legs inverted. His crown was a high conical cap, richly studded with precious stones; his fingers were covered with rings; and in his dress he bore the appearance of a man clad in golden armour, whilst a gilded, or probably a golden wing on each shoulder, did not add much lightness to his figure. His looks denoted him to be between fifty and sixty years old, of a strong make, in stature rather beneath the middle height, with hard features and of a dark complexion; yet the expression of his countenance was not unpleasing, and seemed, I thought, to indicate an intelligent and inquiring mind.

On the first appearance of His Majesty, all the courtiers bent their bodies, and held their hands joined in an attitude of supplication. Nothing farther was required of us, than to lean a little forward, and to turn in our legs as much as we could; not any act being so unpolite, or contrary to etiquette, as to present the soles of the feet towards the face of a dignified person. Four Bramins, dressed in white caps and gowns, chanted the usual prayer at the foot of the throne: a Nakhaan then advanced into the vacant space before the King, and recited in a musical cadence the name of each person who was to be introduced on that day, and of whose present, in the character of a suppliant, he entreated His Majesty's acceptance. My offering consisted of two pieces of Benares gold brocade; Doctor Buchanan and Mr. Wood each presented one. When our names were mentioned, we were separately desired to take a few grains of rice in our hands, and, joining them, to bow to the King as low as we conveniently could, with which we immediately complied. When this ceremony was finished, the King uttered a few indistinct words, to convey, as I was informed, an order for investing some persons present with the insignia of a certain degree of nobility: the imperial mandate was instantly proclaimed aloud by heralds in the court. His Majesty remained only a few minutes longer, and during that time looked at us attentively, but did not honour us with any verbal notice, or speak at all, except to give the order before mentioned. When he rose to depart, he manifested the same signs of infirmity as on his entrance; after he had withdrawn, the folding doors were closed, and the court broke up.

In descending, we took notice of two pieces of cannon, apparently nine-pounders, which were placed in the court, on either side of the stairs, to defend the entrance of the palace. Sheds protected them from the weather, and they were gilded all over: a royal carriage also was in waiting, of curious workmanship, and ornamented with a royal spire: there was a pair of horses harnessed to it, whose trappings glistened in the sun.

We returned as usual to the room, where I understood that the letter from the King to the Governor-general of India was to be presented to me, together with some other documents that comprehended the objects of the embassy. Soon after the members of the royal family had ascended their elephants, the expected letter was brought from the lotoo on a tray, borne by a Nakhaan, inclosed in a case of wood japanned and covered with a scarlet cloth. The mode of offering it was not, I conceived, quite so ceremonious as the occasion seemed to require; and the officer who was charged with the delivery indicated a reluctance to say that it was a letter from the King to the Governor-general of India. This circumstance produced some difficulty, as, without being distinctly informed to whom the letter was directed, I declined accepting it. At length the interpreter, finding I would not receive it on other terms, delivered it in a suitable manner, with a declaration that it was a reply from his Birman Majesty to the letter of the British Governor-general of India, and that a copy of a royal man-

date was annexed to it, granting to the English nation certain valuable immunities and privileges of trade.

Whilst we were in the outer court, or that in which the lotoo is situated, we had an opportunity of viewing the immense piece of ordnance found in the fortrefs of Arracan when captured by the Engy Teekien, which was afterwards conveyed by water to adorn the capital of the conqueror, where it is now preserved as a trophy, and is highly honoured, being gilded, and covered by a roof of a dignified order. It is formed of brass, rudely manufactured; the length is thirty feet, the diameter at the muzzle two and a half, and the calibre measured ten inches; it is mounted on a low truck carriage supported by six wheels; near it lay a long rammer and sponge staff, and we perceived several shot made of hewn stone fitted to the calibre. It is remarkable, that most of the spoils which had been brought from Arracan were made of brass; the image of Gaudma, the lions, the demons, and the gun, all transported from thence, are composed of that metal.

The discussion, on the ceremony of delivering the letter, being ended, we returned home, preceded by a Miouferee, or inferior secretary, on horseback, bearing in due form the royal letter, and dressed in his cap and gown of office. When we had reached our residence, I immediately addressed the chief minister, to request an official translation of the letter in the Persian language, also of the paper annexed to it; observing, that as public interpreters of that tongue were appointed by the court, and it being well understood by several persons resident at Ummerapoor, a medium of intercourse could never be wanting, which would be equally intelligible and convenient to their government and to mine. Within two days I received a notification, that His Majesty had given orders to supply me with the translation I required.

CHAP. XVI. *Substance of official Papers. — Prepare to depart. — Chinese Deputies: — take Leave preparatory to their Return. — Birman Books: — sold clandestinely to Strangers. — A Man imprisoned. — Liberal Conduct of the Court. — Siamese Painter. — Birman Festival: — the Court of the Queen attended by all the Women of Rank. — Illuminations. — Unceremonious Visit to the Engy Teekien. — Embark on board our Boats: — delayed. — Letter from the principal Woongee to the Governor-General of India. — Ill Treatment suffered by one of our People. — Insolence of the Followers of the Prince of Tongbo. — Leave Ummerapoor. — Visit Chagaing. — Description of the Fort. — Oderua, or Pot Village. — Kioock, the great Manufactory of Birman Idols. — Temple of Commodoo Praw. — Fireworks. — Rockets of Extraordinary Magnitude. — Chagaing, an Emporium of Cotton. — Ancient Ava. — Temple of Logatherpoo Praw. — Stupendous Idol. — Sandaht, or Elephant Town. — Keendum River. — Nioundob. — Pegahm. — Civility of the Mioudogee, or Deputy Governor. — Ride to view the Ruins. — Curious Temple. — Art of turning Arches — lost by the Birmans. — Reach the Town of Sillab Mew.*

THE intervention of holidays, together with the unavoidable delays of office, protracted the delivery of the Persian translations until the 14th of October; on which day the papers, properly authenticated, were brought from the lotoo, and delivered to me by an officer of government. In translating these documents, I carefully collated the Persian version with the Birman original, which I was enabled to do by the assistance of persons on the spot who understood both languages, and found the Persian to be as literal a translation as the different idioms would admit.

The letter of his Birman Majesty to the governor-general (Appendix, No. III.) is a curious specimen of the extravagant phraseology of oriental composition: a great part of it is the diction of the minister, which may be considered as the preamble of the letter. In this portion are enumerated the royal titles, the honours conferred on the British representative, and the presents that were delivered; it next details the heads of certain propositions, which I had made with a view to advance the commercial interests of both nations; His Majesty then speaks in his own person, and, in the pompous style of an order, ratifies immunities of considerable importance to British merchants and mariners.

The paper which accompanied the letter (Appendix, No. IV.) is an order delivered by the principal Woongee to carry into effect the imperial mandate, and is addressed to the Maywoon of Pegue in particular, as holding the jurisdiction of Rangoon, and to the governors of sea-port towns in general. It however became necessary, in order to give full operation to His Majesty's good intentions, to obtain several subsidiary papers, which, by expressing in clear detail the regular dues of government, and specifying the authorized perquisites of office, might prevent in future any arbitrary exactions, and put an end to impositions which had long been practised on British merchants trading to Birman ports, from whom loud complaints had at different times reached the supreme government. These papers I found no difficulty in obtaining: it was determined by them, that all goods of Europe and British India manufacture, imported in British ships, should be subject to a duty of ten per cent. to the King; the price of anchorage and pilotage, for ships of every rate, was determined; the fees of the provincial and port officers, charges for warehouse room, for interpreters and clearance, the customs to be levied at each house of collection on goods conveying up the river, were accurately defined; and teak timber, to us by far the most valuable commodity which the country produces, was ordered to pay a duty of five per cent. *ad valorem*, at whatever port it might be shipped, and all further exactions on that article were prohibited. The several demands of the port and provincial officers on the masters of ships, which had heretofore been paid in rouni, or pure silver, were directed to be taken in the currency of the place, which, at Rangoon, is mowadzø, or silver depreciated twenty-five per cent.

These regulations, expressed in separate instruments with clearness and precision, were equally liberal and satisfactory; and, on the part of the Birman government, were voluntarily granted, from a conviction of the equity on which they were founded, and the reciprocal advantages they were likely to produce. From two propositions which I offered, the court thought proper to withhold its acquiescence; but it certainly was the intention of the King and his chief ministers, that the articles which were thus conceded should be carried into complete effect. Intercourse, however, was not yet perfectly established; many obstacles still impeded the way; the road was only opened, and success depended on the discretion of those who should first pursue the track that was now pointed out.

Having thus obtained the objects for which I had been deputed, to an extent that equalled my utmost expectation, I prepared to depart. The waters of the great river had been subsiding for some time, by which the lake became so much reduced, that boats of burthen were obliged to leave it, and moor in the stream, the bar of sand at the entrance of the lake being almost dry in the fair season. The vast sheet of water, which, by taking a circuitous direction, had, on our first arrival, induced us to conclude that we were on an island, was now diminished to an inconsiderable surface, and left a large portion of land, which had recently been covered, in a state adapted for

the cultivation of rice. We observed the peasants industriously employed in turning up the oozy soil, preparatory to the reception of seed; and it was now manifest, that the place of our residence, which, from the encroachment of the periodical waters, we had considered as low, was in fact an elevated and commanding situation.

Early in October, the Chinese deputies, having fulfilled their diplomatic mission, left the grove, to return to their native country. They embarked on board commodious boats, in which I understood they were to travel for three weeks, and afterwards prosecute their route by land, until they got into the heart of the Chinese dominions, where water carriage is facilitated by numerous canals. They expected to find the cold intense before their arrival at Peking; a journey which they stated would require three months to perform. I presented the senior, at his last visit to me, with a wrapper of English broadcloth, which he remarked would be more comfortable in his journey among the cold hills of China, in the month of December, than his own garments of silk quilted with cotton. He apologized for not having any thing better to give me in return than some pieces of silk and a few fans; but his son, a promising youth of seventeen, who attended his father in quality of page, and who had been on more familiar terms with us than the natural gravity and public character of the seniors would allow to them, came to take leave of me just before his embarkation, and, observing that he should probably never see me again, entreated my acceptance of his pillow and his purse, as memorials of the son of Keeloree\*. When I hesitated in receiving what were conveniences to him, but useless to me, he seemed so much hurt, that I could not wound the feelings of the ingenuous youth, by rejecting his artless token of good will. I had given him at different times a few trifling gratifications, and he could not reconcile himself to depart without making some return. His pillow was a light lacquered box, about eighteen inches long, circular at top, and covered with a case of silk, so thickly quilted with cotton as to render it soft. In a box of this sort, a Chinese, when he makes a journey, usually carries all his valuables; though unprovided with a lock, it is not easy to be opened, and the case is closely buttoned: thus a traveller secures all his property by sleeping on it. This box was not empty; it contained the purse † before mentioned, a steel and flint to light fire, and a bracelet and ring of agate, which the donor assured me were endued with certain cabalistic virtues, to protect the possessor from the perils of the road.

During the time that matters of business were under discussion, and the necessary papers preparing, Mr. Wood employed his leisure hours in digesting his survey of the river, and in making astronomical observations; whilst Doctor Buchanan, ever assiduous in the pursuit of knowledge, prosecuted botanical inquiries, and collected general information from every accessible source. Among other things, books in the Birman tongue were brought to him for sale, on which the owners put what seemed to be a very exorbitant price; and, either from real or pretended apprehension, these vendors of Birman literature always produced their wares in a clandestine manner; assigning as a reason, that if any person were discovered to have sold books to a foreigner without permission, he would be liable to a severe penalty. This assertion we were at first inclined to consider rather as a pretext for enhancing the demand, than as founded on fact: one day, however, we understood that a man had actually been imprisoned for an offence of this nature, and was likely to suffer punishment.

\* This I conceive to be rather a title than his real name.

† This purse bore an exact resemblance to the representation in Sir George Staunton's work of the purse which His Imperial Majesty of China presented to the ambassador's page, when the British embassy was formally introduced.

I immediately sent a message to the chief Woongee, apprizing him of the circumstance, and desiring to know whether it was illegal to sell books to us; that if their law prohibited it, I should reject such as in future might be brought, and direct every person under my authority to do the same. The Woongee returned a civil message, and the man was set at liberty. His Majesty, being made acquainted with the affair, summoned, on the following day, the principal Rhahaans to attend his council, and submitted to them, whether or not it was consistent with Birman tenets, to grant books that treated of their history and laws to foreigners. The conclave, I was told, after solemn deliberation, determined in the affirmative; and added, that it was not only admissible, but laudable, for the dissemination of knowledge. His Majesty was thereupon pleased to order a handsome copy of the Razawayn, or History of their Kings, and of the Dhermafath, or Code of Laws, to be delivered to me from the royal library: each was contained in one large volume, written in a beautiful manner, and handsomely adorned with painting and gilding.

My Bengal draftsman, whose labours were principally dictated by Dr. Buchanan in the delineation of plants, met at Ummerapoorra with a brother artist in a Siamese painter, who was employed by the court. This man, though not so skilful as the person in my service, was nevertheless of much utility; he furnished me with several drawings, descriptive of the costume of the country, which, though executed with little taste, were finished with the most perfect fidelity. Among other things, he brought me a representation of the Shoepaundogee, or royal barge used by the King when he goes in state on the water; the painter reported, that the length of the vessel was a hundred cubits (more than one hundred and fifty feet): I saw it through a glass, but at too great a distance to observe more than the elevated stern, the royal piasath in the centre, which occupied the place of a mast, and the splendour of the gilding, with which it was entirely covered. The King possesses a great variety of boats: some of them we had an opportunity of viewing, but the Shoepaundogee is by far the most magnificent.

The Birman month of Sandaingguite, which had just expired, is a season of universal festivity and rejoicing, and on the three terminating days solemn homage is paid to the King, to the Engy Teekien, and to the principal Queen. At the court of the latter, all the wives and daughters of the nobles pay their respects, unaccompanied by their husbands or any male attendants; and in this assembly as much state and ceremony are observed as at the court of His Majesty. The rank, which each lady bears in right of her husband, is expressed by her dress and ornaments; female priority being not less scrupulously maintained, than precedency amongst men. We regretted extremely that their customs did not allow us to attend the Queen's court, in the same manner as that of her illustrious mother. Age and widowhood, it seems, gave the latter a privilege of receiving visits from the other sex, without violating decorum or incurring reproach.

During the fifteen days of this "decreasing moon," the city was illuminated every night; lanterns made of different coloured transparent paper were suspended from bamboo scaffolds, and disposed in various shapes, which produced a pleasing effect when seen from our residence on the opposite side of the lake. The superior brilliancy of the lights at the palace was distinguishable above the rest. The Birmans are singularly expert in the display of fire-works of every description.

On the 13th of October, I received a verbal message from the Engy Teekien, that he should be glad to see me on the following day, when he meant to lay aside the  
parade

parade of state, and honour me with an unceremonious reception. I embraced with pleasure an opportunity of an interview unincumbered with the formalities of regal pomp, and, accompanied by a few attendants, proceeded on horseback to his palace at the appointed time. As soon as my arrival was announced, I was immediately introduced without the previous ceremony of waiting in the room. On this occasion he did not, as formerly, exhibit himself from a casement window like a pagod, but was seated at the upper end of the hall, upon a couch richly adorned with the customary ornaments. His dress was very simple; he wore a white vest of fine muslin, with a lower garment of silk, and his head was bound with an embroidered fillet. Several personages of rank were present, habited also in a plain manner, but distinguished by their gold tzaloe, or chain of nobility. The deportment of the Prince at this interview was perfectly frank, and free from ostentation; I was disappointed, however, in his conversation; I expected that he would, by enquiring into the state of the British provinces, and the causes of their prosperity, have sought for information that might hereafter prove beneficial to the country over which he is one day presumptively to reign. His discourse took a quite different turn; he asked only frivolous questions, and endeavoured to amuse me by the prattle of two sprightly children, his daughters. Half an hour having been spent in this trifling manner, I withdrew, and paid a visit to the Maywoon of Pegue, who told me that it was his intention to accompany us back to Rangoon, where he would order every necessary to be provided for our convenience and accommodation.

The distance to which our boats were obliged to remove, rendered the transportation of our baggage a work of labour: after conveying it across the lake, it was to be laden on carts, and drawn for two miles over what was now a plain of sand, but at the time of our arrival had been a wide sheet of water, navigated by vessels of considerable burthen. The communication between the lake and the river was now completely closed.

On the 23d of October we began to send off our heaviest articles. The commissary, or kyewoon, had taken care to provide a carriage and labourers, the expence of which we were not suffered to defray; what I gave to the people, was considered as a private gratification.

Having embarked most of our baggage, Mr. Wood and Dr. Buchanan, with a proportion of the attendants, left me early on the 25th, to go on board the boats: I remained until evening waiting for some papers which I expected from the city. Horses were in readiness for us to mount, on the opposite side of the lake.

On leaving Tounzemahn, as the boat pushed from the shore, I looked back with pleasure at the grove, under the shade of which we had resided, and bade a glad but not unthankful adieu to an habitation where I had experienced kind hospitality, and spent three months in a manner that could not fail to impress me with a lasting recollection of the scene. To be placed in so singular and interesting a situation, cannot often occur; nor can the images created by it be easily obliterated from the mind.

Riding across the plain over which I had lately sailed, I perceived that part of it was already under tillage, but the largest portion was left for pasture. During the inundation, canoes navigated between the houses of the lower suburbs of the city, and all communication was maintained by water; but carts now plied in dusty lanes, and the foundations of the buildings were at least fifteen feet above the level of the river. Our boats were at a creek called Sakyingua, where a number of trading vessels

vessels were also moored, some of them of considerable burthen. The noise of the boat-men on the bank, and the smoke from the fires which they made, rendered the situation by no means agreeable.

Various causes conspired to detain us at Sakyingua creek until the 29th. In the interval I received a short letter from the principal Woongee, directed to the Governor-general of India, containing a desire of the King to procure certain religious books written in the Shanfcrit language; likewise that a Bramin, well versed in astronomy, might be sent from Bengal to his court, to instruct his own professors of whose ignorance in that science His Majesty was fully sensible. The letter, however, laid as much stress on the purity of the preceptor's cast as on the extent of his knowledge, and comprehended a curious addition to the request, that a Bramin woman should accompany the sage, with a view, I imagine, of propagating a race of hereditary astronomers. I informed the Woongee, in reply, that Bramins of learning have an invincible dislike to leave their native country, even for a limited period; but to emigrate with their families, I conceived, was an act to which no temptation would induce them: I added, that the principles of the English government did not allow of force being used, to compel a subject into exile, who had not by any crime forfeited the protection of the law. This, I dare say, was not very intelligible doctrine to the despotic monarch of Ava, and at all events must have been perfectly novel.

Whilst we remained at this place, one of our people received ill treatment from the natives, which was remarkable, as being the first instance that had occurred. Dr. Buchanan, desirous of enriching his collection of plants with every rare production of the country, used to employ a peasant boy of Bengal to gather herbs for him, whom he every day sent for that purpose into the fields. The followers of the Prince of Tongho happened to reside in this quarter, a class of men notorious among Birmans for their insolence and dishonesty: the lad unluckily chanced one day to meet a party of these ruffians, who took from him his knife, basket and turban, and, threatening to put him to death, so frightened him that he botanized no more till we were out of their reach. I had before heard much of the ferocity of these people, who were very numerous; report made their numbers ten thousand: they were always quarrelling with the followers of the other Princes, particularly those of the Prince of Prome. It was said, that the King had on one occasion, whilst we were at Ummerapoor, sharply reprimanded his son, the Tongho Tekien, and confined his Woon, or minister, for not keeping his people in better subjection. I took no notice of their conduct; it was not expedient at my departure to make a public complaint of such a petty outrage.

The river, which three months before had displayed an uninterrupted expanse of several miles, was now broken into separate streams, surrounding numerous islands, which had just emerged from the inundation. The principal branch of the river, even in its diminished state, was a mile wide. Dr. Buchanan and I crossed in a small boat to an island where some fishermen and gardeners had begun to erect huts, in which they reside until returning floods in the ensuing year force them to abandon their habitations. They seemed to have the means of comfortable livelihood; their gardens were already sown with the sweet potatoe, convolvulus batatas, pulse, and brenjals, solanum melongena; the latter are usually transplanted. The soil was extremely dry, notwithstanding it had so recently been covered with water, and the pasturage was luxuriant. The inhabitants possessed cattle and poultry in abundance, and doubtless were supplied with excellent fish.

Early on the 29th, the Maywoon of Pegue visited me, in a very handsome war-boat gilded to the water's edge, accompanied by several others that were plain; he invited me on board, and we took our seats on the prow, which in Birman boats, is always the place of dignity. When we left the shore, the whole fleet pushed off and followed us; the morning was fine, and the water smooth, whilst the spires of Ummerapooa in our stern, the white temples and lofty hills of Chagaing opposite, and the fort of ancient Ava below, formed a very cheerful prospect. We rowed to Chagaing, where, soon after our arrival, the Maywoon took leave of me, to return to the capital, having business to detain him a few days longer; he, however, promised to overtake us on the way down, his boats being better adapted than ours for expedition.

After dinner, Doctor Buchanan and I walked out to view the fort of Chagaing, which in the days of Namdoo Praw had been the seat of empire: we entered under a gateway, the arch of which was wide and well turned. This fort had nothing to distinguish it from others that have been already described; it was not nearly so large as that of Ummerapooa, or even equal in extent to the lines of ancient Ava, the defences were suffered to fall into ruins, and the houses were meanly built among weeds and rubbish. We observed a well supplied herb market, which was attended wholly by women. Passing through the fort, we crossed a narrow fosse on a handsome wooden bridge, the length of which indicated, that during the monsoon, the inundation extended to a considerable distance; and a little farther, we came to the great road leading to the Meengoung. On our right, lay the low conical hills, whose summits crowned with white temples, form such conspicuous objects from the river. Advancing about a mile, we arrived at a village called Oderua, or Pot Village, from its being a manufactory of earthen-ware. The lateness of the evening prevented our further progress. We returned by a road that led to the left of the fort, passing in our way a neat village situated near the banks of the river.

By means of our horses, we now enjoyed a convenience which in coming up we did not possess. A platform had been constructed in a broad boat, capable of containing five horses: we brought three from the capital, and added two others on the way down: little trouble was occasioned by embarking or landing them; the Birman grooms were expert, and the beasts tractable. Early next morning we mounted, and pursued the route of the preceding evening. Numerous temples lined the road on either side, but one only of the number attracted particular notice; it was surrounded by a high brick wall, from which elephant's heads, formed of masonry, were protruded in such a manner as to give the wall an appearance of being supported on the backs of those animals; the temple was a pyramid of brick, about one hundred feet high, ornamented with a gilded umbrella. Passing through Pot village, we came to a town called Kyeock Zeit, remarkable for being the great manufactory of marble idols, the inhabitants of which were statuaries by trade. I saw thirty or forty large yards crowded with artists at work on images of various sizes, but all of the same personage, Gaudma, sitting cross-legged on a pedestal. The quarries, whence the materials are procured, are only a few miles distant; the marble is brought hither in shapeless blocks; and after being fashioned, the images are publicly sold to those who have grace enough to purchase them. The largest that I observed, a little exceeded the human size, the price of which they said, was one hundred tackals, twelve or thirteen pounds, but some diminutive Gaudmas were to be disposed of, as low as two or three tackals. The leedegee or steersman of my boat, bought one

to protect us on the way down. The workmen were extremely civil and communicative; they would not part with their sacred commodity, I was told, to any except Birman; but they answered our questions with good humour; and our curiosity neither excited surprise, nor gave umbrage. Their tools are simple; they shape the image with a chisel and mallet, and afterwards smooth it by freestone and water. Many of the idols were beautifully polished, which, I understood, was effected by rubbing the marble with three different sorts of stone; the first rough, the second finer, and the third such as hones are made of, the workmen afterwards use the palms of their hands. This operation gives it a transparent clearness, far surpassing the brightest polish of which European marble is susceptible. Such images as were designed for gilding did not receive so high a finishing.

Half a league further we came to where the temple of Kommodoo rears its massive and antique pile. This venerable and curious edifice stands on an eminence, which renders it a conspicuous object at the distance of many miles. It is composed of solid masonry without cavity of any sort, and in shape resembles a bell; there is a high railing of wood encircling it, twelve feet distant from the base; the circumference on the outside of the railing, by my measurement, was four hundred paces, perhaps three hundred and fifty yards, and the height did not appear less than three hundred feet; it ended in a clumsy cone, unadorned by a spire (or the customary umbrella, and exhibited a striking contrast to the elegant and still larger temple of Shoemadoo; indeed, the style of its structure indicated, that it was built either by a people possessing totally different notions of architecture, or at a far more remote period; it was much the most inelegant and heavy building that we had seen in the country. The roof had once been richly gilded, and the remains of wooden galleries, from which the paint and gilding were not quite obliterated, lay scattered around; these ornaments had probably been often renewed since the first erection of the temple. Kommodoo was once celebrated for its sanctity, and is still held in great reverence; many devotees were sauntering round the hill, whilst others were prostrate at their devotions. The Birman boast of the antiquity of this building; they ascribe its rise to supernatural agency, and fix its date further back than the Mosaic æra: these, however, were the tales of ignorance, to conceal the want of knowledge; but the traces of long duration were certainly evident, and from its size and form Kommodoo Prah seems likely to resist the effects of time for many ages.

From the site of Kommodoo, we had an extended view of the river winding through a rich and level country. A considerable lake lay to the southward; the plains were now cultivating, whilst numerous villages and herds of cattle denoted population and plenty. At a short distance from the foot of the hill was a long avenue formed by a double row of tamarind trees of uncommon flatness and beauty, under the shade of which a line of shops was erected on either side, where, besides provisions and cloth, utensils in brass-ware, and fireworks, were sold. On a green, a little way retired from the road, we observed a number of people employed in making rockets, the tubes of which were the solid trunks of trees bored after the manner of a pump; in some, the cavity of the cylinder was nine or ten inches in diameter, and the wood about two inches thick; the length of these tubes varied from twelve to twenty feet; they were filled with a composition of charcoal, saltpetre, and gunpowder, rammed in very hard. The enormous size of Birman rockets has already been noticed, in the account given of the fireworks of Pegue; but several that we saw here far exceeded those in magnitude. The large ones are fired from a high scaffold erected for the

purpose;

purpose; bamboos fastened together, of a length adapted to preserve the poise, form the tail of the rocket; in this branch of pyrotechny the Birmans take particular delight, and are extremely skilful.

The day was now far advanced, and the sun become powerful. Having satisfied our curiosity, we galloped back to our boats, a distance of about seven miles. I took notice, in my way, of frequent sheds built at the side of the road, in which pots of water were placed for the refreshment of travellers.

Chagaing is the principal emporium to which cotton is brought from all parts of the country, and where, after being cleaned, it is embarked for the China market: females perform the labour of clearing it from the seeds; this is effected by double cylinders turned by a lathe, which the woman works with her foot, whilst she supplies the cotton with her hands. I was told, that the most opulent merchant in the empire resides at Chagaing, who deals solely in this article. In the afternoon we loosed our boats and dropped down to Ava on the opposite side.

Early on the following morning, I walked out to examine the ruins of this deserted capital. The disposition of its streets and buildings nearly resembled that of Unmerapooa at the present day. We could trace the separate divisions of the palace, amidst heaps of rubbish overgrown by weeds and thorns: on the spot where but a few years since the lotoo stood, and justice was administered to a mighty empire, pulse and Indian corn were now growing. Passing to the westward, among ruinous walls and fallen temples, we came upon a good road, and a miserable old woman, "the sad historian" and living emblem of the place, pointed out the way to Logatherpoo Praw, formerly the residence of the Seredaw, or high priest of the empire, where the colossal image of Gaudma was still to be viewed.

The area on which the temple stands, is a square surrounded by an arcade of masonry; on each side, nine cubical towers are erected, and several buildings are comprehended within the space enclosed by the arcade. The temple in which the stupendous idol is placed, differs from the other pyramidal buildings, by having an arched excavation that contains the image. On entering this dome, our surprise was greatly excited at beholding such a monstrous representation of the divinity. It was a Gaudma of marble seated on a pedestal, in its customary position. The height of the idol, from the top of the head to the pedestal on which it sat, was nearly twenty-four feet; the head was eight feet in diameter, and across the breast it measured ten; the hands were from five to six feet long; the pedestal, which was also of marble, was raised eight feet from the ground. The neck and the left side of the image were gilded, but the right arm and shoulder remained uncovered. The Birmans asserted, that this, like every other Gaudma which I had seen of the same material, was composed of one entire block of marble; nor could we, on the closest inspection, observe any junction of parts. If what they said was true, it remains a matter of much curiosity, to discover how such a ponderous mass could be transported from its native bed, and raised in this place. The building had evidently been erected over the idol, as the entrance would scarcely admit the introduction of the head. No intelligent Birman happening to be with us, all that I could learn in answer to my inquiries, was, that the image had been placed there an hundred years ago, by a King named Podoo Sembuan. Whatever may be its real history, it is an extraordinary specimen of idolatrous extravagance.

On our return, we perceived a man driving a cart drawn by a pair of oxen, which was filled with rubbish from the ruined buildings. I learnt that he was carrying the load to a neighbouring brook to wash it, expecting to discover gold, silver, or some

article of value, which not unfrequently happened. Old Ava is said to be the resort of numerous thieves, who find shelter and places of concealment among the decayed religious edifices.

Our researches being ended, we re-embarked and immediately got under way, the boatmen using their oars with just sufficient force to accelerate in a slight degree our motion down a gently gliding current. The river, except in those places where islands divided its stream, was above a mile wide. A little before sun-set, we brought-to for the night on the left hand, under a high bank near the town of Sandaht, and in the evening we took our customary walk, which at this place was among lanes, separated by hedge-rows, inclosing fields planted with pulse, sesamum and Indian corn.

We left Sandaht betimes the next morning, and continued to float down the stream, with little exertion or labour to our people. The river having fallen at least fifteen feet since the time we came up, we could not, as before, observe the towns and villages on each side, nor indeed could any object be seen that was not immediately on the edge of the banks, which hung perpendicularly over the river, in many places to a considerable height; but we knew when a town or a collection of houses was nigh, by the steps that were cut in the bank for the convenience of fetching water. About four o'clock we passed the place where the Keenduem unites with the Irrawaddy. The mouth of the former did not seem to be much diminished by the change of season. We brought-to in the evening, on the east side, in the neighbourhood of a poor village, a short way below Tirroup Mew, where the country presented a cheerful aspect; grass was growing, and cattle feeding in every direction.

On the following day, November 2d, we continued to travel in the same tranquil manner, the current of the river flowing two or three miles an hour with an unruffled surface. The weather was serene, and the temperature of the air moderate. Abundance of water fowl, collected on the sands which had recently emerged from the inundation, afforded us good shooting. As we approached the city of Nioundoh, I made inquiry concerning the excavations in the banks, which formerly had been the retreats of hermits, and was told that no person would now venture to explore them, as they had become the habitations of innumerable snakes and other noxious reptiles. We brought-to in the evening among a fleet of at least two hundred large trading boats, which were moored at the bank waiting to deliver or receive a lading. Nioundoh is a place of much commerce, having usurped all the trade that formerly was carried on at Pagahm: cotton, japanned-ware, and oil extracted from sesamum, are the principal articles of exportation. The land adjacent to the town did not wear a more fertile aspect than when we passed it four months before; no change of season could effect an alteration in its barren soil; but on the opposite bank of the river, rich crops were waving, and cattle grazing in luxuriant pasture.

Early on the following day we left Nioundoh, and reached Pagahm by breakfast time. Although the distance by land is so short that Nioundoh may be called the modern appendage to ancient Pagahm, yet we were above two hours between them, owing to the circuitous course of the river, which lengthens the way to eight or nine miles.

Mention of Pagahm has often occurred in this narrative, a city celebrated for its numerous temples, and the traces with it bears of former magnificence. To examine its extensive and various ruins with the accuracy of a speculative traveller, would have occupied more time than we had to spare. Shortly after the fleet had brought-to,

I was visited by the Mioudogee, or the person who governed the town and district in the absence of the Prince; he informed me, that his royal master was expected on the following day from Ummerapoor. In the afternoon we walked out to view a very curious and ancient temple, which was repairing at the expence of the Engy Teekien, or Prince Royal. It was built of masonry, and comprehended several arches forming separate domes, into which four arched porches led, that faced the four cardinal points; on each side of the doors, in recesses in the wall, were seated gigantic human figures made of stucco, with large staring eyes, and the head protruded forward, as if to look at those who approached the threshold. These, I was told, were the supernatural porters of the doors, whose power of perception was such, that they could penetrate the recesses of the human breast, and discover the sincerity of devotion. The Mioudogee observed, that it was the Prince's intention to gild this temple; and that four vifs of gold, about the value of six hundred pounds, were already prepared for that purpose; he added, that a considerable sum of silver had been expended on the repairs.

We were on this occasion informed of a circumstance that shews how easily an art, once well known, may be lost to a country from disuse and the capriciousness of fashion; notwithstanding that well-formed arches of brick are still to be seen in many of the ancient temples, yet Birman workmen can no longer turn them. Masonry has not in latter ages been much practised; wooden buildings have superseded the more solid structures of brick and mortar.

On our return, the Mioudogee politely invited us to stop and rest ourselves at his house. We accepted the invitation, and were ushered into a commodious dwelling inclosed by a railing, where we found several persons seated in a spacious hall. Soon after our entrance, the Mioudogee's wife came forth from an inner apartment, and sat down by her husband; she was attended by two female servants, and held by the hand her daughter, a pretty delicate child about eight years of age, who was not at all alarmed at the sight of strangers, but came and examined my hat and epaulette with much engaging familiarity. Her father was extremely civil; not knowing that we had horses, he kindly offered us the use of his, if we chose to remain another day, and amuse ourselves by riding through the ancient city, which was too extensive to be traversed in so short a time on foot. Doctor Buchanan having expressed a wish to examine the Launzan, a rare species of plant, he promised to send one of his people on the following day, some distance off, to procure it for him, which he punctually performed. Such instances of genuine hospitality are amongst the highest gratifications that a traveller can experience.

Next morning we mounted our horses at an early hour, pursuing an eastward direction, on a road that led to hills called Torroendong, about ten miles distant, beyond which, and more southerly, we perceived Poupa, a conical mountain mentioned in our former journey. On each side of the road, innumerable religious buildings appeared in every stage of dilapidation. At the distance of two or three miles from the river, the soil became less barren. A few inconsiderable gardens were inclosed by the inhabitants, sown chiefly with Indian corn and pulse, and in some places the cotton plant was growing. We continued our ride five or six miles, as far as a small village named Minangdoo, where the ruins seem to end in that direction. There I saw for the first time a kioum, or monastery, built of masonry. We got back about twelve o'clock, and found crowds of people assembled at the water side, waiting for the arrival of the Prince of Pagahm, who was hourly expected: all the men of distinction belonging to the city had gone up the river to meet him. In order to make more room near the  
spot

spot where he was to land, we loosed our boats, and removed to a situation lower down. Shortly after the fleet came in sight. We were at too great a distance to distinguish the Prince's barge, the decorations of which were said to be very handsome; but we saw an immense number of boats, and heard the shouts of the people, who welcomed their royal governor with every demonstration of joy.

Being unacquainted with the etiquette proper to be observed on such an occasion, I consulted the Mioudogee, whether a visit from me was expected, or would be agreeable to the Prince. He replied, that my paying a visit would lay the Prince under the necessity of desiring our stay for two or three days, to partake of an entertainment. As such a ceremony could not be convenient to him, and had no inducement for me, I sent Baba-Sheen to apologize in my name, pleading haste and the lateness of the season as my excuse for not having the honour to wait on him.

At sun-rise next morning the Prince of Prome passed by, with a very numerous and noisy retinue; from the number of boats there could not be fewer than three or four thousand persons: all the boatmen were singing in unison with the strokes of their oars. The Maywoon of Pegue, who was in his suite, sent me a complimentary message, saying, that he meant to attend the Prince as far as Meeaday, his own Jag-hire, or estate, where he should wait our arrival.

We were delayed at Pagahm, by our boat people, till near ten o'clock, when we pushed off. The river, during the early part of this day, where islands of sand did not intervene, was not less than two miles wide: at one place, however, the channel contracted, and the current rushed round a projecting rock with excessive rapidity. We saw several ranges of hills, some of which approached near the river, but these were of no considerable magnitude. The Arracan mountains, fifty or sixty miles distant, which were visible at intervals, towered high above the rest. In the evening we reached Sillahmew, an ancient city, which had once been a place of considerable note. A little way to the northward we perceived the ruins of a brick fort erected in a very judicious situation; the ditch and wall were still to be traced. We had been so much engaged, when we were here before, with the silk and cotton merchants who brought their goods to sell, that we entirely overlooked the site of this fortress; an oversight that might easily happen, as its ramparts and towers are nearly level with the dust.

CHAP. XVII. *Arrive at Sembewghewon. — Politeness of the Maywoon of Arracan. — Yananghewon. — Wells of Petroleum. — Patanago. — Meeaday. — Friendly Attention of the Maywoon of Pegue. — Kayn, or Mountaineers. — Strange Custom. — Notices of Religion. — Pulloo. — Prome. — Visit the Site of an ancient City. — Pcinghee. — Mayahoun. — Prejudice of Birman Boat-men. — Disagreeable Circumstance. — Western River. — Denoobew. — Enter the Rangoon Branch of the Irrawaddy. — Mosquitoes. — Meet Captain Thomas. — Arrive at Rangoon.*

WE departed from Sillahmew at the customary hour, and by nine o'clock in the morning reached Sembewghewon, on the east bank of the river. The town is a league inland, but there is a village at the place where boats usually stop. We perceived a temporary house at some distance, such as is built for the accommodation of a man of rank when he travels, surrounded by small huts, and were informed that it was the encampment of the governor of Arracan. This officer had been newly appointed, and was on his way to take possession of his vice-royalty, which confers the title of Maywoon on the possessor, and is accounted one of the most important governments

of the empire. I sent a message to him with compliments, and a request that he would forward a dispatch for me to Chittagong, the frontier British province that borders on Arracan. He obligingly undertook the commission, and punctually fulfilled his promise. I had afterwards the satisfaction to know, that the first advice which the Governor-general received of my proceedings at Ummerapoora, was by this conveyance.

We continued at Sembewghewn only a short time. I did not land, but the doctor went on shore: he saw nothing, however, that merited particular notice. Mr. Wood remained till the afternoon, to observe the distance between the sun and moon; the latter being at this time visible, and the sky unclouded. We rowed till two o'clock, at which hour we reached Yaynangheoun, or Petroieum creek; a place already noticed in our journey up the river.

Doctor Buchanan partook of an early dinner with me; and when the sun had descended so low as to be no longer inconvenient, we mounted our horses to visit the celebrated wells that produce the oil, an article of universal use throughout the Birman empire. The face of the country was cheerless and sterile; the road, which wound among rocky eminences, was barely wide enough to admit the passage of a single cart; and, in many places, the track in which the wheels must run was a foot and a half lower on one side than the other: there were several of these lanes, some more circuitous than others, according to the situation of the small hills among which they led. Vehicles, going and returning, were thus enabled to pursue different routes, except at particular places, where the nature of the ground would only admit of one road: when a cart came to the entrance of such a defile, the driver hallooed out to stop any that might interfere with him from the opposite side, no part being sufficiently wide for two carts to pass. The hills, or rather hillocks, were covered with gravel, and yielded no other vegetation than a few stunted bushes. The wheels had worn ruts deep into the rock, which seemed to be rather a mass of concreted gravel than hard stone, and many pieces of petrified wood lay strewed about. It is remarkable, that wherever these petrifications were found, the soil was unproductive, and the ground destitute of verdure. The evening being far advanced, we met but few carts; those which we did observe were drawn each by a pair of oxen, and of a length disproportionate to the breadth, to allow space for the earthen pots that contained the oil. It was a matter of surprise to us how they could convey such brittle ware, with any degree of safety, over so rugged a road: each pot was packed in a separate basket, and laid on straw; notwithstanding which precaution, the ground all the way was strewed with the fragments of the vessels, and wet with oil; for no care can prevent the fracture of some in every journey. As we approached the pits, which were more distant than we had imagined, the country became less uneven, and the soil produced herbage; it was nearly dark when we reached them, and the labourers had retired from work. There seemed to be a great many pits within a small compass: walking to the nearest, we found the aperture about four feet square, and the sides, as far as we could see down, were lined with timber; the oil is drawn up in an iron pot, fastened to a rope passed over a wooden cylinder, which revolves on an axis supported by two upright posts. When the pot is filled, two men take the rope by the end, and run down a declivity, which is cut in the ground, to a distance equivalent to the depth of the well: thus, when they reach the end of their track, the pot is raised to its proper elevation; the contents, water and oil together, are then discharged into a cistern, and the water is afterwards drawn off through a hole at the bottom. Our guide, an active intelligent fellow, went to a neighbouring house and procured a well rope, by means of  
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which we were enabled to measure the depth, and ascertained it to be thirty-seven fathoms, but of the quantity of oil at the bottom we could not judge: the owner of the rope, who followed our guide, affirmed, that when a pit yielded as much as came up to the waist of a man, it was deemed tolerably productive; if it reached to his neck, it was abundant; but that which rose no higher than the knee was accounted indifferent. When a well is exhausted, they restore the spring by cutting deeper into the rock, which is extremely hard in those places where the oil is produced. Government farm out the ground that supplies this useful commodity; and it is again let to adventurers, who dig wells at their own hazard, by which they sometimes gain, and often lose, as the labour and expence of digging are considerable. The oil is sold on the spot for a mere trifle; I think two or three hundred pots for a tackal, or half-a-crown. The principal charge is incurred by the transportation and purchase of vessels. We had but half gratified our curiosity when it grew dark, and our guide urged us not to remain any longer, as the road was said to be infested by tigers, that prowled at night among the rocky uninhabited ways through which we had to pass. We followed his advice, and returned, with greater risk, as I thought, of breaking our necks from the badness of the road, than of being devoured by wild beasts. At ten o'clock we reached our boats without any misadventure.

We left Yaynangheoum before sunrise, and, committing ourselves to the current, glided almost imperceptibly down the stream, the boatmen lying in idle ease, some on the roof, and others on the lateral platforms of the vessel; whilst their only occupation was singing, praying, and sleeping by turns. The present manner of passing their time was a contrast to what they experienced on the former journey, during which their labour had been excessive and without intermission; they all appeared pleased to return to Rangoon, where the necessaries of life are much cheaper than at the capital. We lay this night near the town of Patanago, a place already noticed. Walking out in the afternoon, I started several hares: the country abounds in game, and is beautifully diversified with hanging woods and rising grounds.

The fleet parted from Patanago very early. Doctor Buchanan's boat going a-head of the rest, he reached Loonghee half an hour before his companions, and, profiting by his celerity, went on shore at this romantic spot, where we had passed several days on our journey upwards. He walked to some distance, in the hope of finding fruit on a tree which about four months before he had left in the earliest stage of blossom; but the fruit had since that time ripened and decayed, and the tree was now putting forth fresh flowers. Between this place and Meeaday there are several ridges of low hills, clothed with wood and destitute of cultivation, which my people said were the haunts of numerous tigers and elephants. At sunset we got to Meeaday, and perceived a number of boats fastened to the bank below the town, and among others we distinguished that of the Maywoon of Pegue: I immediately sent a message to his house, notifying our arrival, and in return received a civil reply, expressing a desire to see me.

On the following morning, about nine o'clock, a nephew of the Maywoon came down to welcome us: after conversing some time, I walked with him to visit his relation, by whom I was received with every demonstration of friendship: he politely asked me to remain at Meeaday for a day or two, and visit his garden and country house; but as the season was advanced, I felt solicitous to avoid unnecessary delay, and therefore excused myself: in fact, our stay would have put him to an inconvenience, having business, he said, to adjust on his estate, which would employ him for several days, but he expected to arrive at Rangoon as soon as ourselves. On my  
expressing

expressing a desire to see some of the mountaineers called Kayn, he obligingly offered to send one of his attendants to a village a few miles off, inhabited by these people, with directions to bring some of them for our inspection, dressed in the proper garb of their country. I understood from him that, since our departure from Uamnera-poorra, not less than 50,000 persons had left that city in the train of the several Princes and men of rank, who, after paying homage at the golden feet, had returned to their respective governments. When I took leave, he ordered a pair of horses to be brought from his stable, and requested my acceptance of them; they were very handsome, and one was of an uncommon colour, having a number of circular black spots on a milk-white skin. In return, I presented him with a marquee made of European canvas, lined with English broad-cloth, and my rifle-barrelled gun, which I more highly valued.

In the evening I walked over grounds which I had often trod before. Every thing in this district seemed to be flourishing; the peasants and farmers acknowledge in the Maywoon a mild and beneficent landlord; if they were not so opulent as some, they were not so poor as many others: content, I thought, shone in every countenance, and comfort appeared to be an inmate of every dwelling. In my walks I saw a good deal of game, and shot a henza, or Braminy goose. The natives, although it is the symbol of their nation, hold the bird in no estimation: it is somewhat larger than a barnacle; the plumage is beautiful, but the flesh indifferent.

Next morning, on my return from a long ride, I found a number of people collected on the banks opposite to our boats; these, I learned, were the Kayn, or mountaineers, with their conductors, for whom the Maywoon had sent on the preceding day. I desired that the principal man and woman should be brought on board. This curious couple were dressed in their best attire, consisting of an ill shaped sleeved coat, made of coarse black cotton cloth; that of the man was much shorter than the woman's; both were bordered with stripes of white, red, and yellow; the man had a belt over his right shoulder, from which was suspended a pouch, ornamented with strings and small shells; on their heads they wore fillets nearly in the Birman manner; to the woman's were fastened tassels, composed of the calyptra of the *Buprestis ignita*; she had also decorated her neck and arms with many strings of beads and cowries: but the most remarkable part was her face, which was tattooed all over in lines mostly describing segments of circles. This ceremony, which in some other countries is performed on the parts of women not publicly exposed, among the Kayn is confined wholly to the visages of their females, to which, in the eye of an unaccustomed beholder, it gives a most extraordinary appearance; the aspect of the woman, though she was not old, nor in other respects ugly, from the effect of the operation was truly hideous. I asked the origin of the custom; this they did not know, but said it had existed from time immemorial, and that it was invariably performed on every female at a certain age. I immediately employed my painter to make a drawing of these singular figures, in the attitude in which they stood before me: a task which he performed in two hours, with great exactness, and drew striking resemblances. There was some difficulty in taking a likeness of the man, who was alarmed and restless, from a supposition that we were imposing magical spells upon him; but the woman stood still with her hands crossed, apparently in perfect good humour and content: they spoke the Birman language indifferently, and, in order to engage their attention, we asked the man several questions; where he expected to go when he died? He replied, that "he should again become a child." "Who will make you a child?" "The Mounzing." "Who are the Mounzing?" "The father and mother of the world,

world, who grow on the earth as two trees in a field, one ever green, the other dry." What he meant by this metaphor we could not tell, unless it was a type of successive and eternal renovation and decay. He added, that the Mounzing resided on the great mountain Gnowa, where the images of the dead are deposited. They had no idea of a place of future rewards and punishments, and deny the existence of sin in their country; they do not pray whilst living, because they cannot, in this life, see the Mounzing, but they think that their images pray to them after mortal decease. They burn their dead, and afterwards collect their ashes in an urn, which they convey to a house, where, if the urn contains the relics of a man, they keep it six days, if of a woman, five; after which it is carried to the place of interment, and deposited in a grave, and on the sod that covers it is laid a wooden image of the deceased, to pray to the Mounzing and protect the bones and ashes.

These are the rude notions of religion entertained by the harmless untaught race that inhabit the lofty mountains which divide Arracan from Ava, and who, as children of nature, delighting in their wild and native freedom, are for the most part insuperably averse to hold any commerce with the people of the plains. The Birmans, since the conquest of Arracan, have compelled many, and allured a few, to settle in villages at the bases of the hills, where they are treated with a humanity that tends to conciliate them to their new and more civilized state. A large proportion of Kayn are, however, still independent. The Birmans have not yet carried sacrilegious invasion to their holy mountain, which probably is not worth acquiring. When a Kayn dies within the jurisdiction of the Birmans, the relations of the deceased always convey the urn, and the image of the departed person, to Gnowa, there to deposit them in hallowed earth. These people have no letters, nor any law, except custom; to this the Birmans prudently leave them, never interfering in their municipal and social economy.

Our curiosity being satisfied, we left Meeaday as soon as the painter had finished the drawings. The country through which we sailed this day had a pleasing appearance; spots of cultivation and frequent towns skirted the river, while small hills, clothed with trees, rose behind them. We passed in our way through a flock of thirty or forty elephants, who were swimming across the river, carrying their riders on their necks; these were all females, and had been employed in hunting their own species; males are seldom used by the Birmans for that purpose. Late in the evening we brought-to at a small town called Pulloo, where there is a custom-house, having now entered the government of the Prince of Prome.

We got under way early the ensuing morning, and about two o'clock stopped at the lower suburbs of Prome, in the midst of a great concourse of boats. Landing our horses, we rode in the evening to view the site of a very ancient city, which ages ago was the residence of a dynasty of Pegue Kings, before their country had submitted to the Birman yoke. On our right, we left a large temple, named Shoe Sanda Praw, situated on an eminence, round the foot of which were several kioums, or monasteries: pursuing a southerly direction, we came on a level road, leading through well cultivated fields, interspersed with groves of tall palmyra trees. We observed the channels of two rivers at this time almost dry, but which in the rainy season roll down an impetuous current from the mountains, and empty their waters into the Irrawaddy; by these streams teak timber is floated from the forests during the monsoon, and is sold here very cheap. A plank three inches thick, and from sixteen to twenty feet long, may be purchased for a tackal, or half-a-crown. The soil in the neighbourhood of Prome is remarkably well adapted for gardens, and we met several persons

carrying loads of fruit on their heads to market. The evening was far advanced before we reached Yattoo, on entering which we passed through an old gateway, that appeared to be narrower, but of greater depth than any we had yet seen; indeed the ruinous state both of the gateway and the wall rendered it difficult to judge accurately of their dimensions; within we could distinguish nothing but houses and fields, and it was now too late to explore the antiquities of the place. Two intelligent men, whom we overtook riding along the road, informed us, that it had once been a great fortified city of a square form, each side measuring a space equal to two miles and a half; that it had flourished for several centuries before the fall of the Pegue monarchy, and that the vestiges of the imperial palace, and a large temple, were still remaining.

During our ride we observed two caravans of waggons drawn up in a circular form, in the same manner as those we had remarked at Meeaday on our journey to the capital: here, however, the number of carts was much greater; one of the caravans containing not less than a hundred, which were disposed in two circles, one within the other, presenting a very formidable barrier against the assaults either of men or of wild beasts. They were chiefly laden with gnapée and salt fish, and had come from a town called Omow, situated on the banks of a lake, where fish is caught in such abundance, as to constitute an article of commercial exportation. The road in this direction seemed to be well made, and much frequented. The ledgee, or steerfman, of Dr. Buchanan's boat, who had travelled by land from Prome to Rangoon, a journey of six days, said that it was equally good the whole way. Timber and stone flags are the principal articles of export trade at Prome.

When the day broke we resumed our journey; the temperature of the air was now extremely pleasant, and the mornings and evenings cool: at sun-rise, the quicksilver in the thermometer stood at 67 degrees. In the earlier part of this day, the villages, particularly those on the east bank, had a very inviting appearance, from the orchards of plantain, mango, and other fruit trees with which they were surrounded. After passing Peinghee, the country assumed a rougher aspect; the river, at the narrow strait where our boat had been wrecked on the way up, did not now run with such rapid violence as before. Just above Tirroupmiou, we passed a large island, covered with reeds and brushwood, which the boat people said was much infested by tigers. The handsome town of Kainggain was situated below it: we continued our course till after dark, and passing the lights of the long and populous city of Mayahoun, formerly Loonzay, brought-to at the west bank, a little to the southward of the town; but it was too late to think of landing.

Next morning (Nov. 13th) we put off at an early hour. In the middle of the preceding night I had been alarmed by a scene of discord between the boatmen and my people, which had nearly produced serious consequences. The Birmans have a superstitious abhorrence of any person's passing over them when they are asleep; it is deemed a great indignity, as well as injurious, from the apprehended effects of supernatural agency. The boatmen usually slept either on the roof of the boat, or on the platform projecting from the sides, whilst my people occupied the inner part. It happened that in the night one of the soldiers went out on the platform, and, regardless of the Birmans who were taking their rest, stepped over them without ceremony, most likely ignorant of their prejudice, and perhaps half asleep himself: one of the Birmans, however, chanced unluckily to be awake, who, jumping up, instantly attacked the offender with his fists; a scuffle ensued, attended with no small outcry; the other Birmans rose, and armed themselves with the bamboos that were kept for

oar handles; the soldiers flew to their bayonets, and my servants were preparing to take their part. In this state of hostility I came among them just time enough to prevent mischief. The Serec of Rangoon and the ledgee at length pacified the enraged crew, and I ordered my own people to return to their births. This accident produced no future enmity, and it was the only disagreement that occurred. The Birman, though sometimes irascible, were in general extremely good tempered, and seldom refused to accommodate the colars (strangers), even at the expence of their own convenience.

We rowed all this day through a country not so well cultivated or so thickly inhabited as that we had passed on the preceding: a little below Shainwah, a considerable branch of the river takes a south-westerly course, leading, we were informed, to Bassien; it is called Keidowa, and sometimes Anou Kioup, or the Western River: the Arracan mountains were visible in the north-west quarter. We brought-to after dark, a little above Henzadah, under a reedy bank, from which we were invaded by myriads of troublesome insects.

The following day brought us, without any remarkable incident, to Denoobew. The high bank and beautiful situation of Terriato or Mango village, on the west side, tempted me to go on shore. It is a charming spot; the town is inconsiderable, but the houses are neat and commodious. Denoobew, where we arrived after sun-set, is distinguished by a fine temple, and is also celebrated for its manufactory of mats, which are made here in beautiful variety, and superior in quality to what are fabricated in any other part of the empire; long reeds and grass skirted the banks during the greatest part of this day's journey.

From Denoobew to Yangain Chaingah, the river preserves nearly a direct course. About ten o'clock in the morning of the 15th, we got to the entrance of the Panlang river, where it separates from the great stream, in the same manner as the Hoogly does from the Ganges; the principal branch, pursuing a southerly course, divides, as it approaches the sea, into a number of channels, which are filled by the tide, and are for the most part navigable. The river we now entered is called by various names, Ashay Kioup, or the Eastern river, Panlang river, and Rangoon river, the width of which did not exceed four hundred yards. The eastern bank is within the jurisdiction of Pegue; but the opposite country is included in the province of Dalla, and is governed by a person of a much less dignified title than Maywoon. Through the high reeds which on each side overhung the water, several pathways were made leading to Carrian villages. As we passed I perceived a watercourse, which my people said came from a lake called Mallatoo. We had now reached the place, where, in going up, we had been so severely teased by mosquitoes, and again felt their venomous influence; they even assailed us in the day-time, and in such numbers, that we were obliged to fortify our legs with boots, and put on thick gloves, whilst by continually flapping with an handkerchief, we endeavoured to defend our faces. But no sooner had darkness commenced, than these troublesome insects redoubled their attacks, in such multitudes, of such a size, and so poisonous, that I am persuaded if an European with a delicate skin were to be exposed uncovered to their ravages for one night, it would nearly prove fatal; even the Birman boatmen, whose skins are not easily penetrated, cannot repose within their action; and my Bengal servants actually cried out in torment. I lay in boots with my clothes on, and a double napkin over my face, and even thus could procure no rest. About nine o'clock we anchored below the town of Panlang, being unable to stem the tide; and at eleven my people hailed a strange boat coming with the flood, that rowed towards

us. Instantly I heard an European voice, to which I had not of late been accustomed, and soon recognized that of Captain Thomas of the *Sea-Horse*, I had sent an express when we were at Meeaday, to apprise him of our approach, and desire him to get ready for sea; he had learned from a small vessel that we were at hand, and came thus far to meet us. It being impossible to sleep, we passed the night in conversation; the account he gave of his treatment by the municipal government of Rangoon during my absence, and of the conduct of the Birmanians in general towards his crew, was perfectly satisfactory. He had unrigged his ship during the monsoon, and covered the decks with an awning of mats, as a protection against the weather. Being in possession of a tolerably commodious house near the quay, he obligingly offered me a room in it; of this I availed myself, having no intention to remain at Rangoon longer than was absolutely necessary, and hoped to limit my stay to a very few days. At midnight we got under way, and brought-to again at six in the morning: the banks on each side of the river do not indicate much cultivation in its neighbourhood; but of the state of the interior country we could not judge, being prevented by the bushes and tall reeds from seeing any distant objects. At ten o'clock the boatmen resumed their labour, and we passed on the left a very miserable village named Teetheet. We were again obliged to anchor on account of the tide, and early on the morning of the 17th of November landed at Rangoon.

CHAP. XVIII. *Imperial Order registered at the Rhoon. — Reflections on our Commerce and Connection with the Birman Empire. — Receive a Visit from the Maywoon. — Account of a Carrion Village. — Birman Game of Chess. — Instance of a Trial by Ordeal. — Letter from the Maywoon to the Governor-General. — Take leave. — Embark on board the Sea-Horse. — Voyage to Bengal. — Conclusion.*

THE Maywoon of Pegue arrived at Rangoon a few hours after we had landed. I paid him a visit on the following morning, and apprised him of my intention to sail for Bengal in a few days, when he politely said that he would continue at Rangoon until we departed. He informed me, that the orders for carrying into effect the late regulations would be publicly read and registered at the rhoon on the following day; and he invited me to send a confidential person to be present at the ceremony; adding, that the records were always open to public inspection, and that whoever chose might at any time procure a copy, by paying a trifling fee to the officer of the court.

It may not be improper, in this stage of my narrative, to offer a few observations on the relative connection that subsists between the British possessions in India and the Birman empire; to point out the commercial objects that render the intercourse desirable, and the political necessity there is for our preserving such a degree of national influence with that government, as may enable us hereafter to counteract any attempts to diminish our weight, or to erect an alien power that might eventually injure our interests, and even one day rival our authority. The propriety of discussing a subject of so much moment naturally suggests itself; but a moment's reflection serves to convince us, that it ought not to be passed over in silence. It is too true, that the importance of the objects is hidden only from ourselves. Those against whom it is most incumbent on us to guard, are well apprised of their extent and magnitude; but even were it otherwise, the security which is to arise from the suppression of points of general knowledge, is fallacious and without dignity. Prudence requires that

the transactions of a cabinet should not be divulged ; but that policy must be very short-sighted which attempts to conceal from the world what every person may discover ; the bounties of providence, the products, resources, and local advantages of a great empire.

British India is more deeply concerned in her commerce and connection with that part of the Birman empire called Pegue, than many persons, in other respects intimately versed in the affairs of India, seem to be aware. This interest points to three distinct objects ; first, to secure from that quarter regular supplies of timber for ship building, without which the British marine of India could exist but on a very contracted scale ; secondly, to introduce into that country as much of our manufactures as its consumption may require, and to endeavour to find a mart in the south-west dominions of China, by means of the great river of Ava ; thirdly, to guard with vigilance against every encroachment, or advance, which may be made by foreign nations to divert the trade into other channels, and obtain a permanent settlement in a country so contiguous to the capital of our possessions. This last consideration supercedes all others in the magnitude of the consequences that might ultimately result from it.

It is impossible to impress my reader by any stronger proof with the vast importance of the Pegue trade, than briefly to state, that a durable vessel \* of burthen cannot be built in the river of Bengal, except by the aid of teak plank, which is procurable from Pegue alone ; and that if the timber trade with that country should by any act of power be wrested from us, if it should be lost by misfortune, or forfeited through misconduct, the marine of Calcutta, which of late years has proved a source of unexampled prosperity to our principal settlement †, essentially benefited the parent country, and given honourable affluence to individuals, must be reduced nearly to annihilation, without the possibility of our being able to find any adequate substitute for the material of which we should be deprived. Within the last six years, some of the finest merchant ships ever seen in the river Thames have arrived from Calcutta ‡, where they were built of teak timber ; and, after delivering valuable cargoes in

\* Ships have been constructed of foul wood, and of other indigenous timber of Bengal ; but on trial they were not found to be serviceable.

† The following remarkable instance of public spirit will evince the advantages that have already been derived by the parent country from the marine of India, and the benefit that may in future be expected.

In the year 1794, when the horrors of impending famine aggravated the miseries of war, the Secret Committee of the Court of Directors, at the recommendation of His Majesty's ministers, transmitted by express to Lord Teignmouth, then Governor-general of India, intelligence of the calamity that threatened Great Britain, desiring whatever aid the Government of India could supply. On receipt of the dispatch, the Governor-general, with that promptitude and energy which distinguished his administration, exerted the influence of government with such effect, that 14,000 tons of shipping, almost entirely India built, were freighted to carry rice to England ; and were laden and cleared from the port of Calcutta in less than five months from the date of the arrival of the letter. This supply, with the exception of the casualties of the sea, arrived most opportunely for the relief of the poor of London, and reduced the price of that excellent article of food to three halfpence a pound. So extraordinary an exertion is neither so widely known, nor so justly appreciated, as it merits. It is a circumstance which reflects the highest credit on all the parties concerned, and deserves to be recorded, in order to declare to posterity the vast resources of Great Britain, which was enabled to draw seasonable supplies of provision for the relief of the metropolis from colonies situated at the distance of nearly two thirds of the equatorial circumference of the globe.

‡ The *Cuvera* and the *Gabriel*, built at Calcutta of Pegue timber, are now in the river, and exhibit so contemptible specimens of the naval architecture of India. The port of Calcutta can furnish 40,000 tons of shipping.

London, were usefully employed in the service of the state : nor would the destruction of the Pegue trade be confined solely, in its effects, to Bengal : the other settlements would sensibly share in the loss. Madras is supplied from Rangoon with timber for all the common purposes of domestic use ; and even Bombay, although the coast of Malabar is its principal storehouse, finds it worth while annually to import a large quantity of planks from Pegue.

But whilst it is advantageous to us to promote the exportation of timber from the maritime towns of Pegue, it is as manifestly our interest to discourage the building of ships in the Rangoon river, where the construction is facilitated by local advantages equal to those of any port in the world, and superior to most. The progress made in this art \* by the Birmans has of late years been rapid, and increases in proportion as foreigners can place confidence in the Birman government. When merchants find that they can build with security in the Rangoon river, for one-third less cost than in the Ganges, and for nearly half of what they can at Bombay, few will hesitate in their choice of a place. It is said, that the ships of Pegue are not so firmly constructed as those built in our ports, and in general this assertion is true ; but the defect does not arise from the want of materials, but because the owners were speculative adventurers, without sufficient funds to defray the charges of labour and of iron, in which material Pegue ships have, by fatal experience, been found deficient. The shipwrights, however, are as expert as any workmen of the East ; and their models, which are all from France, are excellent : the detriment, therefore, that arises to us from the construction of ships at Rangoon, is not less evident than the benefit that we derive from importing the unmanufactured material. The Birmans, sagaciously knowing their own interest, set us an example of policy, by remitting all duty on cordage, canvas, and wrought iron, provided these articles are, *bona fide*, brought for the equipment of a new vessel ; the port charges also are not exacted from a new ship, on leaving the river to proceed on her first voyage. A conduct on their part so wise, suggests to us the expediency of adopting some measures for our own interest ; an alien duty, or a modified disqualification, would, probably, like the acts of parliament in aid of British navigation, prove the most effectual remedy. Trade cannot be prosecuted in the Indian seas to any extent, except with British ports : many objections, it is true, may be made to such a proposition ; but the good resulting to us would be immediate and certain, whilst the ill consequences, if any there be, are equivocal and remote.

But if we are called upon by our interest in a commercial point of view, to check the growth of ship-building at Rangoon, how much more important is the subject when seen in a political light ? It is a fact which appears to merit some consideration, and is perhaps not generally adverted to, that in a very few years, and at a small comparative expence, a formidable navy may rise on the banks of the Irrawaddy from the forests of Pegue. It is probably not known, that artificers † are educating by our enemies for that express purpose, whilst we encourage their progress in the science, by enabling them to derive benefit and acquire experience at the same time. National security, therefore, as well as mercantile advantage, strongly urge a vigilant attention to a quarter whence the means of injury to ourselves may so abundantly be drawn.

\* The Suburb, a very fine ship, which was on the stocks when I was at Rangoon, has lately delivered a valuable cargo in the river Thames ; the Laurestone also, a vessel of considerable force, which, I believe, was taken into the French line during the last war, was constructed at the same port.

† The French have long maintained an agent at Rangoon, and are thoroughly acquainted with the advantages which the country of Pegue offers.

The imports into Rangoon from the British settlements in the year 1794-5 amounted, I was informed, to more than 12 lacks of rupees, about £135,000 sterling; these consisted chiefly of coarse piece goods, glass, hardware, and broad-cloth; the demand for the last article in the year 1795 was considerable; returns were made almost wholly in timber. A few unimportant commodities are annually carried from Pegue to the coast of Pedier and the Prince of Wales's Island, for the China market. The timber trade, though attended with a certain advantage to the carrier, yet, not producing such large profits as a more hazardous venture to the eastern straits, to China and the Malay coast, is seldom prosecuted by merchants of the highest commercial credit, who aim at making a fortune by the success of a single voyage, for which the ship is usually freighted with that valuable and alluring drug opium, so eagerly sought after by the Chinese, yet so strictly prohibited by their government. Owing to this enterprising spirit among merchants in India, a ship is seldom sent to carry wood, except when the owners have not funds to provide a more valuable cargo; and this inability frequently extends even to the means of defraying the expence of a lading of timber: hence the master of a vessel often finds himself embarrassed when on the eve of departure, and the vessel is sometimes detained by legal demands which he cannot discharge. Difficulty produces contention, and provokes bitter and generally groundless invectives against the laws of the country, which, though oppressive to the subject, are certainly lenient to foreigners.

Timber for maritime purposes is the only article the Birman empire produces, of which we stand in indispensable need, and to promote or encourage the culture and exportation of those commodities which form the valuable staples of British India, almost all of which the kingdom of Ava is capable of yielding, would operate to the manifest injury of our own provinces. We require and should seek for nothing more than a mart for our manufactured goods, and, in return, to bring back their unwrought materials; interference in any other shape appears to be impolitic, and likely, in the end, to prove prejudicial to ourselves.

The maritime ports of this great empire are commodious for shipping, and better situated for Indian commerce than those of any other power. Great Britain possesses the western side of what is called the Bay of Bengal; the government of Ava, the eastern; which is far superior to the former in the facilities it affords to navigation. From the mouth of the Ganges to Cape Comorin, the whole range of our continental territory, there is not a single harbour capable of affording shelter to a vessel of five hundred tons burthen; it is an unbroken line of exposed shore, where ships must ride in open roads: but Ava comprehends within her extent of coast, three excellent ports; Negrais, the most secure harbour in the bay, Rangoon and Mergui, each of which is equally convenient, and much more accessible than the river of Bengal, which is the only port in our possession within the bay.

The entrance into the river of Bengal presents as intricate and dangerous a channel as any that is known; and during three months of the year a ship, in leaving the Ganges, incurs considerable hazard from being obliged to beat against a foul wind, in shoal water, among surrounding sands; but from the harbour of Negrais a ship launches at once into the open bay, and may work to the southward, without any other impediment than what the monsoon opposes. Rangoon, at that particular season, is more perilous than Negrais, especially to vessels bound from the Straits of Malacca, Pulo Penang, and other eastern ports; these, if not well acquainted with the violent current setting at that period to the eastward, are liable to be deceived in their reckoning, and, imagining themselves to be farther west than they really are, sometimes

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stand too much to the northward, till they get entangled among the shoals of what is called the Bay of Martaban, whence a retreat is very difficult, and where the tide flows with such impetuosity, and rises so high, that anchors are useless, and retard, but for a very short period, the impending fate. Ships sailing from the westward, by making Cape Negrais, and keeping within sight of the coast, until they come near the bar of Rangoon, avoid those dangers; at every other season Rangoon may be approached and left with perfect security; the bar is narrow, and contains depth of water at three-quarters flood sufficient for vessels of any burthen. The channel of the river is unimpeded, carrying from six to eight fathoms as high as the town of Rangoon.

Blessed with so extraordinary a coincidence of advantages, arising from situation, extent, produce and climate, the kingdom of Ava, or, more properly, the Birman empire, is, among eastern nations, second in importance to China alone, whilst, from its contiguity to British India, it becomes to us of much greater consequence. We can have no reason in the present prosperous state of our affairs, to dread the hostilities of all the native powers of India combined. Our hereditary foe is destroyed; and there remains no other who bears towards us any fixed or rooted enmity: the Birmans certainly do not; but however favourable their natural disposition may be, that characteristic pride and unbounded arrogance which govern their conduct towards other states, may lead them to offer indignity which we cannot avoid resenting, and to commit acts of aggression, as in the affair at Chittagong, which we shall be obliged to repel. Such necessity is sincerely to be deprecated: steadiness and temper in our negotiations, and a reasonable allowance for their mistaken principles, will go far to avert the ill consequences that might arise from their haughty and weak assumption. We cannot expect from a proud and victorious people, impressed with an extravagant opinion of their own power, that reverence which the states of India have been taught to feel for our established character. The principal nations to the east of Bengal are to be considered by themselves as a kind of body politic, wholly distinct from all others; and in fact China, Ava, and the countries south of them, compose a body in extent and number of inhabitants more than equal to all Europe. These nations are connected by a striking similarity of manners and political maxims; to which, as they cannot be suddenly changed, we ought to assimilate in our intercourse with their governments, as far as the dignity of our own will permit. To preserve a correspondence and a good understanding with the court of Ava is essentially expedient for our own prosperity; but, for the reasons already stated, that connection should not be too intimate. A limited trade and a preponderating influence, sufficient to counteract the machinations of our enemies, are the utmost lengths that we should go; by our not interfering farther, the Birmans will be convinced of the moderation and justice of our principles, and learn from them to repel the insidious advances of any other power, made with a latent view to undermine their dominion, and ultimately to wrest their country from them. It is our interest to maintain their independence, and to guard it from foreign encroachment; whilst a knowledge of this truth cannot fail, in the end, to unite the Birman government to ours, in bonds of reciprocal amity and confidence.

During the few days that we continued at Rangoon, I had the pleasure to interchange many reciprocal marks of civility with the Maywoon, who paid me a visit on board the Sea-Horse; after which we rowed in his war-boat to a very fine ship belonging to him, which had recently been built, and, he assured me, was entirely the workmanship of native artificers.

Whilst we remained here, Dr. Buchanan, accompanied by one of the officers of the Sea-Horse, made an excursion on horseback a few miles off, to view a village inhabited  
by

by Carians, the simple rural race of people of whom mention has already been made. Passing by the great temple of Shoedagoung, they proceeded along an indifferent road, about three miles, till they arrived at one of the villages which they sought: it contained not more than ten or a dozen houses raised on posts, and disposed in such a manner as to inclose a square yard, in which were a number of buffaloes. The head man was gone to a distant village; but one of the inhabitants invited the strangers to enter his dwelling, and hospitably offered what his house afforded. The visitants ascended a narrow ladder about twelve feet high into a sort of barn, divided into two by a mat partition; the floor was of rough boards, the sides of mats, and a roof, composed of bamboos, was covered with thatch; at night they draw up the ladder, and, closing the door, sleep secure from the assaults of wild beasts, or the depredations of thieves. Seven or eight men, as many women, and several children, constituted a numerous family; they seemed a healthy and vigorous race of people, and were of a fairer complexion than the generality of southern Birmanians; some of the women wore rich strings of coral round their necks, and were even adorned with ornaments of gold and silver; they speak a dialect peculiar to themselves, but their language is radically the same as the Birman. There are both Pegue and Birman Carians, who differ in the same degree as the nations to which they are attached; they complain of being oppressed by the Birmanians; but their appearance did not indicate severe oppression, and they have a certain sale for whatever their industry can raise. Dr. Buchanan saw several Birmanians on the road carrying baskets; some going for the produce of their gardens, others returning with burthens of fruit and vegetables. The life these people lead is truly pastoral; they have no other business or object except that of cultivating the soil and tending their flocks; their religion is the worship of Gaudma; but in these rites they do not join with the same fervour that animates the Birmanians; they rather seem to acquiesce in the doctrines of their conquerors, which they do not even profess to understand.

Dr. Buchanan interrogated one of the men, who admitted their want of knowledge, and assigned as the reason, that God once wrote his laws and commands on the skin of a buffalo, and called upon all nations of the earth to come and take a copy; a summons which all obeyed, except the Carians, who had not leisure, being occupied in the business of husbandry; and that, in consequence of this neglect, they remained ever since in a state of ignorance, without any other cares than those which related to their pastoral employment. On going away, Dr. Buchanan offered them a few pieces of silver, which so excited their surprise, being quite unaccustomed to such acts of liberality, that they hesitated to receive the money, and seemed at a loss to what motive to ascribe his bounty. After looking at one another, and talking for a minute or two with much earnestness, the women, on a sudden, as if his design had just been discovered, all ran away laughing, whilst the men sullenly declined the gift; in fact, they concluded that the Doctor wanted to purchase the favours of one of their females, having no notion of a disinterested donation. The ladies, however, did not wait to ascertain for whom the golden apple was designed, and it was in vain he tried to convince the men that their suspicions were ill founded. These poor people entertain a delicacy in regard to women, which their more enlightened conquerors do not feel. To prove the purity of his intentions, however, the Doctor left the money on the floor when he departed. The gentlemen returned by the same road, and in their way examined a mineral spring in the neighbourhood of the great Pagoda.

I had an opportunity at Rangoon of observing that the Birmans of distinction played at chess, a circumstance which, from our secluded situation at the capital, had escaped my notice. This game is held in high estimation among the superior ranks: the board they use is exactly similar to ours, containing 64 squares, and their number of troops the same, 16 on each side; but the names, the power and disposal of them, differ essentially: the King and his minister (a Queen is never introduced by the Orientals) are mounted on elephants; these are defended by two castles or yettay, two knights on horseback, Mene, two officers on foot, one called Meem, the other Chekey, and eight Maundelay or foot soldiers: the forces of each party are arranged on three lines, by which eight squares remain unoccupied; none of the pieces possess equal force with our Queen; and this restricted operation renders the Birman mode of playing more complex and difficult than ours. The Birmans affirm, that it is a game of high antiquity, and that it is acknowledged and authorized by their sacred writings, although every play of chance is prohibited. This testimony confirms\* the opinion of the late Sir William Jones, that chess was invented in India, and is not, as generally imagined, of Persian origin: the Birmans call it Chedreen, a word that bears some resemblance to the name which is given to the game in most other parts of the world.

During the time that the English deputation was at Ummerapoora, Captain Thomas witnessed at Rangoon a remarkable instance of a trial by the ordeal of water, the circumstances of which he thus related to me: Two women of the middling class litigated a small property before the court of justice; and as the judges found great difficulty in deciding the question of right, it was at length agreed, by mutual consent, to put the matter to the issue of an ordeal. The parties, attended by the officers of the court, several Rhahaans, or priests, and a vast concourse of people, repaired to a tank or pond in the vicinity of the town. After praying to the Rhahaans for some time, and performing certain purificatory ceremonials, the litigants entered the pond, and waded in it till the water reached their breasts; they were accompanied by two or three men, one of whom placing the women close to each other, and putting a board on their heads, at a signal given, pressed upon the board till he immersed them both at the same instant. They remained out of sight about a minute and a half, when one of them, nearly suffocated, raised her head, whilst the other continued to sit upon her hams at the bottom, but was immediately lifted up by the men; after which an officer of the court solemnly pronounced judgment in her favour; and of the justice of this decision none of the bye-standers appeared to entertain the smallest doubt, from the infallibility of the proof which had been given.

The trial by ordeal, in all countries where the Hindoo religion prevails, is as ancient as their records. The late Ali Ibrahim Khan, native chief magistrate of Benares, has communicated, in a very curious paper\*, the modes by which this appeal to the Deity is made, as they are described in the *Metaschera*, or comment on the *Dherma Sastra*, in the chapter on oaths: the Birmans, being governed by the same authority, observe nearly similar forms; but as knowledge increases, and mankind become more enlightened, these absurd practices lose ground, and have of late years been discountenanced by the judicial courts both of India and of Ava.

\* See a paper on the Indian game of Chess by the President of the Asiatic Society, in the 2d vol. of *Asiatic Researches*.

† This paper was presented to the Asiatic Society by Warren Hastings Esq. See "On the Trial by Ordeal among the Hindoos," *Asiat. Research*, vol. i.

Previous to our departure, the Maywoon of Pegue delivered to my care a letter addressed to the Governor-general of India, couched in very friendly terms, but dictated in the usual style of turgid extravagance; he enumerated in it the concessions granted in favour of English commerce, and expressed a determination to execute his part with punctuality and attention. His Birman Majesty has long entertained a desire to procure an English carriage, with the distinctions of Birman royalty attached to it: in this letter the Maywoon made a request that such a one might be sent; and in order to direct the artist, I was furnished with a very intelligible and well executed drawing\*, performed at Ummerapooora by the king's painter. It displayed the carriage and body of an English crane-necked chariot, gilded all over: from the top of the body there rose a regal spire, or *piasath*, in separate stages, bearing a miniature resemblance to those which ornamented the palace and royal barge; four lions in a crouching attitude guarded the carriage, two on the fore part, and two behind; and a bird, designed, I imagine, to represent the *Henza*, or tutelary goose, was placed in front with expanded wings. The Maywoon's letter, however, contained a requisition of yet greater importance; which was, to obtain materials for the establishment of a mint, a design which, if carried into effect †, must considerably promote the prosperity of the country, as the necessity of weighing lumps of lead and silver, and ascertaining the purity, operate as a sensible impediment to commerce.

On the 26th of November, the day preceding that of our embarkation, I waited on the Maywoon, accompanied by the gentlemen of the deputation and Captain Thomas, to take our final leave. I had occasion to feel myself individually obliged to him for his personal attentions, whilst his mild administration and pleasing manners had acquired my esteem: he is universally acknowledged to be a good man, and seems highly to deserve that reputation. I had opportunities of witnessing several instances of his benevolence and humanity, and, although his authority within his own jurisdiction is absolute, I never heard him accused of an abuse of his power, or of a single act of oppression or injustice. Such a character, in a country where the most rigorous and often barbarous despotism prevails, is entitled to particular encomium. We parted with mutual; and, I am inclined to believe, not insincere professions of permanent good will.

On the morning of the 27th we breakfasted on board the Sea-horse; most of the attendants, with our heavy baggage, had embarked on the preceding day, and at ten o'clock we weighed anchor. It had previously been agreed, that the company's ship should salute the Birman flag with eleven guns, which were to be answered by an equal number from the battery on shore: Captain Thomas performed his part of the agreement; but the battery, which was very slow in acknowledging the compliment, returned only seven. This apparent mark of disrespect, which could not be attributed to ignorance, I conceived rather to originate in the person who had charge of the battery, and who might think to recommend himself by it, than from any higher authority; it was, however, such an ostensible and public slight to the company's colours, that I judged it expedient to write a note to the Maywoon to acquaint him of the fact.

\* The European part of this drawing was made from an old carriage, which had been introduced into the Ava country several years before. The Governor-general complied with both the requests contained in the Maywoon's letter, and in the following year sent a very superb chariot to his Birman Majesty, constructed according to the representation: the top of the spire, notwithstanding the body hung very low, was 18 feet from the ground; it was extremely rich and well executed.

† It is surprising that the Chinese have no national coin; at the port of Canton, dollars in some measure supply the deficiency; but in the interior of the kingdom the inconvenience must be generally felt.

We dropped down with the ebb as far as the Chokey, or watch station, from whence the custom-house officer visited the Sea-horse on her first arrival. In passing the mouth of the Pegue river, we observed that at the entrance it was nearly as wide as the great river; but that breadth soon diminishes to a very contracted space: several large creeks branched off both to the right and the left, which the pilot said were navigable to a considerable distance by boats of heavy burthen. In the evening we again weighed, and crossed the bar at midnight; early next morning we saw the landmark called the Elephant, and, favoured by the ebb, passed the China Bakir river. The wind not being strong enough when the tide turned to enable us to stem the flood, we again came to anchor, being in company with a ship named the Hope, bound also to Calcutta. On the following morning we stood to the southward on the first of the ebb, which bore us along with it against an unfavourable breeze. On the 30th we made Diamond Island and Cape Negrais, and next day, at an early hour, passed a ship standing towards Rangoon, which appeared to have suffered severely from a recent storm, having lost her main-top and fore-top gallant masts; the wind was at this time north-north-west, and a heavy swell from the same quarter indicated that there had lately been a hard gale, a very unusual circumstance at that season of the year.

Keeping within a few leagues of the coast, we continued to beat against an unfavourable wind until the 9th of December, when we made Cheduba, a fertile island belonging to the Birman government: the channel between this island and the main is annually navigated by large trading boats, but it does not afford a safe passage for shipping. The length of the island we judged to be about forty-five miles; it yields abundance of rice, and is governed by a Chekey, or lieutenant, who is subject to the Maywoon of Arracan. Having now the benefit of regular land and sea breezes, we were enabled to make some progress to the northward. On the morning of the 11th we saw what are called the Broken Islands, on the coast of Arracan, which are for the most part a barren assemblage of rocky eminences, affording shelter only to pirates and thieves. On the 12th and 13th we experienced much inconvenience, the wind, which was directly against us, blowing with such violence, that the ship laboured greatly, and our fore-top-sail was torn from the yard. On the 14th the weather moderated, and the wind veering a little to the eastward, we had the good fortune on the 16th to discover a pilot schooner at anchor, between the eastern and western reefs near the mouth of the Ganges: neap tides prevailing, our passage up the river was tedious, and the wind coming invariably from the northern quarter, rendered it hazardous to proceed by night. On the 22d we reached Budge-budge, where I found a pulwar waiting\*, which my friend Captain Sandys, as soon as he heard of the arrival of the Sea-horse, had dispatched to meet me; at this place I quitted the ship, and in two hours reached Calcutta, after an eventful absence of ten months.

\* A commodious kind of boat used in the river Ganges.

## HISTORY OF SIAM.

From the French of TURPIN\*.

### CHAPTER I. — *Of the Origin of the Siamese.*

THE origin of the name of Siam is unknown to its own inhabitants, and those who rely on the aid of etymology to disperse the obscurity which veils the cradle of nations, derive it from the Pegouan language, in which the word *Siam* signifies *free*; therefore these people boast of having the same name with the French (Francks); and although always subject to despots who tyrannise over them, or neighbours who oppress them, they deck themselves with a name which can only serve to reproach them with their slavery and degradation.

It is suspected that it was given them by the Portuguese, who, before they entered this kingdom, already possessed settlements in Pegou. Geographers are not agreed as to its situation: it is known that it lies in the peninsula of India, possessing 120 leagues in length, and rather more than 100 in its greatest breadth. La Loubere, to the north, assigns it the country of Laos; to the east, the kingdoms of Cambaya and Keo; to the south, the great Gulph of Siam; and on the west, the peninsula of Malaca. It is in the form of a half-moon, 450 leagues in circuit. The maritime coasts are well known, but scarcely any thing of its interior. The whole of this country is bordered by high mountains, which separate it from the kingdoms of Laos, Pegou, and Ava. These chains of mountains leave between them a vast plain of near 100 leagues in extent, which forms the chief part of the kingdom.

The coasts of the Gulph of Siam are computed at 200 leagues, and those on the Bay of Bengal at 180. A country surrounded by such an extent of seas is well adapted for commerce and navigation. Bountiful nature has bestowed on it many ports, while she has been sparing to the opposite coast of Coromandel.

The origin of this people is concealed beneath a veil of mystery, which they are scrupulous of removing. Their claims to antiquity are a collection of fables, supported by popular traditions, which with them supply the place of historic monuments. They have neither books nor public archives where the chronicles of the nation might be deposited. It is true, that in 1685 they reckoned an æra of 2229 years, which began at Sommona-Kodon, the founder of their religious worship; but their ignorance of all the arts should render their chronology doubtful; it cannot be determined if they are the descendants of the original inhabitants of this country. Those who

\* Paris, 1771, 2 vols. 12mo.

believe this nation to be a mixture of different people, adduce the two languages which are in use; but their argument has no weight, if it is considered that, in all the countries of India, the language of their learned men is different from that of the common people.

Every thing evinces the infancy of this nation. The lands are so low, that they are inundated every year; it is then to be presumed, that the first who chose to inhabit it came from the neighbouring countries, in proportion as the sea, leaving the foil, rendered it capable of cultivation. It was necessary to find out the secret of opposing dykes to the inundations, so as not to dread its ravages. Troublesome insects, with which the country is covered, and the burning heat of the climate, must for a long time have been motives to give the preference to countries more favoured by nature. It is more likely that the inhabitants of the flat country are descended from the inhabitants of the mountains, who to this day are distinguished by the name of Great Siamese.

The blood is there so mixed, that it is easy to perceive that this nation is formed of several others. Commerce, which procures such great advantages to different people of the East, doubtless led many foreign merchants to form settlements there. The frequent revolutions which have overturned the empires of Japan, China, Tonquin, and Cochin China, have at different times exiled a number of people, who took refuge in Siam to avoid their oppressors.

The Laos and Pegouans have established a considerable colony there, since their country, being laid waste by the Bramas, obliged them to seek an asylum in a foreign land: they were received as distressed people by a compassionate nation, who assigned them a territory, and subjected them to pay a slight tribute. Several people, flying from their country, desolated by the incursions of a foreigner, joined them, and they soon, by their number and courage, arose to be a formidable body. The government, alarmed at their increase, thought it politic to disperse and weaken them; and since that dispersion, they have continued mixed with the ancient inhabitants, from whom they are only distinguished by their language. Their women are known by the regularity of their figure, the whiteness of their complexion, and the elegance of their gay and studied costume; but if they exceed the Siamese by the graces of the body and vivacity of their mind, they are much inferior to them in purity of manners.

The Malays joined themselves with several neighbouring people to form settlements there. They are a turbulent and ferocious people, who, led away by the violence of their temper, foment rebellions, that they may acquire the right to pillage with impunity. The experience afforded by their restless and perverse character, has caused all thefts and assassinations committed in the country to be attributed to them. Their courage makes them face dangers and death without shrinking; and they would rather die with their arms in their hands than be indebted for their life to an enemy who knows how to pardon. For some time they enjoyed the highest consideration: several were raised to the first dignities of the empire by the favour of the prime minister, who was of their nation, and, like them, a Mahomedan; but the disgrace of their patron threw them back to their former abjection, and from that time they have been reduced to exist by their plundering, which supplies all their wants.

Almost all the nations of India have settlements there. The ancient kings had a guard of Japanese; but this militia rendered itself formidable by placing an usurper on the throne. This Prince was sensible, that men who were powerful enough to elevate him, had the same means of destroying their work. His timid and suspicious policy  
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made him ungrateful, and he ordered them to be exterminated. Thus did these infulars become the victims of a jealous monarch, who had made them the instruments of his greatness.

The Chinese colony is the most numerous and flourishing by the extent of its commerce, and by the privileges which it enjoys. Its compliance with received customs, a certain conformity of character and manners, seem to ensure it a continuance of its privileges and prosperity.

If the frequent revolutions which change the destiny of this empire, did not snatch from their possessors the fruits of their labour and industry, strangers would arrive from all parts of the world to settle in a country so highly favoured by nature.

Several people of Europe have colonies there, and the Portuguese set the first example; and as they are the most ancient of all foreigners in that country, so are they the most indigent. Several villages inhabited by a number of their families, present a spectacle of the most deplorable poverty. Their natural laziness, increased by the climate, prevents them from profiting by the advantages of a country, where they have brought their vices, without assuming their virtues.

England laid the foundation of an establishment there, but the haughtiness of this people, jealous of their independence, could not bend to the yoke of a despot, who put no bounds to his authority. Their refractory spirit brought them into disgrace, and they were obliged to quit a country, where they would have wished to have reared an altar to liberty. Some few, more pliant and conformable, have remained, but without forming a national body.

The French, whose commencement is always brilliant, experienced a short-lived prosperity; but, incapable of conducting themselves, they fell under the vanity of wishing to govern others, and inflated censurers of foreign customs, they were ridiculous enough to propose themselves as so many models. This national vice humbled the pride of the Siamese, attached, even to obstinacy, to all their customs, and the success of the French was as inconstant as their character.

The Dutch, flexible, and ever ready to receive impressions from those who have it in their power to enrich them, are the only Europeans who have erected establishments on solid foundations. Every thing suits them, when it is serviceable to them. Simplicity of manners obtained them the confidence of a nation who think they have a right to mistrust all those who live plunged in luxury. Not that other foreigners are not frequent there, particularly French adventurers, who go to exalt their talents and courage in this kingdom. They are received as long as they are useful; but as soon as they demand the reward of their services, they experience neglect, and they are got rid of as troublesome burthens which encumber the earth.

## CHAP. II. — *Of the City of Siam.*

ALTHOUGH there are reckoned as many as forty different nations in the capital, each of which occupies a separate quarter, it does not appear that the country is very populous, since in the last numbering there were only reckoned 1,900,000 souls in the whole kingdom, where every year an exact register is kept of men, women, and children.

The Siamese call the royal city Sigathia, or simply Crung, that is to say, the court. The Portuguese, who corrupt all foreign words, by the difficulty they have to pronounce them, have called it Juthya and Odia. This city is not only an island, but it is also  
situated

situated among several others, which renders its situation very singular. Although it occupies a vast extent, it contains but few inhabitants. The fourth part, which faces the south, only contains idolatrous temples, where no affluence is seen, but on solemn days. Three great rivers, which have their source in the higher lands, surround it on all parts, and cross it by three large canals, which divide it into different quarters, so that it can only be entered by boats. Those places which cannot be approached but by this means remain uninhabited, because the Siamese are accustomed to fix their residence only near water, which, in climates burnt by the sun, affords them the relief of the bath, with them an absolute necessity. It also furnishes them with the facility of transports and convoys, necessary to maintain plenty, which would soon fail in a nation too lazy to cultivate it within itself. Thus as you get at a distance from the rivers, the country is found less inhabited, and few travellers have been tempted to penetrate into deserts, whose stillness is only interrupted by the howling of wild beasts.

All the outskirts of the city are embellished by houses and gardens. Small fortifications are observed at certain distances, the most regular of which was built on the plan of a Portuguese Dominican. They have also erected bastions, which might secure the city from all insult, if it had fewer citizens and more soldiers to defend it.

The three great rivers which descend from the lands, after traversing the city by different canals, form several large islands, where fields are observed planted with rice. These canals unite in a broad and deep river which flows to Baniok, and which they call Menan, that is to say, the mother of waters, because it waters the whole country. It is on the bank of this river that the chief cities are situated. The Siamese never inhabit but near the water, but they form no settlements on the maritime coasts, and those nearest to them, are always distant at least a day's journey.

Though it seldom rains in the royal city, there are certain seasons of the year when the waters, which come from the mountains, so swell the great rivers, that the water not being able to run off, by the too narrow canals, spreads itself over the country, which it covers during six months of the year.

The inundation begins at the end of July, and the water increasing two inches every day, sometimes reaches 13 or 14 feet in height. If it should happen, that it should increase a foot in one day, provisions are sold at an exorbitant price, and what the day before would fetch two or three crowns, would the next day sell for fifty. This constant and regular inundation, spreads fertility in the lands, and it may be said that the Menan is to this kingdom what the Nile is to Egypt. The inhabitants favoured with this bounty of nature, have no occasion to moisten the earth, with the sweat of their brow, to obtain an abundant return of rice. It is sufficient lightly to open the surface of the soil, and throw the seed into it, which the inundation causes to shoot, and the heat of the climate soon brings to maturity. But the source of this plenty is also the origin of all their vices. And as the produce of their fields is not the fruit of their labour, they stagnate in a worthless slothfulness, and only seem to exist to eat and multiply their kind. Their whole labour consists in driving the birds from their sown fields, the troublesome and numerous swarms of which seem to darken the air: they make scarecrows, and strike on brass plates, to drive away these destructive enemies.

It is an agreeable sight to see an extent of ten leagues presenting at the same time the picture of a sea, and a campaign crowned with grain. No dry land is observed

except at certain distances, on which are built large idolatrous temples. The ears which rise above the surface of the waters, yield with ease under the boats, and rise again without being injured: the water rises to the first story, therefore all the houses are built on piles, and Siam at the time of the inundation, seems to have been built on the model of Venice. The fish spread themselves over the fields, where they fatten and multiply. Near the Portuguese quarter is a temple of idols, where a large fish is found which has no teeth, and which regularly assembles in great quantity in this spot: they go to see them with a superstitious curiosity, and no one dares to take them. If any one was rash enough to wound them, he would be exposed to the danger of being knocked down by the priests.

The private houses are convenient, and easily built, being only made of wood, and covered with leaves; the walls are of bamboo. The furniture merely consists in some carpets and cushions; they have neither beds, chairs, tables, cabinets, nor paintings. They sleep on a simple mat, with a slight covering, but, notwithstanding this simplicity, an elegant neatness reigns in all their apartments.

The King's palace resembles a city, the enclosure of which is surrounded with three ranges of brick walls; there are no windows. The building has nothing interesting in it, but the size of the chambers where the King gives audience; the walls are naked and without any decoration; but the boards are covered with magnificent Persian carpets. The monarch appears seated on an estrade a little elevated, and covered with a carpet, so old that its original colour is not to be distinguished. On extraordinary days, the King gives audience from a balcony. In the interior are observed three brick edifices, the middle one of which is an idolatrous temple. One side of the palace is for the men, and the other for the women. The fronts are all gilt, and the roofs are covered with a kind of tin, and gilt in stripes.

On the same side of the city towards the east, is the palace of the Grand Prince, a cannon shot distant from the King's, the top of which is not crowned with an arrow, like that of the monarch's. Several other edifices are observed, whose exterior announces the residence of a powerful King: they are only elephants' stables, and especially of those which have rank, either for their beauty or particular instinct. They are brought up with much care, and when their qualities answer the pains taken with them, the monarch bestows on them the title of Count, Marquis, then Duke, and lastly Peer. Thus this singular people lavish on animals titles of honor, the ambition of polished nations. The Prince of elephants, has his palace apart, where he is served by dignified officers.

This palace is only open to foreign ambassadors, we are therefore ignorant of its police, punishments, and amusements. The women's apartments are separated from one another, to prevent the usual dissensions which arise from rivalry. In the interior is a temple enriched with gold and silver statues: also representations of all kinds of fruit in the same metals: there likewise are deposited the presents which each province sends to the monarch twice a year; and this tribute consists of five flowers of gold, each weighing six ounces, and five of silver of the same weight. Near the temple is the royal treasury, where all the coined silver is placed, without any being ever taken from it. This gulph is opened but to swallow up every thing, and the glory of the Kings lies in accumulating useless riches. The policy which preserves them for extraordinary occasions, has often brought the state to the brink of a precipice. The covetous foreigner, to invade them, often makes incursions, which succeed. It would be more advantageous to the Siamese monarchs.

to possess iron to fabricate arms, than heaps of gold, which awaken the cupidity of avaricious neighbours.

There is another treasure, appropriated to daily expences, and it is from that they take to lend to all merchants on usury. Girls are sometimes carried off from the provinces, to be destined for the services of the palace. Fathers, fearing to be deprived for ever of their children, take the precaution of marrying them very young; or else pay considerable sums to the officers charged with the execution of this tyranny; and these officers seduced by the weight of the presents declare the girls incapable of service.

It is in this silent retreat, inhabited by ten thousand men, that an invisible monarch repose on the bosom of voluptuousness or debauchery. His subjects, by whom he is unknown, are only sensible that they have a master, by the dread he inspires, or by the oppressions he orders. It would be profanation of the majesty of this tyrant, to mention his name, or to enquire after his health. The care taken to maintain respect destroys attachment; and the love of the Siamese for their King is a weak and faded sentiment; therefore when a rebel starts up, they wait the event with indifference. Those destined to wear chains are never inclined to incur dangers for him who imposes them. An army of citizens is invincible;—a horde of slaves are devoted to him who will pay and support them.

Siam and the other principal cities of the kingdom are only composed of wretched cabins, built without taste or convenience. The capital is not equal to a quarter of London or Paris; and the Siamese who have never travelled in other countries, bestow magnificent names on their small towns, which they look upon as prodigies of art.

The kingdom is divided into ten provinces, which are Supthia, Bancok, Porcelon, Pipli, Campine, Rapri, Tennasserim, Ligour, Cambouri and Concaceina, which have all a separate governor.

I shall confine myself to a superficial description of the chief provinces.

Bancok is situated seven leagues from the sea, and is called *Fou* in Siamese. Its environs are ornamented with delightful gardens, which supply the inhabitants with much fruit, which they prefer to all other food: its rich and fertile territory presents an agreeable variety of fruit trees. This city, which is one of the chief bulwarks of the kingdom, was fortified in 1685, by the Chevalier de Chaumont: but all these works become useless to the Siamese, who neither know how to attack or defend places.

Tennasserim is a province whose soil produces an abundance of rice and excellent fruits. It is in its safe and commodious port that vessels of all nations arrive, and the people find more means of subsisting than in the other parts of the kingdom.

Louvo, which gives its name to a province, is a city which the residence of Kings has made a rival of the capital. Their palace, without being large and magnificent, is pleasant and convenient; the purity of the air attracts them there for eight months in the year.

Pipli, a sea-port, carries on a considerable commerce in rice, cloths, and cotton. Each house has its gardens, where they grow great quantities of betel, cocoa, durio, bananas, oranges, and other choice fruits.

Ligor is a sea-port situated at the entrance of the gulph of Siam. It is there that calain is found, a kind of tin, which will be described. Its territory produces much rice and fruits, which are the food and riches of the country.

Camburi, which is on the frontiers of Pegu, has a great trade in eagle-wood, elephants' teeth, and rhinoceros's horns: it is from this province they obtain the beautiful varnish.

Porcelon, which the Portuguese have corrupted into Porfaloue, was formerly under the government of hereditary lords, and it is still in the name of their former masters, and in their palace, that justice is administered to this day. This city, fortified with 14 bastions built by French engineers, is rich and commercial, especially in elephants' teeth, rhinoceros's horns, skins of wild beasts, sugar, tobacco, onions, wax and honey. They make flambeaus of pitch and oil; and the red gum is obtained there, of which is made what is called Spanish wax; wood for building and dyeing; and it is its territory which produces a kind of tin, and ambergris.

### CHAP. III. *Manners, Ways, and Customs of the Siamese.*

BY a perversion of order, the Siamese condemn their women to all labours which require strength, and which fatigue: while this indolent people slumber in listless ease, the laborious women cultivate the earth, cut wood, and get in the harvests. This vice has its source in despotism; every one avenges himself on his domestic empire for the disgraceful servitude to which he is condemned in public; and he who from his infancy crawls beneath the yoke ever proves an imperious master, more desirous of being obeyed than beloved.

Their ignorance in astronomy has introduced the custom of striking on pots and pans when there is an eclipse, because they are persuaded that this phenomenon is caused by the malignity of a dragon, which devours the two lights of the world; and it is by making a great noise, that they endeavour to frighten this animal that would deprive them of the light of day.

With the Siamese gold is a merchandize, and not money. They have no watches of that metal; all the coins are of silver, and the different kinds are only distinguished by their size; the stamp is the same. The baser money consists in shells, which constitute the representative riches of many nations of the East.

There is one day in the year, in which they practise a ceremony, somewhat resembling that of the Scape-goat, which was customary among the Jews. They single out a woman, broken down by debauchery, and carry her on a litter through all the streets to the sound of drums and hautboys. The mob insult her, and pelt her with dirt: after having sufficiently exposed her through the whole city, they throw her on a dunghill, and sometimes on a hedge of thorns, without the ramparts, forbidding her ever to enter them again. This inhuman and superstitious ceremony is founded on the belief, that this woman thus draws upon her all the malign influences of the air and of evil spirits.

The people are far more lively than the great, who, shut up with their women, never go out but to assist at ceremonies with the dull companions of their solitude. In these solemnities the women appear unveiled.

An effeminate and idle people never shine in society. The Siamese, gentle without vivacity, enjoys a calm delight, which seems rather to arise from the absence of pain, than the sensation of pleasure. His slothful indifference communicates itself to all around him: he is a machine, that can only be put in motion by the hand of another.

They are all of a regular and middling height. Nature, careful in forming them, neither produces lame nor crooked, and they are all well proportioned, as

they come from the hand of that industrious mother. There are no deformed people but such as have become so by accident. They are mostly large bodied, broad faces and shoulders; their nose is short and round, and an aquiline one is a rare phenomenon. Many are marked with the small-pox, which disfigures their features. Their nostrils are wide, and their complexion swarthy, which nevertheless does not seem to be their natural colour, but should be attributed to their custom of going naked from their earliest infancy. The women do not possess those fine and delicate features, which in Europe give the idea of beauty; and they would scarcely be distinguishable from the men, but for their dress and hanging neck, which falls very low.

Though their disposition leads to commerce, the source of it is only open to the Monarch, who reserves to himself the privilege of carrying it on with foreigners; therefore the law restricts them to internal trade, the advantages of which are very circumscribed. This people, simple in their manners, have had no occasion for foreign productions. Those born in the lowest orders find a sufficient resource in fishing. If the legislature did not extinguish their commercial industry, they would be much abler traders than many other nations. That honesty which constitutes the very basis of trade, is a virtue they practise without effort. The person that sells never counts the money he receives, nor does the buyer ever examine his goods. Muslins and other linens are sold in the piece, and they never measure them by the yard; one is often liable to be deceived in the weight, because the monies, which are used for weights, are almost always defaced, and having all the same mark, and struck at the same corner, they are all supposed to have the same value. Gold is twelve times the value of silver.

The kingdom of Siam is covered with swampy marshes, which only yield poor grass to feed their horses, which are weak and clumsy; nor do they cut them to render them more docile, or check their spirit. They have neither asses nor mules. The buffalo, the ox, and the elephant, are the only domestic animals from which the Siamese derive any advantage. The female elephants are employed in domestic services; the males, more untractable, are destined for war: every body is free to hunt them.

As the country furnishes but few horses the King imports them, more especially from Batavia; but the breed is small and stubborn. The elephant is a more noble animal, and more adapted for war: he is taught to protect his master, to place him on his back with his trunk, and to trample on his enemies. There is always one on guard at the palace, ready accoutered and prepared to march: the driver sits on his neck without any saddle. This animal obedient to command, knows where he ought to stop. They use a goad of iron or silver to increase his speed; he seems to know the voice of him who has the care of feeding and attending him, and obeys his least signal.

Sometimes the Siamese travel on square seats, carried by four or eight men, who are relieved by an equal number. This people, an enemy to all fatigue, only like to travel by water, in vessels they call *ballons*, which, though made from a single tree, is sometimes from one hundred to one hundred and twenty feet in length; they have as many as one hundred and twenty rowers, who are placed two and two; but it is only the people of consequence who travel with such a numerous retinue, to shew their dignity: the common ballons contain but twenty at most. These rowers have a measured kind of a song, and they row with grace and ease. The women brought up in this exercise, which with us is only used by the condemned dregs of society, conduct them with much dexterity. Many Siamese have no other dwelling than their ballons, and some of them are highly ornamented and very convenient.

The palanquin is a kind of bed, carried by slaves on their shoulders. Only those  
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that are ill, and some old people, have a right to use them : but all Europeans may enjoy that privilege. The Siamese have different parasols, and each rank has its own. Those like ours are for the lower class. They have some which look like so many parasols one above another, and the King only may use them. The Talapoins have them of different forms, which all shew their rank.

The King's ballons are made of a single tree, which must be supposed of a prodigious height, since they will contain one hundred and fifty rowers. The two ends are very elevated, and he who steers them makes the whole bark tremble, when he stamps on the poop. It every where is decked by art and the ornaments of sculpture ; and in the middle is elevated a throne, in a pyramidal form, on which the eye dwells with delight. The Siamese are only good sailors on their rivers ; and for sea voyages they employ Moors, Chinese, Malays, and Christians descended from Europeans. They row sitting, their legs crossed like tailors, and this attitude deprives them of part of their strength and activity. They have also several long and narrow boats, in the construction of which they neither employ nails nor iron, the parts are fastened together with roots or twigs, which withstand the destructive action of water. They have the precaution to insert between the joints of the planks a light and porous wood, which swells by being wet, closes all the openings, and prevents the water from penetrating into the vessel. When they have not this wood, they rub the chinks by which the water enters with clay.

The constant motion observable on the Menan presents the eye with a pleasing variety. The dignity of those who pass is estimated by the number of the rowers. Each boat has a small room in the center, with a roof of leaves, interwoven in a tasteful manner : it is supported by four pillars fastened to the sides of the boat. The two sides have blinds of mats to keep off the rain and sun. Only the King, the royal family, and Europeans, are allowed to have curtains. Every one else is excluded from a privilege, the enjoyment of which could hurt no one.

Although agriculture is much neglected the ancient Kings of Siam were obliged to till the earth at the commencement of each season. The intent of this ancient custom was to ennoble an art, which, by a remains of barbarism, the nations of Europe leave to the lowest ranks of society. The Kings having degenerated from the simplicity of primitive manners, have been fearful of committing their dignity, by devoting themselves to occupations, which the meanness of those who follow them seems to have rendered contemptible. Their superstition has taught them to fear that Heaven, irritated with this prevarication, would curse the earth with sterility ; therefore, not to seem to have abolished a custom, consecrated by its antiquity, the name of king is given to a mercenary, who, for a day, exercises the functions of royalty, and enjoys all the prerogatives attached to it.

Experience has shewn that, though Kings are no longer husbandmen, the lands are not less fruitful ; therefore they do not now bestow the name of king on the individual who, by his buffooneries, profaned the dignity of that sacred title. They at present confine themselves to giving him the name of Grand Lord of the Rice. On the day appointed for this ceremony, he repairs to the field pointed out for him to till. He is mounted on an ox, and followed by all his officers, who take care to collect all the rights annexed to royalty, but the collection is not very considerable, by the precaution taken to leave nothing on that day in his way. After he has tilled a small portion of the land, he returns to the city in the same order. The assembled multitude celebrate games and festivals in honour of him. The next day the deposed monarch returns to his

his original insignificancy, and the profit he derives from this masquerade scarcely suffices to maintain him for a year.

It is not from a principle of avarice that the Siamese do not shew their hospitality; a natural and unconstrained politeness unites all hearts; and as generosity is not ruinous, they willingly provide for the wants of the unfortunate. The poor unable to work is never reduced to the disgraceful necessity of begging for his subsistence: his compassionate neighbours supply his wants. Begging is a disgrace which attaches to the beggar and all his family. It is surprising that a people with whom poverty is not burthenome, and interest does not engender those animosities which in other nations create as many enemies as citizens, should be guilty of a most preposterous usury. The Monarch sets the example to his subjects: he has a treasure set apart to lend at an interest of 50 or even 100 per cent. This usury is never injurious, because the borrower finds the means of exerting his industry, and of carrying on a privileged commerce, without paying any duties.

The parental authority accustoms the children to an implicit obedience: the father is interested by natural affection, and by the law of the country, early to implant in their hearts the seeds of virtue; for if afterwards the children fall into any misdemeanor, or commit any crime, the whole family is included in the punishment inflicted by the law. Politeness and docility are the fruits of the instructions bestowed on them. At the age of seven, their education is entrusted to learned and virtuous Talapoin, whose dress they assume, and which they quit when they return to the rank of citizen. Those who have not had such masters are shut out from dignities, and they are supposed not to have acquired in a domestic education the necessary knowledge to form the man of public business. Their family allows them a pension proportionate to their means, and some have several slaves solely to wait upon them. As all the Siamese are intended for trade, they merely teach them to read, write, and cast accounts. The idolatrous priests train their minds beneath the yoke of prejudices and superstition, and teach them errors which they would be happy to be able to forget.

Two languages are in use among this people. The language of the country, and the Balay language, which both possess alphabets of few letters. The Siamese has no conjugations nor declensions like the Balay, which is the language of the priests and ministers of the law. It is written from the left to the right, as well as the Siamese, which, like the Chinese, is composed almost entirely of monosyllables, and like that loaded with many accents: the only difference is that the Chinese form the line from the top to the bottom, and that the first takes the right, the others running towards the left. All other Asiatic nations write from the right to the left.

A Siamese has not the privilege of possessing arms, unless the King has granted it to him. This testimony that the Monarch bears of his valour, gives him the right of purchasing of them. Their indolence deprives them of the use of their feet, and their limbs being inflexible makes walking painful to them. One is surpris'd to see their sentinels always lying on the ground. It will take twenty Siamese to do in a year, what an European artisan would execute in a month.

Although superstition has corrupted their minds, they tolerate all religions. Their veneration for the traditions of their ancestors does not inspire them with any aversion for other ceremonies. This obstinate attachment to error makes them believe that they have the superiority over all nations, who do not think as they do; but they only pity those who have the misfortune to be deprived of that light which shines for them; difference of opinion never engenders hatred, and ambition there never covers itself with

with the cloak of religion to illumine the torch of civil discord. A French traveller, who had long studied their character, was persuaded that they were all born philosophers: it was also the opinion of the ancients, who affirm that it was in India that the first sages spread the benefits of philosophy.

Their way of reckoning the days, weeks, and months, is in many points different from ours. Their year has twelve lunar months, which have no names, and which are distinguished by the first, second, third, &c., and as each year has more than twelve moons, at the end of two or three years they add a thirteenth month. Their cycle contains sixty years, while ours has one hundred. Each has its name, and as they have but twelve names, they repeat them five times in each cycle, to arrive at the number of sixty, which makes five revolutions of those twelve months in a cycle. To each revolution they add a word; which points out if it be the first, second or third, &c.

They begin the year with the new moon, which corresponds sometimes with the month of November, sometimes with that of December. They date their acts either from the year of their cycle, or from that in which Sommonâ-Kodon put aside his human nature, to become a god. This method has been more used since they have seen the Christians and Mahometans date their years, the one from Jesus Christ, the other from Mahomet.

The week is, like ours, composed of seven days, each of which has the name of a plant, without their being able to explain the origin of such denomination. The length of the day and night is nearly always the same.

Their Sunday, which they call *Vampra*, is always on the fourth day of the moon; in each month they have two grand ones, at the new and full moon, and two less solemn, on the seventh and twenty-first. This day does not exempt them from labour, only fishing is forbidden them; and those who transgress this prohibition pay a fine, and are thrown into prison, for having profaned the sanctity of that day on which the Talapouts cut their beard, hair, and eyebrows.

They have but two seasons, winter and summer. The two first months of their year, which nearly answer to our December and January, constitute the whole of their winter. And the air one then breathes is as burning as that of our hottest summers. It seems very troublesome to the Siamese, who are not clad; and indeed the north winds which then blow, are sharp and piercing. Their winter is very dry, and the summer very rainy; for which reason the Europeans look upon the rainy season as winter, and the dry season as summer.

The third, fourth, and fifth months compose their minor summer, the other seven are considered as grand summer. The minor is their spring; but they have no autumn, nor any distinct time for the harvest of their fruit, because their trees bear them the whole year. They never lose their leaves, and those which fall are immediately replaced by others: the sap rises during all seasons of the year. Although they only reckon one grand summer, they would be more correct if they admitted two, because twice a year they have the sun vertical; the first time, when it passes from the line to the tropic of Cancer, and the other when it returns from that tropic to the line.

The torrid zone would be uninhabitable, as the ancients erroneously believed, if the sun did not attract the clouds and rain. The wind constantly blows from the pole most distant from that star; so that when it advances towards the arctic pole the wind comes from the south; on the contrary, when it approaches the antarctic pole, one experiences the daily inconvenience of a north wind. Thus, during summer, the sun  
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being to the south of the line, the north winds have an agreeable freshness; and when it is to the north of the line, the south winds bring rain and clouds, which moderate the scorching heats.

The character of the Siamese partakes much of the nature of their climate. Their body enervated by the heat, possesses neither vigour nor desires; they attach an idea of baseness to works which require strength, and every thing which is troublesome to them appears mean. Contented with the riches that nature has lavished on them, they do not envy the productions of other climates, nor will they brave the seas to obtain imaginary riches. The cloaths in request among other people to them would be troublesome; their dishes are plain, and their sauces are never varied. It seems that their whole happiness consists in insensibility.

The education of the Siamese girls insures the innocence of their manners. Cautious mothers prohibit them from all intercourse with the men, more especially with the base corrupters, who make a merit of seduction. To avoid the effects of too warm a temperament, they marry them at the age of twelve, as well to fulfil the laws of nature, as to give subjects to the state. There are many who, rebels to the empire of the climate, never submit to the yoke of marriage; but there are none who do not wait the arrival of old age before they embrace a religious life. Though one man may have many wives, only the great and rich use this privilege, more adapted to trouble the tranquillity of the soul, than to repress the intemperance of the passions.

When the great take several wives, it is less from inclination than from luxury. The chief has exclusive privileges: the others are only slaves, degraded by the name of "little wives:" they are subservient to the will of the first. Their children partake of the meanness of their condition: they style the author of their days, "My Lord the King;" the others born of the first wife merely call him father.

It is from among women of proved virtue that they demand a girl in marriage. Before an answer is given, the parents give the hour of the birth of their daughter, and receive that of the boy.

Soothsayers are consulted to know if the marriage will be happy. Those that make the demand carry betel, and if the parents carry it to their mouth, it is a sign they give their consent. The young man takes his mistress a present of fruits; and on the third visit he pays her, the two families assemble, and the marriage ceremony is performed without the assistance of the priests. They are perhaps the only people on earth who have not stamped the seal of religion on an union so important to society. It is true, that some days after the ceremony the Talapoins go and throw holy water on the married couple, and say prayers to purify them.

The weddings are celebrated with much solemnity at the girl's parents, who give feasts and entertainments, at which mercenaries are hired to dance and sing. The married pair and their relations would think they erred against propriety if they were to join in those dances. The marriage is only considered as a civil contract between two free persons, who have bound it with their consent, and that of their parents, and which deprives the woman of the liberty of breaking the union; but the husband can put her away, by giving her a certificate of repudiation. There are certain cases in which the woman has a right to demand a separation, and the husband seldom refuses it; it is interesting to him to get rid of a woman whose heart he no longer possesses. The marriages are generally fruitful, and it is not uncommon for them to have twins: but if the ripeness of the woman is premature, she soon ceases to bring children, and their own bounty exhausts them.

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The nuptial couch is seldom polluted by adultery. The right which the husbands possess to kill their wives taken in the act is not the only check to incontinence. The women, always occupied with domestic duties, have no time to carry on intrigues. They never assist at those games and amusements where the impure and burning breath of the passions is inhaled. Retired within their houses, they receive no visits from those dangerous seducers, who unblushingly betray their hosts or their friends. It is also the wife who cultivates the earth; she wakes at the dawn of day, and prepares for her indolent sovereign a breakfast of rice and salt fish, which he takes, and after this first meal he sleeps till dinner time; and when he has satisfied his appetite, he again devotes himself to sleep, which he only interrupts to game, or take some amusement, till the hour of supper arrives. The wife, humble and submissive, has neither the privilege of sitting nor eating with her husband; she is active and careful in preparing the viands, and when he has dined, she withdraws to dine in her turn. She never goes in the same ballon; and when admitted to the conjugal bed, she has a lower pillow, to remind her of her inferiority.

All those invited to the wedding are obliged to send a present, and it often forms the richest dower of the bride. Marriage is forbidden in the first degree of relationship; but they may marry their cousin-germans, and even two sisters, one after the other; but if they have married the youngest first, they then must not marry the other. The Kings are not subject to this law; they marry their nearest relatives, and sometimes their own sister. The succession to the husband belongs entirely to the principal wife, who is to divide it in equal portions among all her children. The destiny of the inferior wives is absolutely dependent on the legitimate heirs, who may sell them, or allow them an arbitrary means of subsistence: they possess nothing but what the father gave them when living. The daughters of the inferior wives may be sold like cattle, or else they are allowed a small subsistence. Every husband is sovereign in his family; he can even sell his wives and children: but the first wife is not subject to this degradation; he can only repudiate her, and then he is obliged to return her her portion. The children are equally divided between them; but if the number is odd, the wife has one more than the husband.

There is a whimsical custom which deranges all matrimonial agreements. Sometimes the Monarch bestows a wife, of whom he is tired, on one of his favourites: it is a flattering distinction, which often constrains the inclination. The wife given by so respectable a hand partakes of all the prerogatives of the principal wife. Those who wish to preserve their master's favour, or who fear being disgraced, give this woman an absolute dominion over all their house.

The chief wife only has the title of Queen. Her rule is absolute within the palace: at her tribunal are discussed the disagreements among the women and the eunuchs. She distributes punishments and rewards at pleasure; and those who are suspected of disputing her husband's heart with her, find in her an inexorable judge. She has her elephants, her officers, and her private magazines. She is only visible to her eunuchs and her women. When she goes abroad she is carried in a chair, enclosed with curtains, from which she can see every thing without being seen: all who meet her on the way are obliged to prostrate themselves before this invisible idol.

The Siamese are furious in their fits of jealousy, but this weakness is less a sentiment of love, than vexation of humiliated vanity at the preference given to a rival: they are no less jealous of their daughters than of their wives, and the punishment they inflict for their fall is not less severe. Jealousy opposes the practice of their virtues.

They are humane and compassionate, yet they never shew their hospitality, which is not necessary in a country where all strangers find easy means of subsisting.

Although chastity is in general observed in their marriages, yet instances are not wanting of women abandoning themselves to their inclinations. Those convicted of this crime are exposed to tigers to be devoured, or else they are sold to a certain odious officer, who, by means of a tribute he pays the King, has the infamous privilege of prostituting them for his own emolument. The accomplice of the adulteress is involved in her condemnation: he is punished by the whip or the bastinado.

Horrid despotism tears daughters from the arms of their fathers; and those who cannot resolve to see themselves for ever parted from the fruit and object of their affection, prefer sacrificing part of their fortune, rather than consent to so distressing a separation. Daughters have no claim to the crown; scarcely do they enjoy the privilege of liberty. It is the will of the dying father that settles the succession: thus a tyrant, while living, he still reigns after his death. He often gives the preference to the son of a concubine over that of the legitimate Queen: but it is generally force which decides the right of the competitors for the throne.

Slavery gives an absolute power to the master, who may exact the basest employments from his slave. Slaves are born such, or become so. The insolvent debtor and the prisoner of war are deprived of their natural liberty, but the children born during their slavery are not included in their debasement. The slave for debt regains his liberty when he has fulfilled his engagements. Although a master decides at will on the lot of his slave, he has no power over his life. He who possesses many, allows them, on paying a remuneration, to work for others. Thus they are rather vassals than actual slaves, since by paying a tribute to their master they enjoy all the advantages of liberty.

The King only sees in his subjects a base horde of slaves, who are obliged to work for him six months in the year: but though his power is unlimited, the fidelity of his subjects is not the less suspected. He cannot but know, that he who dares do every thing, is always reduced to the necessity of fearing every thing; and sad experience has taught him, that the farther one extends one's privileges, the more one multiplies one's enemies; and that the throne of despotism is often stained with the blood of him who fills it. The fear he inspires, by never appearing but with all his forces, banishes affection. Asia, at all times, has been the country of slaves, and the sanguinary theatre of revolutions; because the interests of the people are always distinct from those of a despot. There has never been found in Asia a body composed of magistrates, who watched over the safety of the chief and of the public. All arbitrary power is an attack against the rights of mankind, while the authority dictated by the law is constant, and has nothing obnoxious in it.

Old age is as honourable at Siam as it was formerly at Lacedemon. It is a homage that the new inhabitants of the world pay to those about to quit it. The sad privilege of age gives more distinctions than rank itself. The Mandarin, exalted to eminent rank, is obliged to give way to his inferiors who are older than himself. A child would be esteemed a monster if he deviated from the respectful affection due to a parent; and he who should be unnatural enough to bring him before any tribunal, would become the object of public execration. On the contrary, the law places the children in entire dependence on their father, who may sell them, but not take away their life.

Every opposite seems united to form the character of this people. They take no

pains to acquire, yet preserve with anxiety what they possess. Avaricious without an object, they prefer burying their wealth to using it. Gentleness and politeness are virtues which are natural to them; but when they give way to anger, their fury is boundless and unrestrained. Indolence prevents them from feeling the anxious and painful sentiment of hatred; but when it is awakened, it stalks with poison and the dagger. The effusion of human blood is held in horror; their common quarrels end by a few blows and coarse abuse. Their laziness renders them dissimulating and taciturn. It is this principle of indolence which has sanctified their customs and perpetuated their errors. Admiration is a sentiment they never experience; and whatever might excite curiosity, leaves them in a state of stupidity.

It seems that nature, foreseeing that they would be rigid masters, and incapable of command, has given them low and servile inclinations, to sweeten the bitterness of their condition. They are mean and cringing when you assume the tone of superiority with them. The inward consciousness of their weakness makes them have recourse to cunning to parry force. They bestow pride and contempt on those who testify any regard for them.

If they would vow an eternal friendship, they drink the same arrack from the same cup; or they lance some part of the body to fetch blood, which they reciprocally drink. It was thus the ancient Scythians and Babylonians sealed their alliances: almost all the modern people of the East observe this custom. Notwithstanding all the faults attached to this nation, all travellers agree, that their morals are as pure as their heaven, and that mildness and moderation are virtues of their climate; and most of their vices would be easy to correct, if education assisted inclination. But the uncultivated mind never distinguishes the good from the excellent, and they act without giving themselves the trouble to reflect or reason.

The Siamese, to preserve cleanliness, enter into very troublesome minutiae. They perfume part of the body, to afford an agreeable smell; and it would be failing in politeness to pay a visit without having bathed. They take as much pains to blacken their teeth as the Europeans take to keep theirs white. They pluck out the root of the beard, which in all hot countries is a troublesome excrescence; but they suffer their nails to grow, as the Chinese did before their country was invaded by the Tartars. They wash their hair with scented waters and oils. Notwithstanding the pains they take to preserve their cleanliness, they inspire Europeans with invincible disgust when they open their mouths or shew their hands. Their teeth, stained black, seem so many bits of ebony; their nails, and more especially those of the right hand, which they suffer to grow, resemble the claws of some carnivorous animal: it is, nevertheless, by these marks that the elegant and polished man is distinguished from the servile and clownish. The gay women, and those who wish to charm, never shew themselves without having false nails three or four inches long.

Frugality is a virtue attached to climate, and as nature has not multiplied their wants, they are rich in the midst of indigence, or at least in the privation of things which opinion has made wants with us. The Siamese have neither tables, cloths, napkins, knives, spoons, nor forks; every thing served up to them is ready cut, and, among the great, the commonest vessel is of China or Japan. They never serve in flat dishes, even at the King's table. Rice and dry or salted fish are exceeding cheap; and for a halfpenny a Siamese satisfies all his wants. Thus this people, without any anxiety as to the means of subsisting, give themselves up to idleness, and every house resounds with the song and shouts of mirth, which are not heard among nations where luxury, extending our wants, renders the means of subsisting more difficult. Their coarse

palate is not offended at the odour of rotten fish and addled eggs. They eat grasshoppers, rats, lizards, and all kinds of insects despised by Europeans. Their sauces are made with a little water, into which they put garlick, cibol, and balm. As they have no saffron, they use a root which, reduced to powder, has the taste and colour of it. They have no oil from nuts or olives; they only use the oil of cocoa. Their cows give little milk, but the female buffalo supplies the deficiency. The heat of the climate prevents butter from attaining any consistence. The flesh of animals they do not care about; they only eat their entrails, as being more easy to digest. It must not be imagined that there is any whim in their taste; all the meats are void of juice and of difficult digestion. The Europeans, who are most voracious, seldom use them after they have been some time in the country. Sobriety, in all hot countries, is a virtue of climate. The price of meat is so low, that a cow is only worth fivepence. It is true, mutton and goat are dearer, because the Maures consume a great deal. Poultry is not worth the fattening; each kind is the more multiplied, as the heat of the climate suffices to hatch the eggs.

One would think that people, among whom sobriety is a general and common virtue, would be exempt from all those diseases which are the bitter fruits of intemperance: but every climate has its germs of benefits and evils; and to judge of the sobriety of different people, one should know the different degrees of heat of their stomachs. One would be obliged to confess, that he who eats the least is often the most intemperate. Dysenteries, putrid fevers, fluxions of the breast, make great ravages. The rains, which fall a great part of the year, cause coughs, hooping-coughs, and rheumatisms, as frequent as in Europe. The diseases which punish incontinence are there numerous; but of all the scourges which afflict this kingdom, the small-pox sacrifices the greater number of victims.

Nothing is so contradictory as the portraits of this people, whom some represent as swimming in abundance, and others as languishing in the bosom of poverty. Travellers, in the accounts they have given us of this kingdom, are by no means agreed: they have only spoken of what they have seen. Thus some sent there by Monarchs have admired a shewy court, which invented festivals to shew its power; others, attracted by commerce, have only beheld a people destitute of every thing which with them was a real want. Their table is never covered with delicate meats, and the murderous art of cooks does not tickle their palates. The simplicity of the apartments and furniture makes them despise superfluity, and confine themselves to what is necessary.

European architects could not here exercise their talents. Their houses, which are all made on the same model, are built with bamboo: they are raised thirteen feet above the surface of the earth, because the water, during the inundations, rises to that height. They are all built on piles, and the staircase, which is without, is a ladder similar to those of our windmills. They have ramps of hurdles for the domestic animals to ascend, whose stables are in the air. These singular houses have their conveniences and luxuries. The apartments are tapestried with painted cloth, and the ceiling is covered with white muslin. There are no beds, because the Siamese never undress to sleep, unless it be to change their wrappers. (Jealousy, which tyrannises over all the people of the East, does not allow the Siamese to practise hospitality; they are fearful of exposing their women to the eager gaze of a stranger.)

The houses of the great resemble immense presses, where the master, his wife, and children are lodged; the subaltern wives with their children, and each slave with his family, occupy a separate apartment. The pagodas are larger than high; they have

neither vault nor ciding: the tiles which cover them are varnished with red, with golden fillets. The gardens, which are numerous, are not spacious; the walks are very narrow, and three persons can scarcely walk abreast. Flowers every where perfume the air; the variety of trees presents an agreeable relief, and the fountains maintain a constant coolness.

Nakedness does not alarm their modesty, but by a sentiment of propriety, their loins and thighs are covered with painted linen, or sometimes with gold or silver stuff. The custom of appearing in public half naked, is rather introduced by the heat of the climate, than to excite libidinous ideas. There is no country where all parts that can be offensive to modesty are more carefully concealed. Some French soldiers in the suite of the Ambassador sent by Louis XIV. exposed themselves quite naked in the bath. This scandal made the people murmur, and they were obliged to give them wrappers to stop the complaints.

The children are in a perfect state of nudity till the age of five, and at that age they are clothed with a waistcloth or wrapper which they must no more quit. They are not stripped of them, even when it is necessary to chastise them. The people of the East look on it as infamous to strike any one on the exposed parts of the body. Their morals forbid discipline and rods, which are in use among polished nations, where they do not scruple to wound the feelings of children, by inflicting on them the same punishments which the law in its vengeance awards the guilty.

The mandarins wear a muslin shirt, without any collar, and which leaves the stomach bare. The great in winter wear a kind of cloak in the form of a scarf. The King puts on a brocaded vest, which is generally edged with the finest laces of Europe. He is the only one who may appear with this ornament, unless some favourite may have received it from his hands. Those who accompany him in the chace or to war, must be clothed in red, and the vest which is given them is always of that colour, doubtless to put them in mind that they are destined to shed the blood of the enemies of their country.

Although the Siamese always go bare-headed, the Kings and grandees of the state, on days of ceremony, wear a white pointed bonnet; that of the Monarch, sparkles with jewels, and it is by his richness that he is distinguished from others. They never make use of hats, but in journeys, or on the rivers, where the sun is stronger. Their shoes are pointed and without quarters; they take them off from respect on meeting the King or their superiors.

The Siamese have funeral ceremonies peculiar to themselves. The biers are of wood, gilt on the outside; and they consume the intestines, to prevent the ill effects of putrefaction. While they are occupied in preparing the funeral pomp, they burn tapers and perfumes round the dead. During the night priests chaunt funeral hymns, which instruct the soul in the way it ought to take to arrive at its celestial residence. They then burn the body to the sound of instruments, in presence of its family and friends, who are clothed in white. Although religion does not enter into their funeral ceremonies, it is customary to have the Talapoins present, to swell the pomp. Their respect for the tombs is inviolable, for which reason treasures are sometimes found in them, which rich misers hide there, as in a safe depôt; but it often happens that rogues make no scruple of searching the sepulchres to carry off the wealth. When the relations have sufficiently cried and shed tears, feasts and entertainments succeed these scenes of sorrow; they exert themselves to shake off a tranquillity which would incessantly recal the remembrance of what they had lost.

The honour of the funeral pile is not conferred on every body. Criminals who perish by the law, women who die in childbed, all those who have died a violent death are condemned to be buried in the bowels of the earth; which is the greatest disgrace impressed on the memory of the dead. They are considered as criminals struck by the vengeance of heaven, which never falls on the innocent. This belief gives them an invincible repugnance to our religion; and they cannot conceive how Jesus Christ should have suffered the ignominy of the cross, if he had distinguished himself by acts of virtue.

The custom of carrying provisions to the tombs has led to a belief that they invoke the dead: but this superstitious practice has no other source than the dread of apparitions, whom they would prevent by their gifts, of which the animals profit.

Mourning, which is the expression of grief, is shewn under different forms. Fathers and mothers who have lost their children sometimes devote themselves to a religious life; others shave the head, and wallow in filth, to evince their alienation from things here below.

The funeral expences, are extended even to parrots. One of those birds, which the Grand Prince had been very fond of, got it to be believed that the soul of some Monarch had passed into its body, and that therefore it was fit to pay him honours proportionate to his dignity. A large pyramid was erected, to which they ascended by steps; on the top was a platform on which the body of the deceased bird was to be burnt, which was carried in a golden cage. This festival lasted eight days, during which, the Talapoins succeeded each other in their prayers. The people in crowds ran to the puppet-shews and theatres, and linens, copper vases, and little Chinese looking-glasses were thrown to them. At last the ceremony ended by reducing the defunct parrot to ashes, whose funeral surpassed in magnificence those of the principal officers of state.

#### CHAP. IV. — *On the Government.*

THE kingdom of Siam is governed by a despot, who disposes at his will of the fortunes and lives of his subjects, who are only a base horde of slaves. As the Monarch alone has the privilege of condemning to death, the most flattering name they give him is, *Lord of life*. When the sentence of the criminal is pronounced in one of the tribunals established in each province, the proceedings are sent to the court, where the motives of condemnation are re-examined, and if the proofs are unequivocal, the sentence is confirmed, and the criminal is taken to the place where the offence was committed, to be executed. There is no country where they observe more formality to secure the life of the subject, and none where the punishments are more severe.

Every Siamese owes six months' service every year to the Monarch: and while he is employed in laborious works, he is still obliged to live at his own expence. The slave more privileged than the free-man, only works for a master who maintains him. The owner dispenses with his labour, upon his paying a certain sum. Public and private destiny depend on the caprices of a master, buried in luxury, and sometimes in the most beastly debaucheries. This invisible tyrant passes his days effeminately with women in an impenetrable seraglio, or with idolatrous priests, who to secure their power flatter his weaknesses, and leave his mind to languish in eternal infancy. It is there that, enervated by luxury, and seduced by the voice of base corruptors, he thinks that all his subjects partake of his happiness, his ear is shut to the groans of the wretched, who can oppose no resistance to avaricious oppressors, who act with impunity. There  
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are set days on which the great have the privilege of approaching the Monarch: but instead of representing the public misery, it is then they afford the nation an example of the most humiliating slavery; and convinced that by a look he can advance them, or annihilate them, they approach him trembling, and pay him those honours they scarcely bestow on the divinity.

The subject is never in reality possessor of a field or a garden, since if the productions are esteemed, a soldier comes and claims them for the King, or some favorite minister. These faithless ravishers count the quantity of these fruits just as they please, and make the proprietor responsible for them. If when they ripen, the number of fruits is not complete, the possessor is punished as if he was really guilty of theft. Therefore some prefer cutting down their trees, to exposing themselves to be punished for not having sufficiently watched the preservation of what they can no longer hope to enjoy.

This despotism stifles talents and industry. The workman is fearful of acquiring the reputation of excelling in his art, because that superiority would expose him to be obliged to work without wages, for an ungrateful master, who only knows how to punish. Thus during their six months of service, they fill their employments without taste, and without distinction; they fear to give their work a degree of perfection, which would be punished by an eternal servitude.

The Kings have as many worshippers as subjects, their palaces inspire the same respect as the temples of the divinity. No noise interrupts its silence. The officer who has duties to perform must not enter when he has drank arrack, or any liquor which may affect the reason, and cause him to forget his duties. The Monarch, to avoid the fatigue of talking, gives his orders by signs. His guard is numerous, and he only trusts the care of his person to a foreign military, and more especially to a company of Tartars of approved courage. He has besides a corps of Indians, who boast of being the issue of the blood of Kings. Their courage rises above all dangers; but it must be excited by opium, which making them stupid, inspires them with an intrepidity, which results from ignorance of danger.

The respect paid to the Kings, is extended even to the animals devoted to their service; it is more particularly for their elephants that they shew the most veneration: officers are appointed to serve them with ceremonies, humiliating to human nature, and the omission of which would incur severe punishments. The Siamese believe that these sagacious and docile animals contain the soul of some Prince or sage. The enclosure of the palace is filled with unarmed soldiers, to prevent the temptation of attempting the Monarch's life. They sometimes arm slaves, to augment the pomp of ceremonies, although there are pages in the interior of the palace, who have all their peculiar functions. Only women are allowed to enter the King's apartments, to keep them clean, and prepare his meals. This terrestrial god never thinks himself so safe as when surrounded by a weak and timid sex.

Nobility is not hereditary, and the useless or corrupt subject is deprived of those distinctions with which the country had rewarded the services of his ancestors. The first class is composed of those elevated in dignities. The father deprived of his charge, returns with his children into the class of simple subjects. The priests do not form a separate body in the state, because not being tied by vows, they can at any time re-unite themselves to the general mass of the nation.

Although these people are not warlike, every body is a soldier from their birth, and when the state is threatened they are all obliged to take the field for six months; they are supplied with arms, elephants, and horses; and it is only on that condition, that they

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are compelled to bear arms. They range them beneath the colours of a chief they call *Nai*, a name of honor, which the Siamese give each other, as we use that of *Sir*. Each district has its *Nai*; he who possesses several dignities has different names; and the King gives him a new one every time he bestows an office on him. As soon as a stranger appears at court, the Monarch gives him a name of favour and esteem, by which he is called as long as he resides there.

The Siamese inveterated by the climate, have always too much dreaded the hardships of war, to have made any progress in the military art. Their too ardent imagination exaggerates perils, and few or no examples are found of that cool and deliberate intrepidity, which seem natural to northern nations. At the sight of a sword, a hundred Siamese would run away, and when a European speaks to them in a high and threatening tone, they are confounded, and yield a mean submission.

The doctrine of the metempsychosis supports their pusillanimity. From that arises that invincible aversion to those who shed human blood; and in action, they prefer making slaves to getting rid of their enemy by the sword. When two armies meet, that which gives the first volley is sure of the victory; the whistling of the balls throws the other into fear and confusion. Though the Siamese are not born for war, they have sometimes been successful in it, because their enemies are as cowardly and undisciplined as themselves. The art of fortifying towns is absolutely unknown to them. The thick forests, the great number of canals, the annual inundations which cover the country, they esteem a safe and more natural defence than all the works of art. In building citadels they would be fearful of being exposed to the necessity of retaking them. Their coarse and imperfect artillery is of little use in the attack or defence of places; they have in fact no cannon but those which have been given to them by the French, and some the Portuguese have cast for them, but if they had better, they want courage and art to use them.

Their wretched and cowardly infantry has also the defect of being ill armed. They have few cavalry, and they put their whole confidence in the number of their elephants, who are often as fatal to them as to their enemies, especially when these animals are wounded; they then turn their rage against their conductors whom they trample under their feet. The Siamese draw up in battle in three lines, each of which forms a square battalion supported by sixteen elephants who carry a particular standard; they employ oxen and buffaloes to draw their artillery, which they have not the address to place on carriages. A few discharges of cannon give the signal for the fight, and very often end it. This sound spreads an universal terror, and often both parties equally frightened, disperse themselves in the woods. Many neighbouring people before they go into action take a good deal of opium, that they may become insensible to danger. The Siamese do not use this method, but it is from a principle of cowardice; they would fear that an excess of courage might rashly involve them in dangers.

They are no more formidable by sea than by land. The state scarcely maintains five or six ships to protect their commerce; they are only manned by foreigners who have orders to avoid fighting, unless certain of victory. The aim of these armaments is to make prizes, and not the glory of victory. They keep, besides, fifty galleys, which rot in their ports, and never leave the coasts.

The King of Siam has no regular troops like the monarchs of Europe. All his militia consists of a few companies of guards, who grow old in the pacific employments of the palace, and who never march to action. When the safety of the state obliges them

them to look to the general safety, they raise in a hurry a confused multitude of men, without any discipline, as indifferent to the disgrace of defeat, as to the glory of success.

Each Nãi, or chief of a district, dispenses at pleasure with the military service of those who are rich enough to bribe his venal soul; and as none of these chiefs are animated by the love of glory, they only exercise their power to accumulate riches. Their guns are with match-locks, and very ill made; they use the lance, and carry a kind of bill at their girdle. Each soldier when he begins the campaign, fills two baskets with rice, which he carries on his shoulders, and this suffices for a month. They march without preserving any order, and this negligence exposes them to be frequently surprised, when they lose more men than in pitched battles, because their precipitation to run away prevents the slaughter. When the war becomes lengthened, and the stock of rice is exhausted, famine kills more soldiers than the sword of the enemy. It is true that the government sends them fresh subsistence, but the officers charged with the distribution, prefer selling it for their own emolument, than saving the life of a subaltern, who dares not complain for fear of being punished in the next campaign by the generals whom he may have accused.

Some years ago, a comedian had the courage to reveal to the King the malversations of his generals. He brought forward a piece, in which all the events of the last campaign were represented: it was a bitter censure on the conduct of the superior officers. After many ludicrous descriptions of war, he exposed the miseries to which the soldiers had been reduced. The King, moved at the affecting picture, caused the guilty to be arrested; some were punished with death, the rest purchased their lives by the sacrifice of their fortunes. Examples of just severity would be more frequent, if the truth could reach the throne; but Asiatic monarchs think they partake of the privilege of divinity, by, like that, keeping themselves invisible; and oppressed by their idleness in the silence of their palaces, they abandon their subjects to the scourge of their merciless ministers. The difficulty of subsisting while marching and in camp, is not the only obstacle that prevents the progress of the armies. The command of them is entrusted to men without experience or capacity. The honour of commanding excites no ambition, and the title of general is less esteemed as a favour than as a disgrace, because they see nothing but dangers attached to it.

Their arsenal is filled with cannon and muskets, rendered useless by rust; they are heaped together without order, and they never give themselves the trouble to clean them. They have learned the secret of making powder from the Europeans; but what they fabricate has no strength, and they are obliged to procure what they use for the chase from Europe. Their fortresses are only parks surrounded with stakes in which at certain distances they make holes to put the cannon through. So that the inundations and the rivers with which the country is intersected, are the strongest bulwarks they can oppose to foreign invasions.

The prisons at Siam present the most affecting object: it is there that a multitude of miserable beings languish, to whom they refuse the same compassion, which in other countries is shewn even to useless and mischievous animals. The government does not feed them. They are seen wandering about the city, chained seven and seven together; they go from door to door begging their subsistence, and devoured with hunger they often snatch what is refused them. Their lot during the night is still more cruel; they shut them up in a large circle of stakes in two rows, covered with leaves. All these criminals, besides the irons they are loaded with during the day, have also their feet confined between two pieces of wood, and their neck goes in a

ladder from six to seven feet long. Thus, during the time destined to repose, they undergo a new punishment. They oblige them by turns to call out all night, "I such a one, of such a place, am detained here for such a crime;" and when no one calls out, the gaoler who is on guard, comes and wakes them with blows. The stench, insects, and vermin, double the horror of this anticipated hell, and the Siamese look upon the prison as a picture of the infernal regions. At the door there is a gilt idol, whom they revere as the awful judge of criminals after their death. It holds in its hands the chains with which they bind them, and all the instruments prescribed by law to inflict just punishments. Prisoners who have the good fortune to be set at liberty, never fail to go and return him thanks for their deliverance. They burn tapers before him in gratitude for his protection.

The Siamese, gentle and humane in the common occurrences of life, become cruel and ferocious towards those whom they condemn to death. The crime of sacrilege is punished in a manner which makes humanity shudder. A forge is prepared as if to heat iron, the face of the transgressor is placed on the hearth, his head on the coals which are not yet lighted: his whole body is fastened by chains in such a manner that he cannot move. When the judge has given the signal, two pair of bellows are set to work, which set the coals on fire to consume the head of the criminal by degrees.

The punishment they inflict on assassins inspires the most unfeeling with horror. The criminal is made to lie down on his belly, and after being securely tied, a stake of wood is forced up his fundament by the blows of a club, and it is driven till it comes out, either through the stomach or through the shoulders: they afterwards raise this stake, and stick it in the earth. It often happens that the sufferer dies under the operation, but sometimes the stake passes through the body without injuring any of the noble parts, and then the poor wretch for several days endures the most horrible torments.

The easy means of subsisting makes theft to be looked upon as the worst of crimes, and as the sign of a base and depraved soul; therefore whoever is convicted of theft is immediately forsaken by his family and friends, because they would blush to belong to the common enemy of society. This aversion to theft is carried to the most scrupulous minuteness: those who pique themselves on a nice and rigid honour, never take up even lost things. It seems that they have adopted this maxim of Plato: "what you did not put down, do not take up."

When the crimes are not serious enough to deserve death, or that the King would give him his life, the criminal is condemned to cut grass for the elephants. Children are included in their father's condemnation, and after they have finished the task set them, they employ the remainder of their time in gaining their livelihood. The great officers convicted of malversation are generally sentenced to this punishment, which is severer to them than to the common man, who has only his task to finish, whilst a great man condemned to this labour is obliged to furnish subsistence for several elephants, and as he pays dearly to mercenaries to cut the grass, this expence exhausts the riches he had accumulated by those exactions for which he is punished; and if he does not perform his task, he is beaten with rods till the skin comes from his bones.

There is another punishment which is never inflicted but by an express order from the King. It consists in several incisions made on the head, and the number is always denoted. As soon as the criminal is placed on his knees, they cut off his hair, which is the greatest disgrace; the executioner then takes a sabre, and makes as many  
incisions

incisions as the King orders. Those condemned to death are led round the city in a boat, where a man from time to time strikes on a plate of copper; he then loudly proclaims why the criminal is condemned; which is instead of the sentence pronounced among us.

Those punished without inflicting on them the pain of death, are exposed in the market place to the public gaze: it is much the same as our pillory. The expences of justice are so ruinous, that those punishments which do not inflict death exhaust the fortunes of those who have undergone them. There is not a blow which does not at least cost about two shillings, without reckoning what is given to the executioner, to engage him to moderate the strength of his arm: the cuts on the head are the most expensive. Every one pays about seven shillings for fees in all procedures, whether civil or criminal. In default of written or testimonial evidence, they have recourse to the proof of fire or water, but none but the accused ever undergo them; and when, in the proof by fire, he comes out with his feet unburnt, he is immediately acquitted. A pit is dug two feet wide and eight feet long, at the two ends piquets are planted at certain distances to support a cord breast high. He who is to undergo the proof is forbidden to walk for some days, that the feet being softened, may the more easily receive the impressions of the fire. On the day appointed, this pit is filled with burning coals, and the accused walks three times over them; after which he is conducted to the hall of justice, where his feet are examined, and if no burn is found, he is discharged triumphant. The Siamese are persuaded that this method is infallible to discern the innocent from the guilty.

The proof by water is not so severe: the accuser and accused are equally subjected to it. Two pillars distant from six to seven feet from each other are erected in the river; the two champions let themselves slide, each from the top of his pillar, to the bottom of the water, and he who remains there the longest is declared innocent; for the Siamese say the devil torments the guilty under the water, which makes him come up to the surface, while the other who has nothing to dread from this enemy, is not in such a hurry to appear.

There is also another proof at which the priests preside: they give the accuser and accused pills, which provoke vomiting, and he who retains them longest, is judged innocent. This proof is accompanied by many superstitious ceremonies, during which the Talapoin denounces imprecations against the prevaricator. To be prepared to meet the trial by fire, in case of committing any crime, all the Siamese from their earliest infancy familiarize themselves with fire, of which the weight or pressure of a body diminishes the action, more especially among people whose soles of their feet are hardened by the custom of walking bare footed.

The legislature to prevent crimes has imposed many obligations which confound the innocent with the guilty. When a dead body is found, they extend cords, with a radius of 100 fathoms, round the place where the murder was committed. All the inhabitants contained in this inclosure pay a fine, proportionate to their proximity to the spot. This law which has its evils, has also its advantages: the people are more careful of each others security, and the roads are safer. Theft, which many nations punish with death, is here made good by paying double what was taken, and the judge shares the restitution.

CHAP. V. — *Of their Amusements and Shows.*

EXERCISES of the body among the Siamese are regarded as fatigues only fit for slaves, and not as means of making the body graceful and the limbs flexible. The art of managing a horse is absolutely unknown to them. All the Siamese walk with difficulty, and their hams are always stiff, because they are accustomed to keep them bent; and if they walk in their gardens, it is less to take exercise than to inhale the perfume of flowers, and enjoy the coolness of the waters. This laziness to which they condemn themselves would be the source of an infinity of diseases; but the heat of the climate causes sufficient perspiration to carry off the bad humours. By a singular contradiction, these men who languish in a state of constant inaction are as indefatigable as skilful in managing the oar, which exhausts the strength of the stoutest people.

It is surprising that throughout all India, infancy has the same amusements as in Europe. It is difficult to conceive how games, which are not inspired by nature, have been established among people who have never been connected. The children of London like those of Siam, amuse themselves with playing at bars, at top, and foot-ball. The kite is a diversion that all the monarchs of India procure their subjects; lanterns are tied to them, which shine through the darkness, and this light supplies the absence of the sun. A piece of gold is fastened to it, for which the people scramble when the string happens to break. This amusement is looked upon as so noble, that none but the first officers have a right to hold the cord.

This country has its shows and diversions, common to all nations enlightened by the flambeau of the arts. Although nature has denied the Siamese the organ of an agreeable voice, singing is their ruling passion; and from the origin of their monarchy the audiences that their King grants to ambassadors are carried on in singing. In new festivals, every thing resounds with songs already known, or impromptus, which are the weapons with which authors fight their battles of genius. They go to the temple singing. Whenever they go out in their ballons, the men and women mingle their voices, and form a concert which inspire a simple gaiety. Europeans take much delight in them. They have neither shakes nor cadences; the use of notes is unknown to them; they sing without rule or method. Those who go in ballons attack those who pass in couplets, which they never fail to return in like manner. In the ceremony in which they wash their idols, several families assemble, and proceed singing to the pagoda: they all form a concert during the whole time the ceremony lasts; and they return singing to their homes. In short, this predominating passion is so general, that the first missionaries turned the rules of the rudiment into Latin songs, the better to imprint them on the minds of their disciples, and this method had the most happy success. They have pieces which they sing in several parts, and they execute them with the utmost precision: the women sometimes take the bass. These concerts would have their charms, if their hoarse and discordant instruments were not too loud, and destroy the harmony. The children leap for joy when they hear the sound of the drum or hautboy: they have a kind of violin and bass-viol, which they disfigure to make them shriller. Their violins have but three strings, and their hautboys are far from possessing the sweetness of ours. The crocodile is a piece of wood hollowed out, and on the back of which are strings which produce the same sound as our psalter. They have two kinds of drums, which pretty much resemble

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our double drums, and they strike on copper basins, which are more sonorous than harmonious. They have no instrument maker; each person makes his own, according to his own taste: the natural suppleness of their fingers soon renders them expert in the use of them.

The organ is their favourite instrument, because it is that which makes most noise; and to have the pleasure of hearing it, they go with eagerness to the Christian church. Several, from the mere habit of hearing, have, without a master, learnt to play it. All European instruments please them highly, but the most noisy always obtains the preference; such as hautboys, drums, trumpets, and fifes. All instruments, on which they play several parts, are not to their liking, because they do not love any thing difficult; for which reason they affect a contemptuous indifference for the harpsichord, harp, &c. The passion the Siamese entertain for singing should inspire them with a taste for theatrical representations. All the pleasing arts are connected by a chain which unites them. Although plays are much frequented, the profession of a player is not the less ignominious and abject: whoever has practised it is an outlaw: it imposes an indelible disgrace, which the splendour of wealth or patronage cannot conceal: thus the anathema bestowed among us on this profession is not governed by national prejudice, since the Greek and the barbarian equally attach an opprobrious idea to it. Women never perform; their parts are performed by men: they would conceive it to be wounding the delicacy of the sex if they were to expose them to the public gaze. Their tragedies are only representations of facts, or rather of fables, consecrated by common credulity. Their comedies are the censure of the manners and the portrait of follies; and they ridicule with impunity the malversations of placemen, who, like others, are wise enough to laugh at them. Women are forbid the profession of acting; and, by an inexplicable contradiction, they have dancing-women by profession, on whom the law does not impose any imputation. Although not so numerous at Siam as among other nations of India, there are none of the governors, or great officers, who do not keep them in their pay; and whenever they give an entertainment, they do not fail to exhibit their talents to tempt strangers to make them presents. Within these few years they have invented a dance, which is much admired; it is performed by a troop of young persons of from ten to twelve years of age, who form a circle, and whose motions are guided by the sound of instruments. They fasten wings to their thighs, and wear behind them a cock's tail, as so many symbols of their agility. The dances are composed of several entrances. The dancers, always masked, either represent a battle or a hunting party: the more extravagant their attitudes, the more they are applauded. When the dance is a representation of war, all the performers are armed, and these cowardly men inspire dread by their contortions. Whenever they burn the body of a minister or great man, a theatre is erected on the side of a river, where the actors appear habited according to their parts, and during three days they never quit the scene, from eight in the morning till seven at night.

The puppet-shows, much more bold than those of Europe, do not scruple to shew themselves by day-light, to astonish by their deceptions. The strings which put them in motion are within the figure, and he who works them is concealed under the stage; thus every thing favours the deception. When a family is assembled to dance every one is seated. You do not there observe those flourishings of the arms disclaimed by nature, nor those movements of the feet, which are rather the image of frenzy and madness, than the expression of sentiment. The grossest buffooneries are received with  
pleasure

pleasure when mingled with obscenity. All these amusements are not very expensive; the King or the nobles pay the charge. All steady people abstain from drinking or eating at them; but if temperance presides at these assemblies, the freedom of speech is well calculated to corrupt their manners. The Siamese have not learned to blush at obscene language, for which reason the Talapoints never appear at these representations; because, being devoted to celibacy, they should be more reserved, and refrain from hearing those things which might inflame their hearts with unholy fires.

They have also wrestlers, who, instead of the ancient gauntlet, arm the hands with cords. The scene is seldom sanguinary: the athletics only fight with fistcuffs and with their elbows. The race of oxen supplies the place of that of horses, so much relished by many nations. Two oxen fastened to a plough run against two others equally harnessed: they are trained to this exercise. The great and rich have considerable bets on their own oxen.

The passion for gaming is carried to excess; and when this mania has swallowed up the fortune of a Siamese, he sells even his wife and children. Chess and trictrac are their favourite games; but they never play at cards. Cock-fighting attracts multitudes: as the field is always stained by the death of one of the combatants, the priests, who admit the metempsychosis, pronounce anathemas against this amusement; and they firmly believe, that whoever exposes his cock to death, will be beaten with rods of iron in the other world.

All idle people are accustomed to smoke. This resource plunges them in a state of intoxication, which lightens them of the weight of their inanity. The Siamese women are as much addicted as the men to this habit of smoking; and the stronger the tobacco, the more agreeable it is to them.

#### CHAP. VI. — *The Arts and Sciences.*

THE bodily sluggishness of the Siamese seems to communicate itself to their mind; and as they fear to act, they avoid the fatigue of thinking. With them the arts languish in an eternal infancy. Whoever can read, write, and cast accoupts arrogates the title of learned.

The Siamese possess a lively and docile imagination; their objections are just, and their repartees pointed. Their genius only needs cultivation; and if the laziness incident to the climate was not an obstacle to its energy, the torch of science and of the arts would illumine a country which now scarcely shews a few faint sparks. Every one is there born a poet; but those they honour with that name seem governed by wild and wandering fancy, which owns no propriety of rules nor restrictions of art. The Siamese language only being composed of monosyllables and guttural diphthongs, cannot be very harmonious. Their historic and moral verses always borrow the aid of music, which conceals the blemishes.

The philosophy of the Siamese has not reached the heavens, to contemplate worlds gliding through immensity: they have bound it captive to the earth to aid their wants, and not to gratify a vain and barren curiosity. Astronomy has not assisted them to improve their navigation; they have merely cultivated it to draw horoscopes; and that science, intended to enlighten mankind, has plunged them in the gloom of superstition. It was from the celebrated Cassini that they learned to find the place of the sun and moon by calculation. If they were capable of application, and especially to follow

the thread of long reasoning, they would excel in every branch of the mathematics; but their too ardent imagination, although clear, expires in its birth, and they rarely embrace the principle and consequence.

Arithmetic is the science most cultivated, because the most useful to a commercial people. It has ten characters, of which the zero possesses the same form and value as ours. The practice of calculating enables them to resolve the most difficult problems instantly; but what they cannot seize at the first moment, will never be understood by dint of reflection: their sluggish mind revolts and refuses to bend to the same object.

The art of healing is only founded on experience. The remedies which have saved one, are considered as infallible to cure all others. All the recipes are only traditions handed down from their ancestors, which each family carefully preserves. They pay no attention to the different symptoms, nor to the difference of constitutions. They bargain with the doctor, who engages to cure the patient for a certain sum, which they are not obliged to pay him if he does not succeed. His reputation never suffers; and when the disease rebels against his remedies, superstition is ingenious in justifying the inefficacious means employed, and the death is attributed to the influence of witchcraft. The most esteemed medicines are brought from China. The natural temperance of the Siamese makes up for the incapacity of their doctors and the inefficacy of their means. Diseases are as numerous, but they are not so fatal. The air of swampy countries causes many fluxes and abscesses. All disorders produced by cold humours are very rare. The small-pox is the most dreadful scourge; and notwithstanding its ravages, they despise the benefits of inoculation. The diseases arising from incontinence were long unknown to them: it is a sad present they received from European corrupters.

Anatomy and surgery are very little known among them: they employ foreigners to bleed, trepan, and perform all surgical operations. They make a religious scruple to open dead bodies, and even those of animals: it is true the Talapoins waive this scruple; and when the bodies are burnt, they look for some pieces of flesh which they use for spells in sorcery.

One should know the nature of the climate to approve or condemn their method of cure. Their first operation is to trample on the patient, who lies extended on the ground; because they believe that, by softening the body, they afford the bad humours a vent. They make use of this violent remedy with women with child, to procure them a more easy labour: they have many practices in use with us; such as bleeding, cupping, leeches, purgatives, minerals, and simples. All cooling remedies they look upon as deadly, from the belief they hold that heat is a principle of life. They forbid meat broths, because they too much relax the stomach. The patient is put under such strict diet, that a European who should submit to it would be soon exhausted. They bathe in the fever, and all other disorders. Pork, so despised throughout the East, is much used in convalescent states. The Europeans have taught them the virtues of bark, and of several plants and vegetables, which they use with success.

Imposture has introduced chemistry; but this science, which discovers the real treasures of nature, is only with them studied by knaves, who levy contributions on the credulity of the weak. Many Siamese dissipate their fortunes in the seducing search for the philosopher's stone.

The pleasing arts are unknown among them; at least they languish imperfect and neglected. They fabricate no silk stuff. The simplicity of their manners, and their aversion to luxury, makes them indifferent to all those ornaments and decorations so gratifying

gratifying with us. Their cotton manufactures are in no estimation, because the colours are dull.

Their architecture is uncouth, and the statues seen in their temples are void of proportion or elegance. Although they know how to make bricks, and their cement is excellent, their edifices decay as soon as erected, because they do not dig foundations to secure their masonry, which would then become very solid.

They have no painters who are guided by the rules of art: they only paint monsters and chimeras. The difficulty overcome pleases them, and they find no merit in imitating nature. The more fantastic the figures, the more the artist is applauded; and it is by compositions of fancy that they usurp the title of creative genius. Although in general all the arts with them only produce monsters, their goldsmiths produce master-pieces; and they have works in fillagree and damask which do honour to the industry of the artist. Possessing the secret of melting metals, and running them in moulds, they only use raw iron, and have not the art of forming it in the forge. Their imperfect knowledge of making time-pieces has produced but uncertain means of dividing the time: they have no clocks with wheels; the hours are distinguished by a vase, where the water enters by a hole; and each time that they come round, men hired for the purpose strike on a copper bell, to give notice that another period has succeeded that which has for ever elapsed.

The Siamese shew their industry most in beating of gold, and reducing it to very thin leaves. The king never writes to other sovereigns but on these kind of leaves. They are applied to statues and the most precious ornaments; to the hilts of swords and daggers; and the eye, deceived by the effects of art, takes all these works to be massive gold. They have skilful joiners, who, without either iron or nails, succeed perfectly in joining the different parts. Although their figures are wanting in proportion and elegance, they have embroideries which are much esteemed, rather for the brightness of the colours than for the correctness of the drawings.

Skilful astronomers have laboured to reform their calendar, and for want of astronomical tables, they have chosen two arbitrary epochas from which they date at discretion.

#### CHAP. VII. — *Of their Commerce.*

THE Egyptians, from the most remote period, carried on a considerable commerce with all the nations of the East; and we still find among them many traces of customs observed by that people. All the ancient geographers, under the general name of India, included all the oriental regions: and when Mela speaks of the Seres, who were the most eastern people of the known world, we may understand the Siamese and other different nations.

Historians inform us, that such was their honesty and confidence in trade, that they exposed their merchandize in bye places, and left them to the fidelity of their correspondent to make the exchange. It was from this country that gold and copper was obtained; and it was those metals that excited the avaricious ambition of Osiris and Sesostris. The Lagides, and particularly Ptolemy Philadelphus, found the sources of wealth in the countries of India. The Venetians were for a long time the only masters of their commerce; the Genoese afterwards shared it with them; and those two nations were the most opulent in Europe, until the time when the Portuguese doubled the Cape of Good Hope, and opened a new passage to India.

This trade has experienced great revolutions, because the Indians, contented with their natural productions, have never coveted foreign ones; and it is the reciprocity of our wants that insures the duration of commerce. Their aversion towards other nations, their love for their own country, have always prevented them from sending colonies into other regions, or receiving of them among themselves. Their simplicity concealed from them the advantages to be derived from their soil; and sad possessors of wealth, they have never been sensible to the pleasure of enjoying it. Although the country was rich in gold and silver, the inhabitants made no use of those metals in their commerce; they exchanged the produce of their country for foreign imports.

Some believe that Siam was originally called by the name of *Thin*, which Ptolemy places three degrees beyond the equator. Its port attracted merchants from all parts of the world. Arian and other writers have specified the principal merchandises drawn from thence in their time.

If the Siamese were as industrious as the people of Europe, they would derive an immense profit from the productions of their country; but their invincible indolence has rendered the bounties of nature useless to them. Although this fruitful soil contains the germ of plenty, the Siamese will appear a poor people to whoever judges of the wants of others by his own. If they live deprived of those things most esteemed in Europe, it is not because nature denies them, but because the Siamese despise them. They make no use of those stuffs with which the vanity of civilized people would conceal their weakness: the heat of the climate forbids their use. They do not seek for those wines and liquors which stimulate a dainty palate; a cooling beverage must appear more wholesome and more delicious. Those chariots drawn by proud couriers, in which so many useless beings parade their vanity, can have no charms for a people who find more comfort in travelling in their ballons.

Thus it is not the poverty of the soil which relaxes commercial industry: many obstacles are opposed to the stranger's making a fortune there: the frequent revolutions of this kingdom overturn establishments began with the greatest success. The opulent possessor finds himself suddenly stripped by an avaricious and ferocious conqueror, who only makes war to enrich himself. The government, not sufficiently acquainted with its own interest, fetter the merchants, by fixing at their will the prices of merchandise; and the King, the master of trade, is the only one who buys from the stranger, as he is the only one who sells him the productions of the country. This insolent despot imposes arbitrary taxes, which shut the entrance of his ports to the vessels of India and Europe.

The trade of this kingdom was formerly flourishing. A thousand vessels, as well from China, as from Europe, came there every year, and at this time, scarcely a dozen visit their ports. The Maurs, the Japonese and Europeans, have made rapid fortunes there, but have not been able to preserve them. It is certain, that if any of those geniuses, which preside at the counsels of our Kings, were to direct their views to this kingdom, they would find resources to fill up the void created by the badness of the times. Two thousand European soldiers would be sufficient to impose laws on a base and pusillanimous people, who only wait some bold ambitious adventurer to change their fetters. The riches carried off from their pagodas, by the Bramas, in the last revolution, far exceeded the sums due by those powers of Europe most overwhelmed with debt; and though this country should be stripped of its superfluous riches, its inhabitants would not be the less happy, because the productions of their soil, which cannot be taken from them, ever form a fruitful stock, which supplies all their wants. A trifling militia would be sufficient to extricate foreign merchants from dependence

on the Monarch. It would be easy to erect a fort, which would soon become formidable by its numerous defenders, who would there take refuge from the voracity of their oppressors. The inhabitants would place their families and most precious effects in it. Neighbouring Kings would seek the alliance of such a colony, which would become useful to them, by exchanging their superfluities, for articles of luxury and comfort.

Superstition, prodigal in its bounty, ornamented the Siamese temples from the remotest periods with a very fine gold, estimated at least at twenty-three carats. They work it with much art; and before they apply it to another substance, they put on three layers of gum, the two last of which they only suffer to become half dry, so as to fasten it more securely. This gum which they use so successfully is often adulterated, and to prove it they pour a drop into a basin of water; when it sinks directly to the bottom, without dissolving, it is of a good quality, but if it floats, and the parts separate, it is a proof it is adulterated.

The country of Siam must at one time have contained a great many gold mines, to judge by the idols, roofs, and sides of their temples which shine with this rich metal; but whether the source has failed, or laziness became disgusted with the labour of working them, they fell into oblivion; and it is only within a short time that one has been re-opened, very rich, and of very pure gold. Another has more recently been discovered, near a village called Chandom. It is a white sand, shining and heavy. The goldsmiths of the country made several essays of it, without being able to distinguish its quality. When they had melted this substance, they could not beat it, without its returning to sand, and the inutility of their labour caused them to give it up. Some of this sand was sent to Pondichery, where more skilful workmen found, from repeated experiments, that it was the top of a gold mine, where it would be found more abundant, on digging farther down. This discovery became useless, and the benefit of it is reserved for some conquering people.

Although there are mines of silver, it does not seem that the government derives any great advantages from them. The people pick up grains in the river, which the waters bring down. They use a wooden plate, hollowed in the middle: they afterwards move it on the surface of the water, and with a ball of wax they pick up those grains, which attach themselves to the wood. Although in this kingdom there are mines of all kinds, only those of lead, tin, iron, and steel ore are worked. Tin especially forms a considerable branch of trade: a great deal is exported to Batavia, Madras, Pondichery, China, and in general to all parts of India. Its quality is very fine and beautiful. The mine is a black sand, which is washed in different waters, to detach the earthy particles from it. Lead, steel, ore, and iron are exceeding cheap, which makes it believed the mines of them are abundant. Notwithstanding this wealth, the Siamese have their iron from France, in exchange for their timbers, because they find it easier to cut wood, than to work a mine. It is to be presumed their invincible aversion to labour has prevented them from revealing the secret of the treasures contained in the bowels of their earth: they have dreaded least the severity of their government might impose a too painful task on them. It is for the same reason they do not like to shew their skill in fishing for pearls, which might be carried on with success in the isles of Mergui. Some years ago, a diamond mine was discovered in the upper lands, but as the mine did not produce them ready wrought, the source was soon forgotten.

This kingdom produces a kind of tin, which is exported all over the East Indies: they call it *ca'ain*, and specimens of it are seen in the boxes of tea, which are brought to Europe; but to render it harder and whiter, the Indians mix calamine with it,

which is a kind of mineral rock easy to pulverize, which being melted with copper makes it more brittle; and it is this tin thus prepared which is called toutnegg.

Rice grows spontaneously in the fields, which are covered with water during part of the year; they have only the trouble to sow it. The mud brought down from the mountains is the real cause of the fertility of this country, wherever the inundation extends its benefits; but elevated places, which cannot participate of its bounty, are dried up by the rays of the sun. When the waters are retired, the rice ripens; it is cut, and the sheaves are placed in heaps, in the middle of the fields. Oxen and buffaloes are made to walk round on it; these animals tread the straw, and detach the grains, which fall on mats placed underneath: thus they have only the trouble to take it up.

In the high lands the fields are crowned with ears of wheat; its quality is pretty good, and it is watered by means of some reservoirs, in which they retain the rain water. The Siamese rather cultivate it from curiosity than for food; and strangers who would make bread of it, are obliged to import flour from Surat. We shall shew in the natural history of this kingdom, all the productions which may be made objects of commerce.

#### CHAP. VIII. — *Natural History of the Kingdom of Siam.*

THE province of Coric contains several mines of saltpetre; it also forms itself in the rocks and temples, from the dung of bats, which are as large as our pigeons, and which breed prodigiously all over the East Indies.

The cotton plant grows in a shrub, and not very high; its branches are like those of the gooseberry tree. The cotton of Siam is more valuable for its quality than its colour. There is also a tree which produces large fruit, in which the down is contained; they call it pancha. These two kinds are very plentiful.

Although the Siamese do not breed bees, yet they have such a great quantity of wax and honey, that a pound of wax is sold for sixpence, and a pound of honey for three halfpence. The Siamese observe the trees where the bees fix to make their hives. They cut a great part of them, at certain distances, from twenty-feet above the ground to their summits; they make holes in the trees, into which they put pieces of wood, which project out about three feet. The bees never fail to form their hives round this wood, and one may often see three hundred of them on a single tree.

Coarse wax is not wanting in this kingdom; but that which the forest flies furnish is so abundant, that they can export a considerable superfluity to other countries.

They make sealing wax with gum lack: it is the production of certain ants similar to those of Europe, which never form this gum, but on a kind of tree that is very thin, and not more than from ten to twelve feet in height.

Cherian is a liquid gum, which is produced by a large tree, the wood of which is very beautiful, and of a very lively red. The gum is brown, and easily takes any colour they think proper to give it.

The sea-swallows, although less, are more lively than the land ones, perpetually skimming on the sea coasts, and at night retiring in flocks into the hollow rocks, where they make their nests, which they fasten to them by one side, so that their figure represents a shell, whose flat side touches the rocks, and the rest forms a semicircle a little deepened. They are seldom found as large as the hand; they are, for the far greater part, a third smaller. The construction of these nests is of filaments glued the

one to the other in several layers. It cannot be reasonably doubted but what it is the froth of the sea which the bird receives into and retains in its stomach, so as to convert it into a gum, which it spins with its beak, and arranges it in the manner of a nest in which it deposits its eggs.

In trade they distinguish three different qualities of bird's nests, in regard to their value, although they are all made the same. The first is the very white nest, of which about two pounds and a half of our weight, sells for eighteen shillings sterling. The second sort is of those which begin to redden, and sell for fifteen shillings. The third kind includes those which are nearly all red; they sell from nine to ten shillings. This trade is carried on very advantageously by the Chinese, Japanese, and Indians. They dress them with poultry, and other meats, and with fish. They make a kind of vermicelli soup of it, the quality of which is excellent to recruit the strength of convalescents.

There are an immense number of peacocks in this kingdom, and the males have a most superb tail, whose brilliancy surpasses every thing generally seen in regard to plumage. There are also a multitude of parrots and other birds, whose feathers are much esteemed.

The King of Siam draws a great profit from the quantity of deer skins, which he sells to the Dutch for their trade with Japan, where these skins sell well, as also the sinews of the legs, which they dry, and regale themselves with: their flesh when dressed is also of an excellent taste.

Ambergris is generally found on the coasts of the kingdom. It is an efficacious remedy against the ague, by taking a grain, bruised in a spoonfull of water. It sells for four times its weight in silver.

The Siamese find fine agate in their mountains. At the beginning of the present century, some diamonds were brought to the King of Siam, from a mine that had been discovered in the high lands, but as the mines did not produce them ready wrought, and they have no jewellers, the Siamese set but little value on them, and the mine was forgotten. The individuals who had given these diamonds to the King's officers retired to Pegu, piqued at not having received any recompense.

Quantities of pearls may be fished in the isles of Mergui, where they are found of a fine water, perfectly round, and the size of a pea: but neither the Siamese nor the Bramas of Pegu have ever disclosed the whole source of this wealth, fearful that their tyrant might oblige them to labour gratuitously in this troublesome fishery.

The forests of Siam being full of elephants, it is not to be wondered at that ivory is common among them.

Civet, musk, benjamin, and oils yield precious perfumes. The musk, with which they trade at Siam, is found in the testicles of the musk-cat. When the animal is heated he exhales an odour of musk wherever he goes, and imparts it to every thing he touches. They trade with the testicles, which they cut off, with the purse that contains them, when they have killed the animal. They find out if they are the real testicles of the musk-cat, by rubbing a needle, through which they have passed a thread of silk, several times with garlic, which they put into them: if the least smell of the garlic remains they are looked upon as false, and as objectionable merchandize. There is a kind of ant which also yields musk; but it is not esteemed equal to that of the musk-cat.

Benjamin is common at Siam; it is brought from the upper provinces. The Siamese collect this gum very carefully: they have a consumption for it as well in private houses as in temples. They gather it from the trees so negligently, that it is always full of bark. They form it in round packets, like a large ball, which they enclose in

leaves. The best benjamin of India is found at Achem, in the island of Sumatra, where it is very carefully gathered from the trees in little bits. The Mahometans put it into a round bag of matting, and by pouring hot water on it they soften it, and afterwards put this bag into a press, which forms a cake of benjamin, hard and compact, five or six fingers thick, in the form of a muscle.

Oils of different kinds are found at Siam; as cocoa-nut oil, oil of wood, oil of *girgili*, and fish oil: they have no olive oil, although they have olive trees; the fruit has so little flesh, that they can obtain no juice from it.

The oil of cocoa is good for seasoning all dishes, but it must be fresh and new; a few days after it is made it becomes rancid, and it can no longer be used but to rub the head, which the Siamese always keep well oiled. When used in lamps it gives a clear light; but it consumes faster than the others. The oil is extracted from the white flesh contained in the cocoa nut. They first obtain it very fine, by grating it on a piece of iron which has small teeth; it is afterwards boiled in water, and, as it boils, the oil which separates from it floats on the water, and is taken off with a spoon.

The chief use of cocoa-nut oil in that country is to prepare a kind of pitch. When it is clarified, it is excellent for painting, drying very fast. It is not good for lamps, as it catches fire; but it serves to make torches, which they call *damas*, esteemed throughout India. There are small ones made to give light in the houses and in the roads: the best of these torches are made of elephant's dung dried, pounded, and well soaked in this oil; they are afterwards covered with long dry leaves, tied about every inch with fine shreds of bamboo. Others of an inferior quality are made of rice straw, pounded with this oil, which are covered and tied as close as possible. Ships carry a prodigious quantity of them, to trade extensively with in different countries of India, particularly at Pondichery and Madras.

Oil of wood is most plentiful: the tree which produces it is thick and large; its wood is of a red colour, inclining to light brown, and but of little duration. To extract the oil, they make the same as for the *cheriam*, a hole of about three or four inches in the foot of the tree; they then light a wheel of straw in it, which causes the oil to run, which is received into hollow pieces of bamboo. These trees are found in the forests.

Oil of *girgili* is extracted from a grain exactly similar to gunpowder. The plant is small and has many branches. The Siamese sow whole fields of it, and it brings them considerable profit. To obtain the oil, they put the grain in hot water, and when it is soaked up, it is put in the press in a bag of matting. It is good to eat when quite fresh; two days after it is made it is only used for lamps, or to anoint the body after bathing. The substance which is left, after having extracted all the juice, is cut into pieces, and afterwards makes a kind of conserve with syrup of sugar.

The bottom of the sea is full of coral. The fishermen bring up whole trees of it, which, with their branches, may be five or six feet high. The Siamese form knives, and other small ornaments, out of the trunk of these trees. This coral when worked is of a beautiful black.

#### CHAP. IX.—*Of Trees and Fruits peculiar to the Kingdom of Siam.*

THE scented woods in the kingdom of Siam are eagle wood, saffrafras wood, which we call camphire, and fandal wood.

Eagle wood is odoriferous; it is only found in bits, in certain rotten places, in trees of a particular kind: it is of a grey colour. The province of Chahtun produces more than all the others. The inhabitants have a great trade for it with the Chinese and the Mawes: when of a good quality, it is sold for at least a pistole the pound. The trees which yield it must have attained a certain age, because this wood is found in its heart when it decays.

The saffrafras is a large tree, the wood of which is as light as fir. The boards made from it are only used for works which are not intended to last long. The bark of this tree is much more precious than its wood; it enters into the composition of several medicines: it is also used to cure the venereal disease, with which the country is infected. The Siamese are quite naked when they strip the bark from this tree: they take care to rub themselves with a kind of powder steeped in water, to prevent the vapour which issues from it penetrating the skin, which causes a violent itching. This wood, and more especially its bark, smells like camphor, and when held in contact any time with gold it turns it white.

Sandal is also a tree the wood of which is odoriferous, but more common than the two first. There are two kinds of it; white, which the island of Timor furnishes in abundance; and the red, much scarcer than the other, which grows at Siam. The inhabitants put it to many uses; they burn it in small splinters to obtain a pleasant odour: they reduce it with water, on a rough stone, into an odoriferous paste, with which they rub their bodies after bathing: they use it also to burn near dead bodies.

The woods for dyeing are the sapan and some other trees. The sapan is so common in Siam that there are whole forests of it. The inhabitants have a great trade with the Chinese for it, who every year load several vessels with it, to make the same dye of it as at Japan.

Ebony is also very common in Siam; it is the heart of a tree, which has four or five inches of exterior wood of which they make no use. The Chinese also come to buy ebony at Siam.

Woods for cabinet making and carpenters are in great abundance. That which they call teele is the best; it is white, and approaches to oak. They cut planks of it, sometimes forty feet in length and two in breadth. It is used there in the construction of vessels and houses. It grows very straight and thick, and the stem of the tree is sometimes one hundred and twenty feet high. They form large boats of it, which in a single piece are more than one hundred feet long: they hollow it by fire, and they enlarge its capacity.

Red comon is, next to teele, the best wood for ships, and the easiest to find. Marie wood does not split, whatever nails or pegs are driven into it: it is better than all others to make knees for ships.

Iron-wood is red: it is so called from its extreme hardness and weight. It is excellent to make rafters, provided the heart has been taken from the tree, which easily rots; but for the rest of the trunk, however long the tree may have been cut, it appears as fresh as if it had only been felled two days.

The Siamese have no hemp; they make their cordage of the brout of cocoa-nuts, and their sails are mats of large rushes. Brout is a green bark which is on the cocoa-nut, as it is on our nuts; with this difference, that that of the cocoa-nut is of the thickness of two inches, and its fibres may be worked into cords. There are no trees from which they derive more advantages than from the cotton tree and the bamboo.

The bamboo is a kind of reed, hollow within, and divided by small partitions from top to bottom: it may be from twenty-five to thirty feet in height; but it only grows  
thick

thick in the woods, where it may be a foot in diameter. Its leaves are scarce and pale. It grows by shoots, which are separated from each other by knots. It has branches and thorns, which our reeds have not. It grows so fast, that in a month it rises more than twelve or fifteen feet. It is, while yet soft, about four or five feet high, that the Siamese cut it to pickle in vinegar. They first cut it in slips, salt it, and put it in a jar, where the salt penetrates it: some time after they take it out, and lay it in the sun to dry, which changes it from white to brown. When it is very dry, they put it in earthen pots with vinegar, and leave it so for some time; after which it becomes softer than the gerkin, which is cured in the same manner. They sometimes add pimento, and the grapes of pepper while still green, which give it a very fine flavour. It is more used at sea than other preserves, because it keeps better. When this kind of cane is a little bigger, it is put in very thin slices in fricasees, and it much heightens the most insipid meats; but when arrived at its full growth, it contains in its cavities a clear water, which is a sovereign remedy to cure sore heads, and an oil is extracted from it which the doctors use with success.

When full grown they cut it in pieces, and draw fire from it by the friction of two of its twigs, to judge of its hardness. It grows very close to one another, and the same roots shoot out many stalks. While green it serves for osier to make baskets, and band-lathes, and small pillars to support their cabins are made of it. When dry it serves for posts for houses and palisades. The Cochin-Chinese even construct barks with it, in which they sail on the open sea with confidence.

The Siamese and the Bramas make of it benches, presses, ladders, houses, and split it in three to cover the roof: they plant it round their grounds, and form hedges of it, which are a better defence than the strongest walls. They make of it cases, strong mats, figures, sails, chairs, inlaid work, and paper, by scraping it. They carry water in the straight bamboos; those which are crooked and strong serve to carry estrades, palanquins, or litters.

Betel is a kind of leaf similar to the ivy; it grows in the same manner, on trees or poles placed for it to grow on. The smell of it is wholesome; and the Siamese would rather go without rice than betel. It has the same property as tobacco has in Europe: it promotes an easy salivation, which prevents disorders incident to warm and burning climates. The slaves have a certain quantity allowed them every day to animate them, and to take away the temptation of stealing of it; for they will stop at nothing to obtain it.

Areka is a kind of large gland, which grows on a tree as straight as the palm-tree. The Indians eat it either green or ripe. When it is soft, they take off the coat which covers the outside, and which a good deal resembles that of the walnut. Its inside contains a soft and greyish substance when it is not quite formed; but when ripe, the coat which is on it turns yellow, and it becomes a black and rough nut, which exactly resembles a nutmeg. When it has been kept in water several months the husk rots without the nut losing its freshness, and it contracts a disagreeable smell, which however does not prevent the Siamese from esteeming it a great delicacy.

By mixing areka and betel they make a composition, which is sold in small packets, which the Indians much use to redden their teeth and lips: they also attribute to it the quality of preserving the gums from becoming foul, and of being a provocative to the pleasures of love. The Indian women, who are of a warm constitution, and especially the Portuguese, who are still more libidinous, use all their art to prevail on strangers to eat it. Its virtue is to preserve the mouth sweet, and none are found with a bad breath; but it causes such an excess of spitting, which is quite red, that in every apart-  
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ment is a spittoon, that they may not be dirtied. The King makes his officers presents of gold boxes to keep their betel in : they are inclosed in one of the same metal : they contain separately areka cut, betel leaves, lime, and tobacco in leaves, with a small gold-handled knife to cut the areka ; and although every body is permitted to have them of gold or silver, it is forbidden to have them of the same form with those the King gives. On the death of an officer his box is returned to the King. The women, who use this little piece of furniture, have it either of silver or copper, according to their means. Whatever confidence the Siamese may have in this mixture as to keeping their mouth clean, it is remarked that their tongue is in holes in several places, and that they are obliged to scrape it every morning, to cleanse the slime which all these drugs cause ; and few old people are seen that have not lost their teeth..

The cocoa-nut is one of the fruits most used by the Siamese in their repasts. They use its milk to season many of their dishes ; and they take the scrapings of the flesh, and sometimes the flesh itself, to heighten their ragouts. Most of the fruits they eat are different from those of France. The woods and gardens supply their wants : the finest oranges in the world grow in Siam ; they count thirty different species of them. The sweetest are those they call *fomme-keo* ; it is large and rough ; its skin is always green, and as thick as the little finger : when opened, the orange which it contains easily comes away ; its compartments separate from one another without any trouble, and melt in the mouth ; the pips are small and few. The other kinds of oranges are very common, and though inferior to the first sort, they have much more flavour than any we are acquainted with.

The *durio* is a fruit of preference : it is the size of our melons, and covered with very sharp thorns, and a skin harder than the shell of our chestnut. The tree which produces it is large and lofty ; when loaded with fruit they are careful not to stand under its branches, lest one of them should fall on their head : its weight, and the hardness of its thorns, would be the death of any one. Its fruit has a very disagreeable smell to those not accustomed to it ; and when it is opened, the scent becomes so strong that it is perceived at a considerable distance. It may be said that it is a play of nature, which has united in this fruit the most offensive odour to the most exquisite flavour. The shell contains large chestnuts, which are enveloped in a yellow cream, the fine taste of which compensates for the offensiveness of the smell. The fondness of the Siamese for this fruit has made them find out the means of preserving it all the year. They take the cream, while fresh, and make a marmalade of it, which they bake, and afterwards keep in a pot, so as to have it at all seasons.

The *ajaque* is a fruit much larger than the *durio*, and covered with a rough wrinkled skin : it grows on a large and majestic tree : they extract a copious milk from its leaves, and the fruit is only produced by the large branches, or on the body of the tree ; the nearer it approaches the trunk the larger it grows : they strip off the prickly skin which covers it ; it is then cut in pieces, which are fricaseed. A marmalade is made of its flesh and sugar, which keeps all the year. When the fruit is ripe, under a thin polished wood are found fifty chestnuts, inclosed in a purse of yellow flesh, very sweet, and of a strong odour. These nuts, broiled or boiled, have nearly the same taste as our chestnuts, but they are less.

The mangosteen is the fruit of a very beautiful tree, the head of which forms a large globe. The fruit is large and round as an apple : its bark, which is as thick as the finger, is of a deep red, and has on the outside as many lumps as there are rings within. When pressed, a yellow gum comes from it, although the rings which it contains are as white as milk, and arranged like the inside of an orange. This fruit is  
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very delicate and refreshing: it is eat after the durio, the heat of which it tempers. The Europeans prefer this fruit to all the others which are peculiar to this kingdom, because it has no smell. It is also eat in the nut while it is green. The Siamese make a drink of its bark, of admirable virtue in stopping and curing dysenteries.

The ramaustan is a red fruit, whose skin is similar to the figure of the mulberry. When broken, a white fruit, and as large as the end of the finger, is found, which contains an almond. The ramaustan of Siam is neither so good nor so esteemed as that which grows in the kingdom of Achem, or in the island of Sumatra.

In skin and form the acajou is like an apple. Although it is a nut-fruit, it has this peculiarity, that its nut is outside the fruit. The tree is not handsome, and there are few but what are crooked. The blossom of this tree is singularly delicate and beautiful, and of a most grateful scent. The tree resembles in size and appearance a fine pear tree. As soon as the blossom falls, a nut is formed in the shape of a small kidney, which contains a very delicate almond, and of an excellent flavour. This fruit is never eat without sugar on account of its great acidity.

In the forests of Siam are fig trees, which bear figs like those of Europe, which form without blossoms; they have the form and taste without the delicacy. When they are large, the Siamese flatten them, and dry them to keep; but it is perceived that they are a wild fruit.

The atte is a delicate fruit, in the form of a fir apple: it is of a green colour, and, as it ripens, it becomes soft and opens; its pulp is like sugared cream, and rather glutinous. It contains a great quantity of black pips, the skin of which is so hard, that they seem to be so many nuts. The tree which produces it does not grow very high: it yields fruit above and below, forming a kind of bush.

The anana is a kind of fruit whose external figure resembles a bullock's heart: the skin is thin and yellow. This fruit is soft, because it contains a sort of white cream, the taste of which approaches that of new cheese: it is full of black pips like those of the other, but rather larger and longer, as well as the fruit, which is twice as large, and is not equal to it in delicacy. The tree which bears it is different from the other, being much larger, and a standard.

The guava has the exterior form of our pears; its skin is of a greyish green; its pulp is white or red; it has the perfume of the strawberry. This fruit would be one of the most agreeable to the taste of Europeans, if it was not mingled with an infinity of little seeds, which when swallowed never digest: its tree is very crooked, has scarcely any bark, and never grows very large.

The papa is a fruit whose flesh is yellow, like that of the melon, but its taste is totally different: its skin is green and smooth, and the flesh sweet: it is mingled with an infinity of small grains, which have the form and taste of those of a pear, and which are united together in the same manner as the seeds of melons; and this grain, small as it is, produces a tree which, in less than two years, grows to the height of eighteen or twenty feet; but it does not last more than ten or twelve years, and if the root is touched, the trunk in a short time is reduced into filaments and earth.

The banana, which, throughout India, is called figue banane, is of the size and shape of a favilla. Its green skin, when ripe, becomes yellow, and marked with black: it easily comes from the flesh, which is soft and pasty, which is what has perhaps obtained it the name of figue: it is solid and has no pips: its taste is very agreeable, and it is gathered every month: it is generally eat raw, and sometimes roasted. The tree which bears this fruit never has but one shoot, which is a large grape which comes from the centre of its top; from this shoot hangs one or two hundred ripe bananas.

The tree dies, and from its root spring up two or three others, which soon attain the same size. They are generally as thick as a man's thigh, sometimes as big as the body. The trunk is only formed of coats one over the other, but which always continue so soft, that let the tree be ever so large, it may be cut through with a sabre, and all its coats may be stripped off to its heart, which is only a slimy pith through which the liquor that forms the fruit filtrates. These coats, which are the bottoms of leaves already fallen, are stuck one to the other by small filaments, very thinly spread, which nourish them, and which causes them to extend as the tree grows larger. When it comes out of the earth, only two or three leaves are at first seen, which rise perpendicular, and whose feet, which seem wrapped over one another, form a pipe the size of the little finger; from the middle of these leaves spring three others, but the first fade and fall; their foot remains, and serves to form the trunk of the tree, which rises and enlarges as new leaves come on. When arrived at the height of five or six feet, from the centre of its stem issues a large flower, inclining to red; and after this flower appears the bananas ranged round the stem; the smallest are next to the flower. The trunk of the tree is eat in fricasees and ragouts. The flower has five or six ranges. The leaves of the banana are the largest of all the trees of India; they are three or four feet long, by a foot and a half in breadth. The Siamese much use them at their meals, either as table-cloths, or to place their meat on, particularly when they travel.

The tamarind is a fourish fruit, contained in a pod, like that of peas: when ripe this pod is red. The tree on which it grows has very large branches, but the leaf is as small as that of the pimpnel. These small leaves are placed ten or twelve on each side of a small stem which issues from the branch of the tree. It gives an immense shade, under which the grass cannot grow. The Siamese pretend it is unhealthy to sleep in its shade; they use its fruit to heighten the taste of their fauces; and when it is ripe they make packets of these pods, which keep for a long time.

Pepper is planted at the foot of a large tree, of which it soon embraces the whole trunk, and even covers the branches: it grows in grapes, like those of our currants: they are at first green, and afterwards redden, and at length become quite black. When it is ripe, they let it fall of itself from the tree, that its quality may be better, and they put mats under the tree to receive it as it falls. The grains do not fall from the grape all at once, but only as they become perfectly ripe.

The sugar-cane is much more common at Siam than pepper. It is a real reed, which grows to the height of four or five feet, the knots of which are never more than a hand's-breadth distant from each other: from each knot issues a leaf, which envelopes the cane up to the next joint, and which then spreads. In the interior of the cane is an aqueous pulp, which contains the juice of the sugar. To obtain it, the cane is passed between two large cylinders, turned by oxen by means of a wheel. As both cylinders turn inward, when the end of the cane is presented to them it is impossible to prevent it from going quite through, so powerful is the force that draws it. As it passes through it yields its liquor. The Siamese, who are either ignorant of or disdain the art of refining sugar, only use it in grain.

The pine-apple is very common in Siam. The plant produces it on the top of its stem, which is not more than eighteen inches in height, and is crowned with very long leaves, the two extremities of which are bristled with thorns. It stands erect on its stem in the midst of its leaves, and its form approaches that of a large fir apple. It has small cuticles, under which one would imagine were kernels. Its upper extremity is covered with a tuft of leaves, which seem to form a crown, and under these leaves are small sprouts, short, and bent outward, which are planted and become other

pinus. It is multiplied by cutting the tuft; and when thus planted in the earth, they throw out their stem, and each stem only produces one fruit, and that only once. When ripe it is yellow; and when smelt, even before it is opened, its odour approaches that of a very ripe apple: its flesh is white, and mingled with a good many cartilages. To eat it, they peel off its hard and rather prickly skin; it is afterwards lightly rubbed with salt, which corrects its acidity: it is cut in slices, and afterwards sprinkled with sugar; and if a little wine is added, it has the quality of warming and strengthening the stomach.

As corn does not easily grow in this country, and they are ignorant of or dislike the quality of it, the Siamese have no bread like us. Rice is the chief article in their meals: they have several kinds; white and red, coarse and fine. The coarse, which is that in general use, is differently esteemed, according to the places where it is produced. The rice grown on high lands is of an inferior quality to that which grows in low grounds. As it is to be had at little cost, the poor make it their common food: only the countryman eats red rice, which is much larger and more nourishing; but it is also heavier, and is not so agreeable to the eye as the white. The black is only used mixed with sugar and the flesh of the cocoa nut scraped over it: the taste is good, but it is so filling they cannot eat much of it.

Fine rice is seldom thicker than a needle, and is as transparent as crystal. The Siamese only use it in feasts and at festivals; they dress a certain quantity of the grains with a fowl and a quarter of a goat, or a piece of fresh pork. This ragout is called poulo; it is as white as snow, and digests the sooner and the more easily, because it is lighter and dryer.

The Siamese have their harvest in the dry season, and when the waters have retired. When the inundations in certain places rise above the rice it becomes rotten; but it generally grows as much as the water, and the ear appears on the surface. That which grows in soils never covered by the inundation is more substantial, has more flavour, and keeps longer.

The Siamese make their vermicelli with rice; they eat it with a fish sauce or melted sugar. There is a great consumption of it in the royal city; and it is one of those articles from which the King derives most advantage: all those who deal in it pay him about five and thirty shillings duty yearly; and the number of venders being very considerable, it brings immense sums into his treasury. The distillers of brandy, who are numerous, and almost all Chinese, are also obliged to pay heavy duties for distilling. As an immense quantity of rice is consumed in Siam and its environs, they use the dregs that remain after they have extracted the brandy to fatten the pigs, the consumption of which is so much the greater in this country, as it is forbidden to sell butcher's meat, such as oxen, cows, and calves. Superstition has forbidden the use of them, because they believe that, according to the principle of metempsychosis, these animals have been the sanctuary of their divinities. Besides, this meat is dry and insipid, and common game has no flavour; but their swine's flesh is far superior to that of the pigs of Europe: it is delicate and of easy digestion; when it has been salted for a day the doctors prescribe it to convalescents in preference to poultry or boiled meats.

When the Siamese drink the brandy they call arak, they take a large wooden plate, on which they place a large china bowl, containing two or three pints of brandy; on the top they put a cup, which floats on the liquor, and around the bowl are several small pots, in which are salted and pickled fruits, small fish dry and roasted, baked

and salted eggs. They sit round this dish, and every one helps himself to what he likes best; but they generally give the preference to what most creates thirst, and by turns dip the little cup into the brandy, and drink as they converse. After they have all drank three or four cups, the provisions are served in, and during the whole repast they never drink: when their appetite is satisfied, they drink a large cup of water, wash their mouths, and immediately take their betel.

Balachan is made from small lobsters, which we call shrimps. They pound them with salt into a kind of paste, which they bake in the sun for several days; they take care to stir it about, which spreads a disagreeable smell all around. This paste with them supplies the place of butter, fortifies the stomach, and sharpens the appetite.

It is to be observed, that in all hot countries the stomach loses its activity by a too copious perspiration, and consequently every thing which warms it is a principle of life which repairs its losses. Those who manufacture this balachan are very careful to save the water which drains from it, and sell it very dear in bottles hermetically sealed; and every one lays in a stock of it to season their dishes.

There is a kind of brown grasshopper which to them is a delicate food; as likewise spider's eggs, of which they distinguish several kinds. They prefer the eggs of those spiders which make their holes in the ground, and which are only found in the woods. Their bite is as dangerous as that of the tarantula.

They have also a kind of toad, which they call houhan, a name which is the expression of their cry, which is so loud, that two are sufficient to disturb a whole country. This animal is quite round and very frightful; his head can scarcely be perceived. It is probable that the inhabitants consume a great many of them, for numbers are seen in the public markets ready spitted.

The bamboo rat is a very choice food; it is in shape like the common rat; its tail is quite red, and it is without any hair, like a worm: it is as large as our cat. It is called bamboo rat, because it feeds on that wood, and especially on the young shoots. They are reared in all the houses, and they become tame, and make cruel war with the common rats; but their ravages are greater than those they would prevent. The field rat is a much-esteemed food, and is very plentiful.

A food which they consider exquisite is a small deer, not bigger than a hare, but with longer legs, a fine slender body, the legs not thicker than a quill: its foot is cloven like the common deer, of which it possesses all the agility. It is taken in the woods with nets. The eggs of the talagoie are reckoned exquisite eating. The talagoie is a kind of lizard, but much larger than our common lizards: it is extremely lively and active; it climbs along the trees; it is not mischievous, nor is its bite dangerous. Its tongue is split half its length, from whence the Indians say it has two tongues. It moves both parts of its tongue as we move our fingers, without the motion of one part causing that of the other. This animal much resembles the crocodile, except that it does not like the water. They partake of few meals without having salted or pickled fruits. They salt them in this manner: they take them when their kernels are green and soft; they throw them into a large jar of water with some salt. The marion, a kind of large white plumb, is excellent when thus salted; the water itself of it is not bad; it takes by degrees the flavour of the fruit, with a little salt, which improves the taste of the rice. They salt mangoes in the same manner, which is a fruit whose form and taste is wholly different from all the productions of Europe. It is in shape something like a sheep's kidney, and sometimes grows very large; it is not uncommon for them to weigh two pounds, but its general size is that of a large pear. Its flesh is yellow; its

its kernel very flat and large; its odour approaches to turpentine. As its flavour is agreeable, and its quality heating, the Siamese eat it with vinegar, especially when somewhat large.

They make use of salted ducks' eggs, which they preserve several months without spoiling. They put a good deal of clay round each egg as a crust, and when they want to eat them, they take off this crust and harden the egg: it is thus they preserve their melons, which they salt in slices, and which they always keep excellent. They also use ginger, which grows abundant in this kingdom: the Dutch make an excellent preserve of it, which they export to Batavia; but it is too heating.

Silver and corries are what the Siamese prefer receiving in exchange for their productions; but they have a predilection for coloured linens, muslins, carpeting, and silks, especially those of China, which being gayer and lighter are more suitable to the climate. This taste, however, is not exclusive, as they anxiously seek for the scarlets and velvets of Europe; and it is with those articles our merchants might render the Siamese tributary to their industry.

Muskets, gunpowder, and flints would command a quick sale and considerable profit. The Siamese would willingly take them in exchange for their most valuable productions, and would even pay for them in the money of their country, which consists in small balls of silver, marked at the corner by the King.

The sale of opium is absolutely contraband: the forbidding the introduction of it into this kingdom originates in the disposition of the people to abuse the use of it. Its effects have at different times caused the greatest ravages: the present King has passed sentence of death on several of his subjects who had transgressed this law. The Siamese accustom themselves to take it, beginning by a grain, and encreasing the number to half a dozen. Some swallow it, but the greater part smoke it, which causes a sleepy drunkenness. They say then they have sublime and grand ideas; each has dreams agreeable to his temperament; the ambitious man beholds at his feet monarchs and slaves in chains; the bilious man is seized with visions of horror and dismay; the mild and benevolent man beholds all the world applaud him. However, there is nothing so sacred that the Siamese is not ready to break through to procure this root, which sells for its weight in silver, which is not surprising among a people who believe that dreams are books in which the fates are written.

Although all climates most exposed to the vivifying rays of the sun present us with productions which nature refuses to colder regions, she still dispenses her bounty, and northern countries have their peculiar riches. Throughout India are to be found peas, potatoes, cibol, radishes, small cucumbers, gourds, water-melons, parsley, balm, sorrel; but all these vegetables only resemble ours in the name. They are not acquainted with our roots, nor the different herbs which compose our salads, which should be attributed to the negligence of the people, and not to the fault of the soil. Since all our herbs transported to Batavia have not degenerated, it may be presumed they would have equally succeeded in Siam.

#### CHAP. X. — *Animals.*

AMONG all quadrupeds the elephant may be said to hold the first rank, whether as to its bulk, strength, and utility, or for the instinct which this animal seems to possess in a superior degree. No country in the universe produces finer than are to be found in Siam; the larger are as much as twelve feet high. Its bulk is proportionate

to its height; its feet are as straight as columns, and the under part is very soft, so that you scarcely hear it tread. When it walks it puts forward the two legs of the same side, which gives an uncouth and fatiguing motion to its body, and consequently to those who ride it, particularly if they are not accustomed to it. It has been thought that they never lie down; but that is an error which is now corrected: they lie down like other animals, but they generally sleep standing and without support. With his trunk he blows the dust from the place where he would lie, and makes it much cleaner than if it had been swept by the most careful domestic. After he lies down, he puts the end of his trunk into his mouth, for fear the ants should get into it; and if, notwithstanding this precaution, any one has the address to penetrate into it, he becomes enraged, and blows with violence, to get rid of so troublesome a guest.

He uses his trunk as a hand, to carry whatever he eats to his mouth, which is small, when compared to the colossal form of his body; his under jaw in particular is very small. When he would drink, he takes in his trunk about half a pail-full of water, which he pours into his mouth. With his trunk he tears off the branches of trees, of which he eats the leaves or moss, and if he does not find them juicy, he beats them on one of his legs. When he finds a trunk of a banana tree, which is soft, but too large to put in his mouth he takes care to hold one end in his trunk, while he splits the other with his teeth, when he has made it fit to be chewed, he takes it to his mouth. In short no animal eats with so much cleanliness.

Their strength surpasses that of all other quadrupeds. Formerly they were loaded with towers, filled with soldiers, and they often decided the fate of battles. Their two teeth weigh about two hundred and thirty pounds. It is difficult to conceive how so strong an animal should be so easy to manage. A common rope confines him, tied by the hind feet to a tree, but when he is enraged, or frightened by any sudden noise; such as thunder or the report of cannon, to which he is not yet accustomed, he breaks ropes thicker than the wrist, as easily as he would break a thread. Only his keeper can calm his fury, and even his voice he despises when at heat. Fortunately nature has furnished him with the means of appeasing the burning flames which torture him.

Although the elephant is at rut, and always lives among females, they never couple in the houses; they then seek the woods and retired places; it seems as if their modesty was ashamed of their natural wants. When the male is enraged, it is sufficient to shew him a female, and he becomes quiet and tractable.

If a domestic female elephant is to be covered, she must be suffered to go into the woods, with trammels, that she may not stray too far; she does not fail to get covered, and she then immediately returns home. She goes twelve months, and when nigh bringing forth, they let her go into the woods, because they believe she would rather burst than bring forth in any inhabited place. She afterwards returns home with her young one.

The elephant has only two teats which are placed between the two fore legs; and as the young one cannot reach its mother's teats, it draws the milk with its trunk, and then puts it in its mouth. These animals never exert their strength against their keepers: a compassionate gentleness seems to form their character; and when they meet a flock of sheep, they disperse them with their trunk, as if they were afraid of crushing them with their weight. Although used for war, they never contract that ferocity which the custom of shedding blood inspires, and their natural wildness has an air of timidity.

The load of an elephant at Siam is not proportioned to his strength: in general he only carries twelve hundred pounds weight, and even with that, they cannot make  
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him go very far. When he finds himself too much fatigued, he swells his belly, breaks in an instant all the girths and cordages, and throws down his load, rather from laziness, than being unable to support so great a weight.

The King and persons of quality generally ride on elephants. They either use a ladder to get on his back, or make him kneel down. He holds out a leg, on which they step, and he never rises till they are seated. His step is much longer than that of a horse: his trot is pretty quick: he never stumbles nor gallops. The use they derive from him has inspired the Siamese with the utmost respect for this animal; they have the same regard for them they have for the human species, and they would place them in equality with men if they had the use of speech: especially those belonging to the King are treated with most distinction: they have their slaves, the number of which is proportioned to their opinion of their sagacity. The white elephant, which is the first in dignity, has a hundred servants to take care of him: the sides of his palace are all gilt; instead of troughs, he has two basins of massive gold, and the most dignified mandarins do not think it any disgrace in devoting themselves to his service: the honours which are paid to him extend even to his relatives; for the Siamese distinguish these animals by the same family names which are used in Europe among men. This respect originates in the system of metempsychosis: they believe the souls of Kings and heroes pass into the bodies of elephants. The white are the most esteemed and are most rare. They set a great value on black ones, but there are few of that colour.

They use this animal also to draw water and large pieces of timber. When employed in this work he does not seem to make the least effort; he walks as easy as if he had no burthen to draw. They use him likewise to shove vessels into the water with his backside, and to throw down buildings, when there is danger that a fire may spread to the neighbouring houses.

The Siamese are themselves too idle to derive all the advantages they might from so useful an animal; they only seem to value it for the effect and pomp it gives to the travelling of their King. It is true they sell a great number every year at Mergui, and derive a great profit from their teeth, in which they deal largely with the people of Surat and Europe.

One of the exercises in which they instruct the Princes of the kingdom, is to ride the elephant, as the nobility of Europe are taught to ride the horse; it is more particularly in the manner of riding on the neck, that the most address is shewn. It is not possible to sit on his back, on account of its breadth; beside that, he could not be managed at such a distance. Instead of a stirrup, they make use of a thick cord which goes round his neck. The most skilful riders throw a noose running, with wonderful dexterity, to take those which are wild. This chase, which is the most noble, is only permitted the Kings and Princes, although the woods are full of these animals. A male always goes at the head of a great number of females, which excites among the males jealousies and battles. The females never interfere in these quarrels, and full of respect for spirit and courage, they abandon him that flies, and always follow the conqueror. As in these hunting parties, the King and Princes take a great many elephants, they keep the finest for their own use, and send the others to Mergui, to be sold to merchants who come from the coast of Coromandel to trade in them, and who bring in exchange the finest linens and stuffs from Bengal, Surat and Persia. There is scarcely a year that at least fifty elephants are not sold. This trade forms the most solid wealth of the Siamese, who by this sale, and that of their teeth, procure themselves foreign productions.

The King reserves this trade to himself, and no one else may carry it on. There are tenants who are obliged to pay into the royal treasury a certain number of teeth. This obliges them to go a hunting for them, and obtain as many as will furnish the given number. They often conceal the produce of the chase, and sell the overplus clandestinely, but not without risk, both to the feller and buyer; they both are liable to be condemned for life to cut grass for the King's tame elephants, a punishment the more severe, as all the descendants of those thus condemned remain for ever in this slavery, unless liberated by a special pardon from the King.

The instinct of the elephant places it above all other animals, and the Siamese esteem it so much, that many, to the disgrace of the human mind, are loaded with titles, and endowed with the first dignities in the kingdom.

It must be confessed that this animal without his trunk would appear most stupid; but as it serves him for arms and hands, it would almost be imagined that this prodigious mass thought and reasoned; so dextrous is he in the use of it to do whatever he is ordered.

Among fifty of these animals, that the King of Siam had sent to Mergui to be sold, was one more terrible, and more difficult to be conducted than any of the others: he knew no one but his keeper, and would obey no one else whatever. All these elephants were put into a large garden, near the Christian church: they were all tied by the hind feet, each one to a separate tree, some distance apart; that they might not annoy each other; and as these animals are always eating they put before them a bundle of grass, and branches of the cocoa-tree and banana-tree. When this elephant, who was called Cerca, saw that his keeper was absent, he very dextrously untied the rope which fastened him to the tree with his trunk, and went and eat the grass and banana-trees of another elephant. If the other keepers tried to make him return to his own tree, without minding them, he shewed his teeth, so that they were all obliged to retire; they could not accomplish it till his keeper came: as soon as the animal saw him, he returned to his place, and appeared gentle and quiet. After having played this prank for several days, his keeper beat him well with a stick, which he bore very quietly without the least shew of anger. The keeper afterwards was eating with some of his comrades, a few paces from this elephant; the animal took up a stone from the ground and holding it balanced in his trunk as if at play, threw it directly into the earthen pot that held his keeper's wine or brandy, which broke it and spilt all the liquor: this enraged the man and drew on him another shower of blows, which he again took very quietly. Every day these animals are seen to do every thing their keeper tells them to do, as to salute those they pass, pick up whatever their conductors who are seated on their neck, let fall, and immediately give it them. This animal takes an extraordinary affection to those who have the care of feeding him. An example was witnessed at Pondichery, in regard to a very drunken soldier, who every day gave some fruit to an elephant. One day this soldier, being drunk, after giving some fruit to this elephant, fell asleep at his feet. The animal began to gently rub him with his trunk. Some other soldiers, fearful that with his caresses he might hurt their comrade, would have taken him up: the elephant, far from permitting it, presented his teeth to whoever attempted to approach, and watched the man till he awoke, without ever allowing any one to come near him.

Similar traits are every day observed, which shew how grateful this animal is for any kindness shewn him. He has a natural affection for monkeys: for the Siamese keep a monkey in the place where they have their elephants; they think that if any bad air should pass through it would fall on the monkey, and not hurt the elephants.

There are other animals he has in abhorrence. He cannot bear a fowl : which obliges them, in vessels which transport elephants, to take great care that the fowls do not get out of their coops. They relate, that on board a vessel that was carrying elephants, a fowl having got loose, and jumped upon these animals, they became so unruly, they were fearful they would destroy every thing ; fortunately the fowl fell under the feet of an elephant, who instantly crushed it, which restored tranquillity in the ship. They equally abhor the tiger and the crocodile ; for which reason the King of Siam sometimes gives a combat between an elephant and one of these animals. The fight draws an immense concourse of people. In this combat the elephant has the head covered with strong leather, to screen his trunk in it, and protect it from the claws of the tiger ; he rushes towards him, and endeavours to pierce him with his teeth, or to strike him with his trunk, which he takes care immediately to draw within this leather ; for if the tiger caught it with his claws, he would become the conqueror, but if the elephant can put his foot on the tiger, he immediately crushes and kills him.

In the same manner he fights the crocodile ; he endeavours to pierce him underneath with his teeth, or to take him up in his trunk, and throw him into the air, and crush him under his feet when he falls again. But his most formidable enemy is a species of tiger, very small it is true, but so active, that he springs on his back, and tears him till he drops dead. The usual amusement of the Kings of Siam is hunting elephants : they do it three ways ; one is to noose them as they run in the woods ; the other to lay snares for them, in which they are caught by one foot : the third mode, which is the most dextrous, and affords most sport, is to drive them into a circle, from which they cannot get out without being taken : they employ the females to attract them into this snare.

Much address is required to noose them, and it is in this exercise, the young Lords are chiefly instructed. The whole art consists in throwing the noose without being themselves entangled in it. They have schools where they instruct pupils in this art, and many become such adepts, that, mounted on one of these tame animals, they noose the wild elephant by the foot, although he does not rise it from the ground more than six or seven inches. When the animal is in the cord, they let him run in the woods, where he soon entangles himself in the brambles and roots of trees, in which the noose catches. They then try to familiarize him with domestic elephants ; they tie him to them when he is cowed by hunger : they take him from the woods, and carry him into the city, where, in a few days, he becomes as tractable as the others.

The second manner of taking wild elephants in snares, is generally used by those who are obliged to supply the King with a certain number of their teeth annually. Although according to their principles, it is a great sin to kill these animals, yet interest often carries it over religion, and the king allows those to be killed which are ill made, and have natural defects, for examples, the ears, &c. &c. The monarch, to exculpate himself from this sin, alledges that it is not he that kills them, and that he commits that charge to men polluted by iniquity.

They lay these snares thus. At certain distances in the wood they throw nooses quite open, along the path, where they presume the elephant will pass. These nooses, which are made of cord and buffalo's hide, on one part touch the ground, and on the other are elevated about a foot from it. At the end of the cord, which may be twelve or fifteen feet long, is fastened a piece of wood in the form of a small anchor. When the elephant has caught his foot in this noose he drags it for some time, till it fastens to the roots of the trees ; the more the animal strives to disengage himself, the

tighter the noose embraces his foot : the pain this creates causes him to remain still : he then eats every thing around him within his reach, till he falls from weakness and dies.

The third manner of taking elephants is the most dextrous and most amusing. They drive them into a place surrounded with large stakes, from whence they cannot get out without being taken. In the suburbs of the royal city, near the bridge which joins it to *terra firma*, is one of these large enclosures : it is a long square, shut with two doors, made of strong bars : the door next the country is simple, but that opposite to it, on the outside resembles the pen, in which horses are placed that are difficult to be shod. This pen is proportioned to the size and strength of the elephants : it has two doors, one of which opens into a place surrounded with stakes, about a foot distant from each other : and the second is at the other end : to get out of it, the door lifts up and down in grooves. They call this invention *piniate*, which has given that name to that quarter of the city, and the bridge that leads to it.

When they would bring the wild elephants to get them into this enclosure, they send ten or a dozen female elephants into the woods, at the head of which goes that one which is best trained, who carries on its back a large bundle of boughs, in which a man is concealed, to give the necessary signals. They are no sooner in the woods than some male comes to keep them company ; then the man that is concealed, gives his elephant the signal to return towards the enclosure. They return slowly eating the leaves of the trees they meet with. The male elephants follow them, and if it happens, that they stray a little to seek for food, the females rejoin them, and take care to keep them in the midst of them. This sport sometimes lasts several days, when the males, more familiarized with them, follow them instinctively. By degrees they approach the enclosure ; the best trained elephant enters first, and the others follow, male and female. When they are all in, they drop the sliding door, and they are thus all shut up in the enclosure.

While the males are on the other side, they take out the females by degrees, but when they perceive that the number of females diminishes, they become enraged, beat those that remain, and run round the enclosure to find a place to get out at. The door of the pen which leads outwards is opened, and they shew a tame male elephant through the bars of the other. As soon as the wild elephant perceives him, he enters the pen to attack him ; but scarcely has he entered it, when the door is let down, and he finds himself taken, without being able to turn, because there is only just room enough for his body. They then put a noose round each foot, taking a half turn round each stake that corresponds with his legs. Then the tame elephant retires, the barred door is open, the wild elephant struggles, and makes vain efforts to rush on the tame one, who shews his teeth at him. They slacken the cords that hold him by the feet by degrees, and when all his body is out of the pen, two large tame elephants come and place themselves one on each side, and they tie them all three together. His new companions take care to give him smart blows with their trunk, to make him go on ; and when his pace is too slow, another tame elephant which follows him, pricks him with his teeth behind, which makes him quicken his steps. They thus take him to the river, from whence, after being well washed and refreshed, they take him to a stable, where they tie his neck and a leg to a stake, which turns on a pivot at top and bottom. His exertions fatigue and exhaust him, and by turning round with his stake, he becomes still and quiet. The tame elephants come and take him tied to themselves to the river the same as the first time.

To these ceremonies they add a rigorous abstinence, which, by exhausting his strength in a month's time renders him as docile and tame as the others. They only give him a sufficient quantity of food to prevent him actually dying with hunger. This diet makes him very lean, but as soon as he gets tame, he regains his condition in a short time. All the males that are in the enclosure are served in the same way. Tame elephants are so numerous in this kingdom, that they can easily find four or five for the service of each of the new ones. The King, as well in the city as in the villages, always maintains about five-hundred. This sport may be looked upon, as the only amusement of the court and nobles; it is besides very lucrative to the King, and when those taken are not handsome enough to be preserved, they are sold to the Mahometans, who come to buy them, to transport them into the empire of the mogul. This sport would cease to be a pleasure to them, if interest did not find its account in it. This lazy nation never emerges from its natural indolence, except when awakened by the love of gain. It is true they hunt crocodiles and tigers, but it is generally only after those cruel animals have devoured many men and beasts.

The manner in which the Siamese take these animals is very curious. Sitting one day on the shore, I saw a number of boats, in which they were shouting and splashing with their oars, to oblige the crocodile to go near the land, where they were to lame or shoot him. It is the most terrible of all amphibious animals. Its shape resembles the lizard, except that along the spine of the back he has as it were fins of two or three inches, which are as hard and as solid as the rest of his skin. This animal, which is generally eighteen or twenty feet long, has a large jaw, armed with murderous teeth. The King of Siam has them taken alive, and keeps them in parks, to fight with the tiger and elephant. This is one of the grand diversions of the court. The combat between the tiger and the crocodile terminates in the death of both.

Of all quadrupeds, the strongest and largest after the elephant, is the rhinoceros, who lives in the forests. His skin is a great object of trade. The animal, whose sense of smelling is very fine, always gets under the wind; it is in marshy places, which he inhabits by preference, that the hunters lay snares for him; he lies down to sleep or wallow in muddy waters. Though dangerous when enraged, he is very easy to surprize. His size is nothing extraordinary, he is in general the height of a large ass, and would exactly resemble it as to the head, if he had not above the nose a horn about a hand's breadth in length. When angry he swells, and appears hideous. His skin is brown, and so hard, that a musket ball cannot penetrate it. His tongue is bristled with such a rough membrane that he flays whatever he licks. He breaks with ease the hardest thorns, and his mouth is sometimes all bloody with them. The hunter aims his shot between his ears, because it is the only place the ball can penetrate.

It is an error universally received in Europe, that the rhinoceros is the declared enemy of the elephant. The Siamese have never remarked this antipathy, and when in travelling I have been obliged to stop near springs of water, which are found here and there in the woods, I have often observed quite fresh marks of the feet of elephants and the rhinoceros, and my guides have never spoken of that natural aversion, which it is said divides these animals. I could discover no signs of those bloody combats which always costs the life of one of the adversaries. If these conflicts were real, trees would be observed overthrown, and the earth torn up, as is observed in places where elephants have fought against one another: and yet it is in places where there is water, that the two species might easily meet. The elephants frequent them to bathe, and the rhinoceros goes there to seek the thorny wood, on which they feed.

The Siamese sometimes rear these animals, to make presents of them to the Emperor

of China. They are obliged to take all those caught in the woods to the King's court, and this commission is very dangerous, unless they take the precaution to kill the dam, who protects them with fury. She never has but one young one at a time, and it is not known how many months she goes, because they have never had the females when with young in a domestic state.

The rhinoceros commonly feeds on the sharpest thorns: he never lies down but in muddy places and in the thickest forests: he turns up the earth like the pigs to find different roots. The Siamese find his flesh exquisite, which is not surprising, as he feeds on nothing but roots. It is a delicate present they make their friends; and when it is smoked, they make it an article of commerce. They are also very careful to preserve its blood, and especially that of the heart, believing it to be a sovereign remedy for complaints in the breast, and disorders incident to women. They dissolve a little of the blood in brandy or rice-water, and take a small dose every morning: and from his horn they make cups, which they regard as a powerful antidote against all kinds of poison; and it is in consequence of this belief that most of the Kings of India will only drink out of cups of this substance; and some horns sell as high as a hundred crowns. When split through the middle, different figures are observable; and the eye, deceived, fancies men, animals, trees, and fruits: in short, every part of its body is considered medicinal.

The Siamese make light shields of his skin, which are bullet-proof: they prefer the skin which covers the thighs and shoulders, which are more scaly than the other parts of the body. The rest of the skin is not useless; they dry it in pieces, and when they would eat it they boil it; it becomes very tender, and when well done they attribute to it the quality of purifying the blood. So many useful qualities would render the rhinoceros a valuable animal if he could be as easily tamed as the elephant; but art has yet never succeeded in conquering his natural ferocity.

There are several species of tigers in the woods of Siam; and though India in general seems to be the country of these savage animals, it may be said that the kingdom of Siam is their dwelling in particular; the species are there more various. The royal tigers are the most dangerous; they make cruel war with men and horned cattle: their body is covered with black and yellow stripes: they are but three feet high, but very long: their paws are immense, and their claws very large; they withdraw them or put them out like the cats: their horrid and fiery countenance betrays their restless and furious disposition; their sparkling eyes discover them in the night, by being perceivable at a considerable distance. They beat the ground with their tail while watching their prey, and spring on it as the cat does on a mouse: they say that if he misses his prey in the three springs he makes, he quits it for ever. His cry is sometimes shrill and sometimes dreadful: he has the cunning to hide himself among the bushes, from which he seldom misses the prey he marks.

The terror of his countenance damps the stoutest courage. Men have been found, till then intrepid, who have let their arms fall from their hand, and suffer themselves to be devoured, without thinking of defending themselves. This terror that he inspires extends to all animals: they lose their strength and become motionless at his look, and have not even power to fly. It is however certain, that if one has the courage to remain firm, and not to fly, he himself loses his intrepidity, and seems to respect valour in others, and only to delight in easy conquests.

They distinguish another kind, which they call biba: they are the size of our common dogs: their skin is yellow, and spotted with round black spots: he seldom attacks

men or cattle, but is very destructive to fowls, goats, deer, and young pigs; for the old ones do not fear him, and even stoutly defend themselves against the strongest tigers.

During my residence in this kingdom they told me of a combat between a large tiger and a strong boar, in which they both died of their wounds. There are several other kinds of small tigers, not larger than our cats; they get into the houses at night, where they make great havoc among the poultry: when the dogs can lay hold of them, they do not spare them. I saw one entirely spotted with a deep violet colour: I never saw so beautiful a skin: to feed it, it required a fowl every day, which it soon devoured.

They have also a kind of pole-cat which yields musk, but whose quality is much inferior to that of the musk-cat. On our return to Europe we had one of these pole-cats on board the vessel, which very much annoyed us by the smell it emitted: it had a particular passage by which it distilled its musk, and whenever that part was touched it uttered doleful cries. At Siam there is also, as in all India, musk-rats, which get into the houses. Every time they utter a cry they give an exhalation of musk, which by its strength causes the head-ach; and if it continues its cries the smell becomes insupportable.

The Siamese breed but few cattle, because their religion forbidding them to eat their flesh, the trouble of breeding them becomes burthenome; nevertheless, they have domestic oxen, but the wild ones, which they call cats, are much stronger and larger. Their terrible horns, which they use dextrously against tigers, are their common arms. When the Siamese kill them in the woods, they smoke the flesh, because it is the only way to preserve it in a country where the excessive heat spoils every thing: but they have no great sale for it; for the continual perspiration so weakens their stomachs, that they cannot digest so strong and gross a food.

It is not so with the flesh of the buffalo, which they use without experiencing any inconvenience from it: perhaps the reason is, the buffalo is a very hot animal; even its milk is heating; therefore it is to be presumed its flesh has the same quality. It is larger than the ox; its colour is an ashy black, the muzzle much lengthened, and the horns flat and very long, which almost form a semicircle round his head. They use it for labour the same as oxen; with this difference, that it cannot bear the fatigue in excessive heats: he then runs into ponds, with which this country is covered; he remains there whole days, only shewing the end of his nose above the water, as if he feared he would be required to work; but in the rainy season nothing disheartens nor fatigues him. His lowing is shrill and weak, and nothing answers to the size of his body. An Indian child leads flocks of them, and makes them obey him at pleasure; but when they see whites they run at them, unless their conductors prevent them: red cloaths frighten them and enrage them. Europeans do not like the flesh of this animal, although the Indians find it more delicate and more juicy than that of the ox.

In the woods of Siam are also bears, but few are met with on the coasts. They have no lions; these animals are banished from all parts of India, and it appears that Africa is their favourite soil. Wild boars are also very rare; but wild hogs are extremely multiplied in the woods. At the rising and setting of the sun they are seen coming from the woods, and spreading themselves in droves over the neighbouring plains. At the head of each drove are always two or three boars, who seem to act as guides. It is dangerous to hunt them; for if you only wound them, they rush on their enemy with fury, and determine on taking his life. The Siamese never meet them without being armed with good lances to defend themselves from their attacks. These animals are black, their legs short, the back arched, and their bellies nearly touch

touch the ground. The domestic hogs are better to eat, both fresh and salt, than the hogs of Europe; the flesh is lighter, and the fat never hardens: it is all melted into lard, and is used instead of butter, which is very scarce and dear in this country: fresh oil one or two days old is the only kind they can use. The wild hogs only feed on roots, which makes their flesh more delicious. As the Siamese seldom hunt them, they have nothing to fear but the tigers.

Stags are very numerous in the woods. The species would be very much multiplied if the Siamese did not make cruel war on them. When we cross the woods of this kingdom, we remarked that the dung of the tigers was full of the hair of stags. They are exactly like those of Europe.

All the shores of the Minan are covered with monkeys of different kinds and sizes: some have tails, and others are born without that ornament. These animals go in squadrons, and never less than twenty or fifty are seen, who unite for the execution of their enterprizes. When they fall on a field of sugar-canes or rice, the harvest is over in a single night: they are not contented to satisfy their voracity, they likewise destroy every thing their glutted appetite rejects. They are obliged in harvest-time to have watchmen to frighten them and prevent their approach. They jump from tree to tree, and the noise they make gives certain information of their arrival. They generally keep in thick woods, where they find fruit enough to feed on; but when cloyed with their ordinary food, they wish to regard themselves, they fly to the cultivated fields, where they find more delicious fruits. They sometimes form fishing parties: the sea-side is then seen covered with these animals; some break the oysters with stones; others catch lobsters, of which they only leave the scales and shells. When on a march the females carry their young ones under their bellies, who with their arms embrace the mother's body, and her loins with their legs. Modern travellers have confirmed the wonders the ancients have related of the extreme affection of these animals for their young ones: the mothers hold them to their breasts, and never abandon them, not even when mortally wounded by the hunters. Naturalists have observed, that they are the only animal subject to the same inconveniences as women. There is a second kind as ugly as they are mischievous: their general height is two feet and a half. A third sort goes single, or in pairs; they always hide their face; the Siamese look upon them as animals of ill omen. They do not eat their flesh; but the others are considered by them as delicate food. Another kind of monkey is observed which most resembles man; they call them onke: they are implacable enemies to the others. They are either all black or all brown; the hair of their hands and feet is white: they always keep in woods of lofty trees; they spring from tree to tree with great agility: their arms in proportion to their bodies are much longer than those of other animals, and especially than those of other monkeys: when they walk they hold one arm lifted up in the air. They must be taken at the breast to make them tame; for when once their character is formed, their natural ferocity can never be softened. The hair of their body is very long and thick; the fingers and nails of the hand are exactly like those of men; their nose is flat, and the eye entirely black: they lie at length, and put one arm under their head to serve them as a pillow; but when they are in the trees they sleep sitting, their head between their knees, their hands on their stomachs, and the length of their hair serves them for a covering; the heaviest rain cannot penetrate their skin; they have only to shake themselves to be dry. They take delight in rearing these kind of monkeys, because, being more mild than the others, they are not so indecent. Careful and active, they never break or destroy any thing; lovers of peace and compassionate, they go and embrace those who weep, and  
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their pity increases as they hear the sighs of the wretched; nor will they quit them until they have seen their tears dried up.

The woods of Siam present phenomena which are not observed elsewhere. There are found there flying cats, which much resemble our cats in size, form of the head, and by the whiskers. They mew and spit when angry; their tail is tolerably long; a fine membrane on each side, which spreads like a sail from the fore to the hind leg, folds under their belly when they walk on the ground, and opens out when they spring from one tree to another: it is covered with very fine and short hair. The Siamese use them as a damper to their string instruments.

There are flying lizards in every garden in Siam. The children play with these animals, which are not venomous; they are exactly like those seen in France. This lizard has two round bladders near his fore paws, and a third under the chin, which is oblong, and which he fills with air when he would go from one tree to another. It seems that the one under his chin supports his head, as the others support his body; when at rest, these bladders retire and hardly are visible.

The cameleon is a large lizard, about two inches broad and a foot in length. It stands higher on its legs than the common lizard, and its claws are larger. Every garden is full of them; nothing can be more hideous than their face. At the least noise he raises himself on his paws, lifts up his head, looks bold and dauntless, and changes colour. At first he appears all green, then quite red, afterwards all violet colour, and sometimes all yellow. When exposed to the rays of the sun his colours appear more striking, and give him a terrible appearance. He seldom bites any one, though they do not venture to catch him.

The toquè is also a large lizard, six or eight inches in length and one and a half in breadth; its back is in square compartments, each of a different colour, as red, green, yellow, violet: its head is large, and enamelled with white and a dark brown. This animal, so beautiful to the eye, is very dangerous to touch: they kill it wherever they find it. Its claws are so piercing that it sticks them into glass. It walks along boards with its back downwards, to which it even fastens its eggs, which are flat on one side, and as large as the end of the thumb. Its ordure has this singular quality, that if any of it gets into one's food, it entirely takes away the voice, which lasts near a month. If any of its urine falls on the hand or skin of any person, it causes black spots, which can never be got out. When it bites it never lets go its hold, and its claws never come away without taking out the piece. It begins its cry by chirping, which continues increasing, and afterwards diminishes in the same proportion.

Tortoises are of several kinds; the rarest is about eighteen inches broad and as many long; the back is covered with equally-distributed compartments. They have six paws, four of which, longer than the other two, about six inches high from the ground, serve them to walk on. There are many other tortoises which are only met with at Siam; they are only about ten inches long and as many broad. Their singularity is, that as soon as they hear any noise, whether of man or animal, they draw themselves in. The tortoises, like those seen in France, are very delicate eating.

The sea-tortoise may be mentioned here, as they ascend the rivers of Siam from thirty to forty leagues, to look for beds of sand to deposit their eggs in. It is forbidden to kill them, because they bring the King a great profit, who farms out each bed of sand where they are accustomed to lay their eggs as high as forty eggs per annum. The flesh of young turtles, roasted under live coals, while their shells are only as yet soft cartilages, is very good eating.

Hedgehogs are found in all the woods; also porcupines; and an animal the Portuguese

tuguese call *bicho-vergonhoso*: this is more curious than the others; it is a kind of porcupine; only with this difference, that, instead of thorns or darts, it has impenetrable scales, which serve it for defence against all other animals. This animal digs deep holes with an industry it would be impossible to imitate. When surpris'd, it becomes like a large ball, neither showing head nor feet, and remains in this state, to take all chance from his enemy, till he hears no more noise. It is not less delicate eating than the porcupine, which in this country is looked upon as very wholesome food; and it is from this animal they obtain the most esteemed bezoar, and which is much dearer than that obtained from the most valued monkey. A great distinction between these bezoars is, that produced by the monkey must be scrap'd a little to be taken as an antidote against poison, while it is sufficient to soak that of the porcupine in water, to which it soon imparts its bitterness, and makes it an excellent antidote. The porcupine bezoar is so subtle, that though you hold it shut up in your hand, you perceive its bitterness when you put it near your mouth, and that is the best way to know if it is good or bad: for the other kind, put a little slacked lime, and dilute it in your hand, and then rub it with the bezoar: if the lime does not change colour, it is a stone; but if it turns yellow it is real bezoar.

Fish is so plentiful in all the rivers of Siam that otters breed very fast on their banks, because they are sure of always finding plenty of food. They rear them sometimes in the houses; they go to the river to feed; they return for some time; but at length, tired of a domestic life, they prefer a free and wild one, and return no more.

The country produces few horses, and those in the army are brought from Batavia. The Siamese are bad horsemen; they wish to be as much at ease on a saddle as if they were sitting or lying down. An officer never gets on horseback but what he has two slaves by his side, to support him and prevent his falling; therefore they prefer elephants to horses, because on them they find the same ease as in their chambers: besides, horses cannot be of much use in a country so intersected with rivers and under water six months in the year. The difficulty of feeding them, as well as oxen, makes their service bought at too dear a rate, where neither hay nor oats is produced. The King always keeps a few, which are treated with much attention; and those which are white share the honours bestowed upon elephants of that colour.

#### CHAP. XI. — *Birds.*

THE kingdom of Siam possesses many birds, from which the inhabitants derive great advantages, whether as food or in trading for their feathers with the Dutch and Chinese, who come for them to take to Japan; or as those which are carnivorous cleanse the country from carcases whose putrefaction might infect the air.

The most beautiful bird of this country is called *caïpha*, which means the fowl of heaven: it is very large, and about the size of a turkey, but is much finer shaped: it has red legs; all the feathers of the back and the upper part of the wings of a velvet black: the under part of the belly is purple mingled with blue and yellow: its tail, enamelled with various colours, is set up like that of the cock: its long neck is covered with feathers of a glossy black; its eyes are red, and it has a tuft on its head of the same colour.

As the *caïpha* is rare, so is the peacock common: its plumage is of the greatest beauty, and its flesh of an exquisite flavour. Thus the Siamese have a double advantage in hunting it, but it is difficult to take them, especially when it is only wounded:

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it runs so swift it is impossible to follow it; and though it should have a leg broken, it flies far and goes and dies in the woods.

What they call noeriene is a very large bird, much larger than a turkey-cock, with red feet, and a silver-grey plumage: it has a long and slender neck: its head, which is very small, is crowned with a red tuft. This bird becomes tame: all the great people keep them, and chiefly the Mahometans who reside in the city of Siam.

Parrots are very numerous: they have none which are entirely red, nor of the largest size; the one has a red beak and the other a black one: the black soonest learn to talk. The plumage of both is always very fine. They are sometimes seen in flocks, which when they fight make great havock.

Small parroquets, the size of one's thumb, are in the greatest numbers. They appear in the air in flocks like thick clouds: their back and upper part of the wings is green, or yellow inclining to green; the beak and claws red; the breast purple; the eye piercing; under the wings and the belly of different colours: this variety is beautiful. The apple of their eye has a white circle, another red, and a third green or yellow: they have two small feathers which correspond above their eyes, and which make them appear as if painted. When they sleep, they hang to a small branch by the feet, with the head downwards, which they take care to raise upon their breast. They cannot be taught to talk: when old they become quite white: they are naturally gentle and tame, and become used to the cage even when full grown. To catch them the children put one of these small parrots into a cage, with some boiled rice, which they are very fond of; above the cage they place a stick a foot long, which they rub with glue; they elevate this cage about thirty-five feet from the ground. The little prisoner being thus in the air, eats, hops, and looks about him; and as soon as he sees any flocks of his species, he never stops crying till he draws some from the flock to him: the cage being round, they alight on the glued stick at top; those who stick there hang with the head downwards; the cage is then lowered to take them: they clean their claws with a little oil: scarcely are they put into a cage before they begin to eat: they neither appear wild nor frightened like other birds when they first find themselves prisoners: they are called Surat parrots. They are very fond of a liquor drawn from palm trees, and of which brandy is made; it makes them drunk, and then they are easily taken. The children sometimes take them in such quantities that they sell them to strangers, who take them on board of ship, for a halfpenny a-piece. The cry and chirrup of this bird correspond with its size; their flesh is much esteemed, but chiefly the wild ones, who only feed on the most delicate fruits.

In the province of Tennasserim is sometimes found the bird called bird of paradise, because it has no legs. It is generally believed that it lives in the air, and is flying as long as it exists. This opinion is founded on none ever being found on the earth but such as are dead, and that no vestige of feet is any where to be observed. They are found but seldom in the kingdom of Siam; they are more common in the island of Java. The Dutch dry them and preserve them as curiosities. Its plumage is of a beautiful golden yellow, without any mixture of colours; it is the size of a quail.

Red pigeons are very common in the woods: their feathers are of almost all the colours mingled: it is a very beautiful bird, but very difficult to rear when you cannot give it the fruits it is accustomed to in the woods: its bill and claws are quite red, which may happen from the fruit it feeds on. It is remarked that parrots lose the brightness of that fine red which is natural to them when they do not get a certain fruit which grows in the woods, and which all birds are very eager after. The wings and body

of these pigeons, though red, are mingled with some green, yellow, white, and blue feathers.

The turtle-doves are very large, and of a beautiful deep green and red: they display many other colours which appear changing. There are several kinds: the green turtle-dove coos like that of Europe; but that they call fire-dove, because its colour approaches the red partridge, has a cooing peculiar to itself: it begins by crying cocoo seven or eight times, raising the voice a pitch each time, and the sound is rather pleasing; it afterwards coos like the common turtle: they are reared in cages on purpose to hear this singular cooing.

Red sparrows are very common in this kingdom: there are few climates where the species is more multiplied. These birds carry destruction to the fields: the Siamese, to prevent their ravages, make figures of straw which they cover with rags: they have also little windmills which they place in the trees, and with the least breath of air they make a noise which frightens away these destructive birds.

The bird that the Siamese call king of the camérons, that is to say, of craw-fish, is so called because he every day frequents the shores of the sea and rivers, where he feeds on that shell-fish. The plumage of this bird in beauty yields to none: it is a mixture of feathers of all sorts of colours, in which the green predominates. It is remarkable, that among all the birds which possess such beautiful plumage, nature has not endowed any one with its share of an agreeable singing voice. The Siamese strip these birds by taking off the skin with all the feathers; they dry it and stick it on paper, which they sell for the Japan trade.

It may be said that the fly-bird is a chef-d'œuvre of nature; none is more lively nor has more variegated colours, although it is the smallest in its species among the birds: it is not larger than the end of one's little finger; its feathers are an assemblage of every colour; its bill is not larger than a needle, and is as long as all the rest of its body. It only lives on the dew which every morning adorns the flowers: it does not open its bill to sip it, but under it is a small hole, almost imperceptible, through which it thrusts its tongue, which is not thicker than a thread. It is by this mechanism that it collects the dew on which it feeds. Its voice is so small it can scarcely be heard. The children, who often catch them, tie them by a thread and play with them; but they cannot preserve them long, on account of the difficulty of feeding them. There are two or three other species of this bird which are twice as large: their bill resembles that of the sparrow: they call one of these species leaden bill, because the beak is the colour of that metal. All these kinds are very beautiful: those who admire these things dry them to preserve them.

We must not here forget a kind of small fowl not larger than a pigeon: the Siamese call them anas: they are quite white. It is not very uncommon to have them hatched cock and hen at the same time, and the attributes of both are common to them. Nothing can be prettier than these little cocks, whose wings trail the ground, and their tail, full of large white feathers, very much elevated above their head. They all have the same instinct as other cocks, and are not less punctual in crowing at day-break. The marshes and woods of Siam are full of ducks, geese, and teal, like those of Europe: it is nothing extraordinary for a sportsman to take forty of them in a day. There are also excellent snipes and quail, rather less than those of Europe.

Every body rears fowls, but the natives seldom eat them, through a principle of religion, which makes them prefer fish. They reckon four kinds. Common fowls like ours: the flesh and bones of the fowls are quite black. Frizzled fowls have their  
feathers

feathers the wrong way, and instead of lying down along their body they stick up in the air, which gives them a strange appearance. There is a fourth kind, which is hatched and lives in the woods; they are wild, and are only to be got by shooting them; their claws and bill are very black, and their spurs thin, hard, and as long as a needle. They are better eating than those which are fed, which doubtless is owing to the difference of their food.

The ducks they call Manilla ducks originally come from Peru, from whence they were taken to the island of Lucon, in which is Manilla. They are so plentiful that they are bought very cheap. They are much larger than common ducks; their flight is rapid: above the bill is a piece of red flesh, which hangs like that on turkeys, of which they have not been able to preserve the species at Siam, on account of the inundations and heavy rains.

The Siamese have a bird they call voulan, which is as big as a large turkey: it is wild, and its head is without feathers, which has procured it that name, which signifies bald head. This bird, which is good to eat, has much the resemblance of a turkey hen, and its flesh has nearly the same flavour. The sportsmen do not willingly seek it, because it is only met with at a distance from inhabited places, and as the Siamese are enemies to fatigue, they are afraid to undertake it.

We must not forget the small bird called tire-tire; it is too kind to travellers not to claim their notice. It has nothing remarkable in its plumage: its common cry is tire-tire, which has procured it its name. It lies on the ground with its legs upwards: this attitude has caused the Siamese to say, that it is fearful the sky will fall on it. When it sees any one on the road or in the woods in danger from wild beasts, it screams with all its strength, and flutters round him; it afterwards goes and repeats the same cries over the place where the animal lies in ambush: this officious care puts the traveller on his guard. If its attention makes it esteemed by travellers, it excites the hatred of the sportsman, because its benevolent voice warns those of its kind of his presence.

The bird the Siamese call double-bill has very long wings, with which he makes a flapping noise in the air. He is thus named because he actually appears to have two bills: above the first he has as it were a second horn bill, but which is not slit. This bird always goes in pairs. They form their nests in large holes in old trees, which they easily find in those immense forests. When the female sits on her eggs she cannot leave her nest; and the male, the better to confine her to it, shuts her up in this hole, the mouth of which he stops up with clay, only leaving a small hole to feed her through. The Siamese say, that every time he brings her food he jealously examines the clay; and if he sees any other traces than his own, he opens the hole and kills the female. They superstitiously refuse to keep the head of this bird in their houses, because they believe that it would create discord between them and their wives: this bird is good eating.

Siam seems to be the country of crows, and the air is sometimes darkened with them: nevertheless, as this kingdom has many uninhabited places, and is covered with immense forests, they do not every where find proper food; to obtain which they frequent inhabited places, where they seem to defy the attack of man. They even enter the houses, from which they take every thing that suits them; more especially in the kitchens, where they make their best booty, and they carry off every eatable they can find. All the intestines of animals which are thrown away they also devour, by which they render the inhabitants a service, as they free them from every thing that might infect the air.

The crow will appear dainty and abstemious if compared with the vulture. This bird is as large as a turkey, which it so much resembles that the Siamese themselves can hardly distinguish them. Though the flesh of it is not bad they despise it, because the vulture feeds on dead bodies. Devotees, when dying, request that their bodies may be abandoned to these voracious birds. The talapoins cut them in pieces and throw them to the vultures which surround them, and which, by being accustomed to feed on the flesh, become more partial to it than to that of other animals. As the crow possesses the sense of smelling in a finer degree than the vulture, he precedes them a day to tear the carcases: these in their turn seize all the putrid food they find, and by their voracity stifle the germ of corruption. This bird, though heavy, rises very high, and skims in mid air. It is true that when on the ground he does not rise at once from the spot where he rested; he begins by running twelve or fifteen paces to give his body motion; he then takes his spring, and flies like other birds.

In each flock of vultures is generally observed a bird of another species much larger: its legs are thick, and about a foot and a half in length; its body is twice as large as the vulture's; its beak is very thick and crooked at the end, and eight or ten inches long: it is more voracious than the vulture: its aspect is gloomy and hideous. The Siamese say it even devours the bones: it carries off carcases, and clears the places where they have burnt dead bodies, especially those of the poor, which are always in greater number and not so much burnt.

The silence of the night is incessantly interrupted by the cries of large and small owls and screech owls, which, attracted by the smell of the carcases, go in the night to devour what the birds left in the day. They afterwards retire into the roofs of large buildings: the temples of the idols are full of them; there nothing disturbs that silence they delight in all the day, because the temples are only frequented during the night while they are seeking their food; and that is also the time when they celebrate their mysteries and religious ceremonies. The Siamese, as superstitious as the common people are in Europe, believe that when one of these birds perches on the roof of a house death threatens some one in it; when an owl screams in flying over a house they believe themselves in danger of some sudden misfortune. They have also another superstition concerning the solitary bird, so called because it always goes alone: it is rather larger than a sparrow and of the same colour: when it perches before a house and utters its little note, they examine if it came from the north or south, to judge if the news they expect will be good or bad.

Besides these night-birds there are others who cry in the night, especially in the forests: for besides the tire-tire, which cries day and night, there are two other kinds; one whose cry resembles a blacksmith beating iron on an anvil, for which reason they call it the blacksmith; and another kind which imitates a carpenter when cutting timber, and they call it wood-borer.

It is said that formerly they had no nightingales in their country, although they are now numerous at Margui: they think they have been brought by European vessels. Of all the birds of Siam there is none but the nightingale which has a pleasing voice; apparently the heat is injurious to the organ of the voice.

More bats, and of different kinds, are found in this kingdom than perhaps in any part of the world. Their place of refuge is near the temples and the convents of the talapoins. There are large trees covered all day with such an immense quantity of them that they appear black: masses of bats, clinging to one another, hang from the branches: those who do not know what it is take them for the large fruits of those

trees. If any one should throw stones, or fire a gun into the trees, they would soon have the Talapoins about their ears, who would use them very roughly; for with them it is a crime which merits instant punishment, to disturb the repose of animals, who have taken shelter near places consecrated to divine worship. One kind is as large as a partridge; in the night-time they eat the fruit in the gardens, especially mangoes and guavas. Some Siamese eat them, and they may be good, as they eat nothing but fruit, but their hideous countenance is disgusting. The greatest advantage they derive from them is the saltpetre they obtain from their dung, which they are careful to collect among the rocks, and in the temples, which are always full of it.

The diver is something like a fowl. It flies from forty to fifty feet above the sea. Its sight is so keen, that it sees the fish as they swim beneath, and instantly dives with such rapidity, that one would imagine it was a heavy stone which fell in. It seizes the fish, and carries it on shore to eat it.

The kite does not possess the same faculty as the diver, although he also goes a fishing. His method is to dart upon the fish he sees on the surface of the water, and as he flies to seize it in his claws, which are very long and of great strength.

The pelican is a much larger bird. Its plumage is white; under its bill, which is eighteen inches long, it has a kind of large bag, in which it puts the fish it catches. Its body is very large, and its wings may be about seven or eight feet long. It lives entirely on fish, which it takes with its bill, but it does not plunge into the water like the diver. It fishes on the shore, where it catches a number of small fish, with which it fills its pouch, which contains enough to keep it the whole day.

## CHAP. XII. — *Reptiles and Insects.*

The serpent is the largest reptile of these forests: some are monstrous. They may be judged by the size of those which penetrate into the houses. Its bite is not more dangerous than that of a dog.

They call snake-stones, those which cure the venomous bites of snakes: they are black, round and flat, and thicker in the middle than at the sides. This stone is applied to the bite: if the wound is oval it sticks to it immediately, and does not fall off, till it has extracted all the venom: as soon as it detaches itself it should be put into milk, which draws all the poison from it, otherwise it breaks and becomes useless. The milk into which it is put turns blue and green, a proof of the venom it has extracted. It may happen that it leaves the affected part from being saturated with the poison: in that case after having made it disgorge, it is put on again, to try if it sticks a second time, and this is continued till a perfect cure takes place. These stones are spread all over India; but one is often deceived, because counterfeit ones are made, which is found out on using them. This stone is highly valuable in a country where snakes are so common, that they are found sometimes upon and under the beds.

Of all the snakes of India, the most dangerous and at the same time the most common, is the hooded snake, so called by the Portuguese because it has a kind of cowl, which it opens when enraged. This snake is so common in the courts and gardens, that it is dangerous to walk in them in the dark. To avoid them, they carry canes at night, to the end of which are fastened small pieces of iron, strung on a wire, which as often as the cane touches the ground makes a noise, and frightens away any snakes that may be near. There is none has a more horrid aspect, particularly when irritated: they then erect this cowl above their head, which may be about four inches high, and

covers

covers two ears of the same size, and his shaking their heads. When they are not confined, they fly at the objects that irritate them. Dogs attack them, and always run round them. The snake, which has its head elevated two or three feet from the ground, according to its length, cannot turn so nimbly; it however tries always to face its enemy, till the dog finds an opportunity to seize it by the middle of the body; he shakes it with all his strength, not to allow it time to bite him, and then throws it away from him. If he sees the snake get up again he begins the same method, till he has broken the spine of its back. When the snake can no longer get up, he then easily approaches it, and takes it, and shakes it till it ceases to move. This is the most venomous snake of them all. Its bite is mortal if an immediate remedy is not applied. Its poison seems to coagulate the blood; to prevent its effects, a good dose of opvietan and treacle must be immediately taken: a little is put on the wound, after the bad humour has been taken away.

A singularity in the Siamese, is, that though they fear these dangerous reptiles as much as any body else, they not only dare not hurt them, but as they are glad for them to take up their abode under their houses, as a sign of good luck, they think if they were to kill them, the ruin of their prosperity would ensue; and when they see that the Christians do not spare them, they say, "it is astonishing misfortune does not fall on these Christians." Though the Siamese do not destroy these animals, as it is seldom their bite is attended with death, they accustom themselves to walk among the grass with as much unconcern, as we walk the streets, where a tile may sometimes fall on our heads and wound us. They add, that they take the precaution not to stir, if when they are lying down, they feel a snake crawl over them, and that then it never hurts them. I know not if I should have that resolution, but it has never been known that these animals have hurt any one while asleep.

The forests of Siam, are filled with vipers and leeches, more especially in rainy seasons. Travellers who stop, are immediately covered with small leeches, which are seldom larger than needles; but very large ones are found by the side of brooks, which the Siamese use to draw the blood from any part of the body in which they may feel pain: for they do not know how to bleed like the Europeans. There are also sea-leeches, which the Chinese who live in the kingdom of Siam trade in. They get them on the shores of the islands. These leeches are an inch broad, and the longest about four inches. They split them and dry them: they relish them, though to us they seemed like a piece of boiled leather; they however sell them, and carry great quantities to China.

Centipedes are so common in this country, that they abound every where. The thinnest appear the most dangerous; they are not thicker than a thread, and two or three inches long; wherever they touch the skin they burn it. At night they seem all on fire. In the houses, and among old ruins, they find some as thick as the finger, and three or four inches long, which have two little pincers on their heads, similar to those of the lobster, with which they wound, and cause an exquisite pain, without being dangerous. The Siamese think them a treat when roasted.

Scorpions are equally as numerous. Some are white, and are found in houses; their sting is not incurable, though it is very bad: the others are black, and are found among the rubbish of the gardens and courts: the sting of these is mortal. The white in general are not larger than the thumb, but the black ones are as large as the hand, and have two pincers as strong as those of a lobster. The sight of this animal inspires a certain horror. A captain of a Madras vessel told the French missionaries that he had found a scorpion in the hold of his ship, which it had turned quite blue, and that

after they had killed it they stretched it out ; it was at least eighteen inches wide and the knots, with which its tail was furnished, were like buttons. The sting of such an animal would be nearly instant death. The common cure for it is the oil of scorpions, in which they drown these insects ; for which reason the natives put all they catch into a jar of oil.

It is not surprising that so hot a country as Siam should produce numbers of caterpillars. One kind is very dangerous : they are black, short, and very much bristled with fine hair, which carries a very subtle poison ; so that if one of these hairs touches the skin, it sticks to it, and immediately causes a violent itching, which brings on an ulcer. The remedy is immediately to rub the part that itches with wax to draw the hair, for should it remain, it would cause terrible sores : these caterpillars are more dangerous for the hands and body, than for the feet ; as the Siamese wear no shoes, the soles of their feet are so hard, that common thorns cannot penetrate them.

Gnats and other flies are very troublesome in this country, in the evening, till towards ten o'clock at night ; and the elephant-flies, which they call, *sting-quick*, are insupportable during the day, for as soon as they alight, they sting smartly, even through the cloaths. The Siamese call them elephant-flies, because they follow that animal, and they scarcely find any where he is not. These large black flies have a stronger sting than the bee : otherwise they derive much profit from them, on account of the gluten with which they infect the honey ; nobody uses the latter, because it is too bitter.

In this kingdom black and white ants are of so many species, and so numerous that sometimes they do much injury : the white ones particularly devour every thing, stuffs, books, &c., even wood and houses. The red and small black ones bite very hard, and leave blisters on the skin : it is difficult to escape them on the roads, as well as gnats, flies, and musquitos, but they make a smoke under the house, and the heat drives them away : they also take away all lights, because they attract them. When the season is very dry, and there is a north wind, there are scarcely any.

Nothing can afford a finer sight in the night-time, than to see a tree entirely covered with fire flies : it seems decked with bright sparks, which expire and rekindle almost at the same instant. These flies are not hurtful. It is easily perceptible that they give this light, when they swell a little, and inhale the air.

The glow-worm has a different quality : its brightness, which does not cease, is all in the head, it is very small, and is not venomous.

There are several kinds of butterflies. At certain times of the year the ants acquire wings, and fly in such numbers that they oblige one to quit the place where they alight towards the evening : fortunately this inconvenience does not last more than two or three hours, after which they perish, so that the ground is often covered with them. The bats feed on them. When these clouds come, one is obliged to put out all the lights ; if not they would fill the house. If one is at supper, they cover and spoil all the victuals, which cannot be touched afterwards. This irruption only happens once or twice in the year. Butter-flies of various brilliant colours are seen at almost all times, except during the rains ; some have the centre of their wings as transparent as glass, and the rest, of different colours, represent peacocks' feathers.

The noise the crickets make in the woods is surprising : in the stillness of the night they are heard on board the vessels, though anchored a quarter of a league from land, and this noise is sometimes as tuneful as music.

The golden May-fly is the most beautiful insect. It resembles in form those of Europe ; but its wings appear enamelled with green and gold ; the head has the same tints, or is red and dull gold. They are found, very large, in trees they call *ervil*,  
the

the wood of which is soft ; it keeps in among its roots : their eggs are not larger than a small grain of shot.

There is a very singular animal, which may be ranked with the preceding species, bred in the dung of elephants. It is entirely black, its wings are strong, and its head extremely curious : it is furnished on the top with several points, in the form of a trunk, and a small horn in the middle : it has four large feet, which raise it more than an inch from the ground : its back seems to be one very hard entire shell. It flies to the very top of the cocoa-trees, of which it eats the heart, and often kills them, if a remedy is not applied. Children play with them, and make them fight. I have also observed that champignons rather larger than ours grow in elephants' dung.

### CHAP. XIII. — *Sea and River Fish.*

Every body in Siam is allowed to hunt and fish, without paying any tax, but a king's officer, called Aprataenum, governor of the waters, prevents them from fishing in a manner that would destroy too many fish at a time.

The rivers and sea-coasts of this kingdom abound more with fish than elsewhere : the reason doubtless is, because the rivers for six months in the year overflow the sown grounds, and then the fish find plenty of food : they become larger by it, and do not prey on one another. But before we mention their kinds, it may be proper to describe the method of fishing at Siam.

The casting net, which they call tarafa, is the most generally used. They serve some to amuse them in fishing, and others to gain their livelihood by this trade. They have also seines, and use them as we do in Europe. They put stakes at the entrance of small arms of rivers, and when it is high water, they shut up the bottom of the river with hurdles, which the stakes confine, where the fish assemble in such quantities, that they may be taken with the hand.

Those who cannot procure a net fish with a line, or else they go with baskets along the rivers, which they put in the water from time to time, and take out the fish they find in them by an opening made on the top. Some fish with a bait, which they put in fish pots fastened to stakes. In sea fishing they harpoon the large fish ; but to take common ones on the banks of sand, at the entrance of large rivers, where there are many streams, they drive stakes in the water near to each other, and make two hurdles, one end of which is not more than fifteen feet wide, and the other more than three or four hundred feet, which forms an immense narrow cul-de-sac : they put in this, hurdles which they raise up when the tide rises, and let down before it falls. The fish which is carried by the ebbing of the tide, is stopped against this hurdle, which they raise like a trap ; they then let it fall into their boat which is along-side.

The head-fish is the most plentiful ; it is carried in the surrounding countries, when salted or dried. The Dutch send for it from Batavia to the island of Java ; it serves them as a kind of ham. Its form is nearly like that of a whiting, but much larger. The black is the best flavoured, and dresses better than the white, whose flesh is very beautiful : in certain seasons, however, there are black spots in it, which are very disagreeable. The Siamese say, that it is during the time these fish eat coal that their flesh spoils, during which they eat them as little as possible. To salt it, they split it down the back, and give it two slashes on each side, without separating the pieces towards the head and tail. They then lay it out to dry, after having sprinkled it with salt. When it is a little dried, it can be kept, and carried to sea.

A fish

A fish called *salite* is not larger than the hand, and is so plentiful in rivers, that they are very cheap eating; there are more of them eaten salt than fresh: it somewhat resembles a plaice.

The *salinan* is a fish of the size and shape of a herring; towards the tail it has a dart, with which it often wounds the fisherman, but without any danger; they are quit for a day or two's pain. It is very good and plentiful in the rivers and ponds.

They have many sprats: the sea ones are similar to those of Europe: the fresh water sprat is almost as large as the hand, flat and very thick; they are excellent eating, and their own fat fries them. To take them, they use a casting-net made of white wire, which they are careful to keep very clean; for if it was not, they believe they should not catch any.

It is unnecessary to mention eels, muscles, lobsters, and other fish known in Europe. The Siamese seldom eat them, because they are found in dead bodies brought down by the river.

So wet a country naturally breeds plenty of toads, frogs, &c.; they are of the same form with ours: the Siamese only eat the frogs; the toads are not venomous.

The sea fish are, as every where else, better than those of the rivers; but it is almost impossible, on account of the heat, to have them fresh at the city of Siam, which is nearly forty leagues from the sea: they generally there eat the ray, because it comes up before the city. They take them curiously: they throw a large rope into the middle of the water, furnished with a number of bits of packthread of different colours, each of which has a hook; the rope is stretched and secured by an anchor at each end, being supported by small pieces of wood fastened at certain distances, so that it can only sink two feet deep; they bait the hooks; the fish are caught every moment, and when they take out the rope, there are a great quantity. They catch them also with the line. They are generally about four feet long: their tail, which is fit to make whips, is nearly as long. The large rays are not very good eating, particularly when fresh, but its liver is delicious.

The large kind is the least dangerous; it has not any dart on its tail, while the small sort has, in the middle of his, a thorn four or five fingers long, as white as ivory, very sharp, and armed on both sides with teeth. When they put it in the boat, it strikes with its tail, and leaves its dart in the wound. When boiled they are very delicate. Those called fire rays are very small; they blister whatever part of the body they touch, and they pain as much as a burn. All the fishermen say, that when you touch them with a rod, let it be ever so long, you feel a shaking in the hand that obliges you to let it go.

The sword-fish is also very common in these seas, and they are often found among the islands: it resembles the dog-fish, and its flesh has the same taste. From the end of its head projects a bony substance nearly as large as its body: there are teeth on both sides in form of a saw; the extremity of it is very sharp, and seems to run from the head.

The *lamentor* is seldom found in these seas, because few of the shores afford it grass, where it loves to retire, and where it brings forth its young. The Siamese call it the *she-fish*, because it has breasts, and parts like those of a woman. It suckles its young one: its voice is plaintive, from whence doubtless its name of *lamentor*. Its head more resembles that of a saw than any other. It is apparently this fish which gave rise to the ancient fables of *syrens*.

Sharks and porpoises swarm, but they are seldom caught, because they are not good to eat, consequently nobody buys them: they sometimes take their oil to burn,

or to prepare pitch which they ship; though they use but little of it, as they have better oil.

The fish they call pampre is very good; the white and the black are the best kinds; they can only be distinguished by the colour of their skin, for in other respects they are all alike: the largest are about a foot long, and thick in proportion.

The sea-hen is also very excellent eating; it has no resemblance to the common fowl. This fish, although flat like the pampre, has a large bone, which makes its back much thicker, and on its body are very bright red and blue colours.

The ser and naire are very good fish: when the Siamese take a good many of them they open and salt them, or dry them on stones: they have nearly the same taste as salt fish, and their flesh is likewise flaky.

The fish the Siamese call bégoude is seldom larger than the thumb, and seven or eight inches long: its flesh resembles the whiting, but has more flavour.

The needle is a fish rather inferior in taste: its long and sharp head obtained it its name. Such are the most common fish found in this kingdom, and which are any way remarkable.

#### CHAP. XIV. — *Shell Fish.*

THIS country is not wanting in shell fish. The sea muscles, which are excellent, are very plentiful. Oysters are very common, but the Siamese do not eat them; they do not even take the trouble to gather them off the rocks; those who wish for any go and get them themselves, for which reason strangers do not often eat them: they are of three different kinds. Pearls are found in oysters like those of Europe, and they get mother-of-pearl from them: whole shells make it. The Siamese clean the top of the oyster with vinegar or lime juice, and afterwards saw the shell to make different articles of it. At the seminary of St. Joseph they had made a very beautiful crucifix, in which the head and body of Christ were of mother-of-pearl in one piece; the legs and arms were of pieces joined together. Formerly the great people had a quantity of little boxes, writing stands, and canes covered with this mother-of-pearl, representing drawings of flowers and leaves.

The Chinese and Siamese use a very different kind of oyster: the shells are not thicker than paper; they are transparent, and have scarcely any cavity within: the oysters, which are as large as the palm of the hand, are as thin as the leaf of a tree. The Chinese use them as glass for their windows: the light they afford is very good, but objects cannot be discerned through them. The Siamese call these oysters *fabula*, and find them better eating than those of Europe.

The sea throws up in every country large glaires, known in Europe under the name of Flemish hat. This substance does not appear to have any animal form; there is only seen a large round ball of matter, thick in the middle, and diminishing towards the edges: quantities are found on the shore of Mergui. The Chinese distinguish the good from the bad better than the Siamese: those that are eaten they envelope with red earth mixed with salt: it is in this state that they have the form of a Flemish hat. To dress them they have only to wash them, and they immediately become like the finest white transparent jelly. It is cut in small shreds, and mixed with slices of small cucumbers to make a salad. These shreds crack under the teeth, and have a very pleasant certain marine taste.

The bontal is a very ugly fish, quite round, from which issues a little head, and at the two sides of its body two small fins. The Siamese maintain that this animal is  
formed

formed from the fruit of a tree which grows in abundance by the sea-side; and when it falls into the water it changes by degrees into a sea-toad. Several affirm they have seen one which was yet half fruit and half toad, which might very naturally happen: the spawn of the toad attaching itself to this fruit, the animal grows in proportion as the fruit decays; but it must not on that account be said that the fruit changes into a toad.

The Siamese are very fond of crabs, and have a method of dressing them which seems excellent: they take out all the flesh, chop it very small with herbs, and afterwards roast it in the shell of the crab, which makes a very good little pie. They catch them with a line, and when the crab has seized the hook, they do not take them quite out of the water till they have put a small basket under them; for as soon as the crab feels the air, it quits the hook and falls into the sea again, but the basket catches it, and it is not lost. A great number of these crabs are found petrified in the beds of mud which appear when the sea ebbs, and those which are found whole are very curious. It is strange that an animal should become a stone, and yet it cannot be reasonably questioned but that stones are formed of them. The shape of the animal is frequently found whole with its claws. This petrified crab is a good remedy against dysenteries; a little is taken pounded, diluted in brandy.

They call an animal *tourlerou*, almost similar to the crab, which makes hummocks of earth where it resides. They are found in great quantities in the marshy places of Mergui. It walks sideways, and has a red back like the crab: when dressed, it is good for nothing.

I have forgot the name of another species of crab. Its form is peculiar: the shell which covers its back is in the same form as an officer's gorget, from under which issues a long and straight tail. This animal is dangerous, for its eggs are of such a subtle poison, that the Siamese say there is no remedy for it; nevertheless they eat them, but they must dress them themselves, for any one else might be deceived.

The homars, or sea lobsters, and other crustaceous fish, are also very common in these seas, and especially shrimps, which are so plentiful, that they form a considerable article of trade in the country where they are generally eaten.

#### CHAP. XV. — *State of the Kingdom.*

TOWARDS the end of the seventeenth century the kingdom of Siam was flourishing at home and respected abroad. The assistance that Louis XIV. had sent them secured its prosperity, and perhaps was sufficient to correct the errors of its constitution: but what ought to have bestowed on it an additional lustre, was the cause of its misfortunes and overthrow. The Siamese forgot the value of a kindness which constituted their security and prepared the way to their glory. Their pusillanimous Prince was fearful of being enslaved by five hundred men that had been sent for his defence: they were viewed as ambitious men, who, under the name of affectionate friends, were only come to tyrannise over them. The priests raised their seditious voice against their generous protectors, and placed an ambitious man on the throne, who had dazzled them by the parade of an affected zeal for their religion.

Pitracha, placed on a throne, polluted with the blood of the royal family, was born with all the talents of great men, and all the vices of conspicuous villains. As soon as he had obliged the French to quit his states he saw nothing to molest him. While, surrounded by the worshippers of his fortune, he enjoyed the fruit of his crimes, a priest of Pegu, who gave himself out as the eldest of the two brothers of the last King, kindled

kindled the flame of a new rebellion. He had for a long time been a prisoner at Juthia, and, during his detention, he informed himself correctly of the state of the court. This impostor decked his romance in the most seductive colours, and ten thousand Siamese ranged themselves under his standard. It was easier for him to make dupes than to subsist an army: but the fanaticism he inspired made them blind to the magnitude of the dangers, and all seemed determined to avenge their chief or perish with him.

The King's son intending to take his pleasure at a place some leagues distant from the capital, went with a numerous and magnificent court. The Peguan priest determined to lie in wait for him in a wood through which he must pass. His intention was to massacre him and all his attendants, to march afterwards to the city, where all were in a false security, and to make away with the King and all his family. This plan, concerted with the greatest secrecy, would have entirely succeeded, if the mistrust, natural to the children of tyrants, had not opened the eyes of the Prince to the danger he had ran into. He saw this armed multitude, and immediately suspected it was an attempt upon his life: instead of defending himself, he precipitately fled, leaving a rich booty, the allurements of which prevented the conspirators from pursuing him.

When they had glutted their avidity, they marched towards the capital, which they hoped to find defenceless. Pittracha, informed of the danger his son had been in, instantly assembled twelve thousand soldiers, which he sent off to disperse this wretched mob. The rebel priest at first appeared resolute, but he commanded troops without either courage or discipline, who had every thing to fear and nothing to hope. His little army, panic-struck, fled without fighting. Only three hundred prisoners were made, and only three hundred perished by the sword. The impostor wandered for some days in the woods with a young man who had not forsaken him. He was taken asleep under a tree, and conducted to Juthia, where, chained to a stake, he was exposed for several days to the insults of the populace: he was afterwards ripped up alive, and, while still existing, saw his entrails serve as food for dogs.

It seems that Pittracha did not long enjoy his usurpation, since we find his son on the throne in 1700. He signalized the first years of his reign by the infamous alliance he contracted with his father's widow, who bestowed her hand on him without giving her heart. The fate of this Princess was most singular: she was successively the wife of the father, son, and grandson. This victim of love never experienced the passion she had the misfortune to inspire; and, to escape from the arms of a husband she abhorred, she retired into a convent, where she died in 1715.

The new Monarch, superstitious and debauched, gave himself up entirely to the guidance of his idolatrous priests, who by their penances undertook to redeem his errors. By his example every one built idolatrous temples; commerce and industry languished; and the people, occupied with ridiculous ceremonies, no longer thought of securing themselves from foreign invasion. These false gods had numerous adorers, and the state wanted soldiers to defend it. Fortune befriended the kingdom in the absence of prudence: the neighbouring Kings were warring against each other, and too much occupied at home to attempt foreign conquests.

It was during this reign that the kingdom was struck with the scourge of sterility. A long drought converted the moist fruitful soil into parched sand. Rice, which is the common food, was soon exhausted; and to complete the distress, the fish, which supplies its place, became scarce and poisoned. The waters of the Menan, which are naturally

naturally clear and limpid, became all at once so thick and green, that they became encrusted in that colour. A kind of cream, still thicker and greener, covered the whole surface of that noble river; they could only find dead or dying fish. The King, fearing that these corrupted waters might encrease the disorders with which the country was afflicted, forbade the drinking of them, or bathing in them. This prohibition excited the murmurs of the people, to whom water is the most necessary thing. Revolt was near ensuing, when the court applied the curb of superstition to restore tranquillity. The priests gave out, that a divinity named Prain had appeared near one of the gates of the city, and had declared that the change in the waters was one of his blessings, and that they were a certain remedy to stop the contagion. At this intelligence the people passed from dejection to the sweets of hope; all ran to the river to wash themselves, and anoint with this cream, which a moment before they esteemed deadly. At length, at the end of fifteen days, this phenomenon disappeared: an inundation, brought on by an abundant rain, spread over the fields and hastened their fruitfulness.

The reign of this prince, like that of his successors, affords nothing worthy of being handed down to posterity. His son, the inheritor of his throne, is only known by his defeats. His army, fifty thousand strong, and his fleet, which carried twenty thousand combatants, entered the kingdom of Cambaye, then torn by domestic dissensions. This army would have conquered it, if it had been led by a more skilful general: but the Siamese Monarch, benumbed in the luxury of his seraglio, had trusted the command of it to his first minister, born for pacific employments, and totally unfit for war. This minister, who was sensible of the extent of his own abilities, had not fought for the honour of the command; but the King, who never doubted his own discernment in the choice of his agents, imagined that he who could govern empires could also conquer them.

The King of Cambaye, too weak to oppose the torrent which threatened to overwhelm him, ordered all his subjects inhabiting on the frontiers to retire with their effects into the capital, and to burn whatever they could not carry off. The fields were ravaged: fifty leagues of country were changed into sterile deserts, which scarcely furnished food for animals. The King declared himself the vassal of the Monarch of Cochin-China, to obtain from him the assistance of fifteen thousand foot soldiers, and three thousand on board of galleys destined to protect the coasts.

The Siamese army, full of confidence in the superiority of their numbers, and still more proud at not finding any enemy to dispute their passage, rashly penetrated into the country; but the greater their progress, the faster they approached destruction. Famine, more cruel than the sword of the enemy, made the most horrid ravages in their camp. The wasted fields afforded no fruit for the men nor forage for the animals: they were obliged to kill the sumpter cattle to eat their flesh: the soldiers, not accustomed to such food, were attacked with dysenteries and fevers which carried off the half of them. The general, who had foreseen this misfortune without being able to prevent it, retired with the wreck of his army, and his retreat was incessantly interrupted by the enemy who teased him.

The Siamese fleet, four times more numerous than that of the enemy, had no better success. Their small galleys reduced the city of Ponteamas to ashes. Two hundred tons of elephants' teeth were the prey of the flames. The Cochin-Chinese profited by the absence of these galleys to attack the transports which were in the road, more than four miles from the burning city. The Siamese galleys, which were detained in the  
river,

river, then very low, could not come to the assistance of their vessels; and fearing that, after this blow, famine would be as fatal to the fleet as it had been to the army, failed back to their own country.

#### CHAP. XVI. — *Revolution of 1760.*

BEFORE we relate the revolution which overturned the kingdom of Siam in 1760, it may be proper to give the summary of the succession to the throne. The heir of Pitracha had several sons; and as he was dissatisfied with the eldest, he designed the second to succeed him. He showed himself truly worthy of the throne, by his refusal to ascend it in prejudice to his elder brother, whom he reinstated in the enjoyment of his natural privileges. He only required one condition of him, which was, to be his successor in case he should die first. This condition was accepted. The eldest inherited his father's estate, and his brother was declared Grand Prince; that is, the presumptive heir to the throne.

The new King had several children, and, seduced by paternal affection, he stifled the sentiments of generosity of which his brother had given him so noble an example, and, faithless to his engagements, he named his eldest son, who had embraced the priesthood, as his successor. This young Prince, respecting the faith of treaties, was shocked to become the accomplice of his father's perjury. He preferred the simplicity of a religious life to the pomp of greatness, which he could not enjoy without fullying the memory of the author of his days. The King finding him obstinate in his refusal, in 1733 named his second son as his successor, and died some time after of a cancer in the throat.

The brother of the deceased Monarch was possessed of the title of Grand Prince, and the Siamese were accustomed to respect it, as being some day to become their master. Five thousand soldiers, whom he always kept in his palace, were ready to devote themselves in support of his rights. His nephew, by favour of his father's will, assembled forty thousand soldiers in the grand palace to awe the rival of his power. He had taken care to get the four first officers of the kingdom in his interest; and, possessor of the treasure of the state, he could easily purchase adherents. The people were dependant on the ministers, who all flattered themselves they should fix and extend their authority under a young and inexperienced King, who would be obliged to throw the weight of public affairs on them.

The great, thus united under the standard of the young Prince, seemed to announce the success of his cause, and it was what prepared his fall. The envy of commanding created division, and it is seldom there are rivals who do not become enemies. The great officers imagined that the barcalon, or prime minister, abusing his unlimited authority, wished to make them the instruments of his ambition and greatness. They seemed to fear, that after being powerful enough to keep the Grand Prince in subjection, he might fall under the temptation of building the edifice of his fortune on the spoils of the royal family, and place the crown on his own head. It seemed to them more glorious to obey their ancient masters, than to see themselves obliged to cringe in dependance to one of their equals: thus every thing tended in secret to destroy their work.

The war broke out between the two rival Princes. The divided inclinations of the people every where spread disorder and tumult: The grand and small palaces thundered at each other with cannon. The inhabitants, alarmed, awaited death in their

houses, and the city would soon have presented but a heap of ruins, if they had not had artillerymen to direct those destructive globes.

The Barcalon, full of that presumptuous confidence with which vain men are inspired from a superiority of strength, resolved to bring on a decisive engagement, the success of which would render him master of the little palace. They engaged; the troops of the grand Prince were routed, and pursued to the very foot of the walls of his palace. The conquerors consulted if they should give the assault. The Barcalon and his party were for the affirmative: but one of the great officers represented that night coming on would render the attack more bloody and destructive; that besides, the soldiers, having no witnesses of their courage or cowardice in the dark, were less eager to fulfil their duty, and that by deferring the assault till the next day, the precious blood of the people would be saved. This advice prevailed and the attack was delayed.

The grand Prince, informed by his secret emissaries of every thing that passed in the enemy's camp, profited by the intoxication caused by a first success, and, convinced that he who attacks becomes formidable, he fell with impetuosity on those who were advanced to the foot of the walls. Darkness doubled the terror this attack spread. The noise of arms, the cries of the combatants who gave or received death, made the Siamese believe that this dreadful night would plunge them in eternal darkness. The assailed, motionless and without defence, suffered their throats to be cut, like so many senseless animals. Others fled, and threw away their arms; they were pursued to the walls of the grand palace. The King sent fresh troops, to oppose a rampart against the torrent that was ready to overwhelm him. The stubborn and rebellious soldiers were deaf to his voice, and, instead of obeying his orders, joined the standard of his uncle.

Then finding himself betrayed and abandoned by his subjects, he placed his whole confidence in the Malays that were in his service; and after having encouraged them by magnificent presents, and the hopes of greater recompence, these troops left the palace, with a bold and confident air, which seemed a testimony of their zeal, and a preface of victory. But scarcely were these mercenaries some distance from the palace, than they afforded an example of the greatest treachery, or of their cowardly dispositions. These foreigners, loaded with presents, quitted the standard of their benefactor. Some retired into their own country to enjoy the fruits of their treason, and the others, still more guilty, enrolled themselves among the troops they were sent to fight.

The Barcalon and Chacri\* were the sad witnesses of this desertion from the walls of the grand palace. Despairing then of their safety, they disappeared, under pretence of going to give orders. The other officers, not seeing them return, dispersed to seek an asylum from the first resentment of the conqueror. The King, left alone with his two brothers, only awaited death, which assassins soon came and gave him. The eldest had retired to his pagoda, where he bewailed over disorders, of which he was neither the author or accomplice. The two Princes, forsaken by their mercenary flatterers, saved themselves with a few servants in a boat, taking with them a considerable sum of money.

As soon as the grand Prince was informed that the King's palace was abandoned, he ordered his people to take possession of it. Several Princes of the royal family

\* The Pia Tchacri is president of the council of State, and has the department of the whole police of the kingdom. At this tribunal all the concerns of the provinces are decided. All the governors are obliged to render him an account of their administration, and orders which have not his seal, are not to be attended to.

remained in it, shut up as in an inviolable and sacred asylum. They loaded them with chains; made them suffer every torture that ingenious vengeance can devise, and having stripped them of all their wealth, they had nothing but death to hope for. This civil war caused the shedding of much blood; but fewer perished in battle, than under the axe of the executioner.

The new monarch, on ascending the throne gave an example of the greatest moderation, which obliterated the remembrance that he had obtained it by the blood of his subjects. He offered the eldest of his nephews the crown; but he could not draw him from his condition. This religious Prince resolved to die a priest, as he did some time after.

The King thought himself seated but on a tottering throne, as long as the two fugitive Princes were not in his power. The former ministers, wandering through the kingdom, kept up the flame of civil discord, which was rather stifled than extinguished. The Barcalon and Chacri had the imprudent audacity to appear sometimes afterwards in the capital, in the habit of their priests. They counted on the impunity of their error, in appearing under so respected an exterior. The monarch, not to encroach on the privileges of the rank they had embraced, had them seized by the chief priest. They appeared at the tribunal of their judge, when they underwent a strict examination. Their artful and subtle replies remained unanswerable. They alledged that they had only executed the orders of the King, to whom they owed absolute obedience. By this excuse they escaped the dreadful death prepared for them. It had been determined to hang them up with hooks under their chin, and to have suspended them in air, till they should have yielded their last sigh. They wished their death to be like that of fish, of which their passion for fishing had exterminated a great number: an abominable crime in the eyes of the Siamese, who make a scruple of killing them.

The first judges not having found sufficient reason to condemn them, the King sought other means to get rid of them. He consulted the ministers and guardians of the laws of the kingdom, who after having examined the heads of accusation, replied, that so far from meriting punishment, they were deserving of the greatest rewards. This decision ought to surprise, being pronounced by judges trembling under the sceptre of a despot, who with a word might degrade or annihilate them: but tyrants always seek the aid of the laws, when they tend to proscribe obedience to the people, and they violate their purity when they would assign bounds to their own usurped power. It was the despot himself who dictated this decision, which taught "that a subject is never wrong in executing the commands of his master."

He immediately ordered the accused to be released: and, as if to reward their fidelity, he made them superiors of the two chief temples of the city, where they hoped to lead a tranquil life, under favour of their obscurity, which is the only barrier of the subject against the attacks of arbitrary power. But scarce had they arrived at their retreat, than towards the middle of the night, five or six Malays came to demand them in the King's name. They suspected they brought their sentence of death. The Barcalon, careless of life, only expressed his contempt for it, and, far from appearing alarmed, he upbraided the Chacri for his weakness and cowardice. When at a little distance from the pagoda, they stripped them of their priest's habit, and put a cloth round their loins. The Barcalon beheld the approach of death without emotion, he presented his bosom to the dagger of his executioners, and expired with a single blow. The Chacri on the contrary, eager to defend his life, received many wounds before he fell. Their bodies were taken away to be impaled: they were exposed to the view of the multitude, as a monument of the just vengeance of the monarch.

The two Princes who had escaped, were always the subject of great uneasiness. They for a long time avoided the search that was made to discover their retreat. It was of consequence to prevent their escaping to any neighbouring nation, where they might sow the seeds of a revolution. They had concealed themselves in a field of rice, where they were soon forsaken by their servants with the exception of one, who remained faithful. This honest creature brought them a little rice, and fish for their food. They passed a month in this manner, exposed to the inclemency of the air, and a prey to want and fear.

At length this servant was recognized in the market-place where he was buying some food for his unfortunate masters. Several people deposed that he was the companion of their flight, and therefore must know where they were concealed. Tortures forced his secret from him. The Princes were carried off from their retreat, and thrown into the prisons of the palace. From this moment they were convinced their death was nigh, and that their uncle would never pardon their being the sons of his enemy. They were interrogated, and in their answers shewed more resolution than could be expected from Princes so young, whose education could nowise have corrected their civil propensities. Their condemnation had preceded their trial, and they were both at the same time adjudged to death.

This King died in 1748, at the age of eighty-four. His son Chaoual-Padou was immediately acknowledged by all the officers of state. This Prince, brought up from his tenderest infancy in the pagodas among priests, had imbibed the poison of error. A zealous partisan of the ridiculous religion of his country, he had gained the hearts of all the nation, who saw their superstitions ennobled by such an illustrious example. A severe observer of justice, he rigorously punished fraud and robbery. His marriage which took place soon after his coronation, was looked upon, as a forerunner of the prosperity of the empire. Some of his bastard brothers endeavoured to light up a civil war; but their revolt did not pass unpunished. They were thrown into prison where they died from want. Their death restored tranquillity to the state. The people submissive gave him no uneasiness: but his brother, who, for his vices and incestuous crimes, had been deprived of the succession and imprisoned for life by his father, and who he now had the weakness to recall to court, afforded an example of scandalous licentiousness; and a severe censurer of public administration, he rather assumed the King than acted as a subject; and to soften the vexation of his degradation, he affected to take the right of the King, who was too modest and too weak to punish him. At length disgusted with incessantly enduring his haughty caprices, the King resolved to abdicate a crown whose weight oppressed him. He renounced the tumult of public affairs, and preferred the silence of the pagodas, where nothing disturbed the tranquillity of his soul.

While he thus lived lost to the world, an enemy carried desolation and terror to the very gates of the capital. The King, without ability either for government or war, was incapable of averting the storm. The Princes and great officers of state, ran in crowds to the pagoda of Chaoual-Padou, and earnestly besought him to reassume the reigns of the tottering empire. He yielded to their wishes; and his brother, divesting himself of his haughtiness, because he could no longer conceal even from himself, his weakness and incapacity, replaced in his hands, a sceptre he was unable to sway: and himself requested him to reascend a throne who he alone was worthy to fill. But before we enter into the details of this revolution, it may be proper to give some account of the power and situation of the people who came to attack them.

In 1754, the Bramas, a people of the kingdom of Ava, had for five years languished under the Pegouan yoke. They had beheld their King, their Queen, and the greater part of the Princes perish. The remembrance of past misfortunes, and the actual sufferings of their present slavery and humiliation, caused them incessantly to sigh for a deliverer. But they sought him not among men enervated by the luxury of courts, and who, vain of their usurped titles, estimate their talents by their ambition. They cast their eyes on one of their companions, named Manlong, a gardener by profession, who, in a body, condemned to mean and laborious functions, contained the courage and firmness of a hero. They all besought him with one general voice to accept the sceptre and the crown, to free them from the yoke of their tyrants. "Yes", replied this extraordinary man, "I consent to be your King, but first, I must prove you to be worthy to have such a leader as me. I command you to go and strike off the heads of those subaltern tyrants whom the Pegouans have appointed to oppress you." They replied, if that sacrifice is all you require of us, you shall soon be obeyed: and they instantly slew and massacred all the military and civil officers, whom their tyrants had sent to maintain them in obedience. They then returned to their hero, their hands dyed in the blood of their oppressors, and with unanimous voice proclaimed him King.

This monarch distributed arms to his subjects. He taught them to ride, and to use the musket to advantage; two things in which he excelled. His fusileers had orders to fire on whoever should be cowardly enough to give way, either in a siege or battle. This new discipline was strictly observed. The Bramas become invincible, gave laws to all the inhabitants of Pegu. One of their generals, who had retired with his army into the forests, learning that the Bramas were returned to the kingdom of Ava, profited by their absence to retake Siriam, a city and port of Pegu. He there seized a ship, soon fitted it out, and sailed in the beginning of 1759 for Pondicherry on the coast of Coromandel. At the same time he wrote a letter to the governor of the French settlements in the East Indies, accompanied by rich presents, to obtain from him cannon and warlike stores.

This ship could not reach the coast of Coromandel; the winds obliged her to put into Mergui, a city and port of the kingdom of Siam. The army of the Bramas returned to Siriam, three days after the departure of the vessel. Their new king, who was at their head, determined to intimidate the people by examples of severity. The city was utterly destroyed. At the very report of his coming, the Peguans buried themselves in their forests with their general.

The governor of Tavail, a neighbouring city of Pegu, had there established an independent sovereignty. The King of the Bramas advanced so far as Martavan, a city adjacent to Tavail, where he sent for the governor, who, too weak to resist, resolved to obey. His submission could not secure his life; his head was struck off as soon as he arrived. It was in this palace, that the King hearing of the riches of Siam, conceived the design of making a conquest of it: but wishing to veil his cupidity with a decent pretext, he made an excuse to demand the ship that had been taken from Siriam, and had put into Mergui. The court of Siam informed of the destination of this vessel for Pondicherry, ordered that it should be allowed to pursue its route, in order to maintain the good understanding which subsisted between the Siamese and the French settlements. This refusal served as a pretext for a war which caused the effusion of much blood. The King of the Bramas, after having seized all the ships and riches of the country, fixed his residence at Tavail; from thence he detached thirty vessels, to pillage and reduce the city of Mergui to ashes, with

orders to make Tennasserim, the capital of the province of that name, undergo the same fate.

At the approach of this fleet, the inhabitants of Mergui fled, and the city once so populous, became a vast desert. The fugitive inhabitants, after long wandering without an object, sought an asylum in the woods and desert islands.

The King of the Bramas, astonished at the terror inspired by his name and arms, concluded that the conquest of the whole kingdom of Siam would not be difficult. A whole province subdued by his little fleet, made him hope that nothing could oppose the success of his united forces; and he repaired in person to Tavail, which he had appointed as the rendezvous for the different corps of his army.

When the court of Siam received the news of the irruption of the Bramas, the Barcalon sent to ask for some Christians to the Bishop of Tabraca, who replied that he would willingly send all those, whom he thought able to defend their King and country. He immediately called together his flock, to represent to them the danger with which the country was threatened, and to elevate their courage above all dangers. More than an hundred took arms in the common cause. This militia, contemptible in number, was sufficient to set the example of courage to others.

The King priest, had just reascended the throne, but as he was only qualified for pacific concerns, he was destitute of resources to maintain a war with glory, against so warlike a people. He too well knew the cowardice of his subjects, to put his trust in them. His magazines were filled with cannon, mortars and other weapons; but he wanted arms to make use of them. He commanded a confused and trembling multitude, equally incapable of attack or defence. It had been necessary to raise in a hurry, troops without discipline, or courage; who turned pale at the report of a musquet. They formed a numerous army, embarrassing to itself by its confusion, and no-ways formidable to the enemy.

This pusillanimous militia threw down their arms at the approach of the Bramas, and vanquished without fighting, they took refuge in the royal city, which they overcrowded with useless inhabitants. The Christians on the contrary were animated with an heroic boldness. The idea entertained of their courage had determined the King to entrust them with the protection of the palace, and the bastions of the city; but they could not multiply themselves to oppose the torrent which inundated the plains. They had left their habitation without defence: and more attached to their duty than their possessions, they had abandoned them to the rapacity of an enemy, who only armed to plunder.

The hour of its destiny was not yet arrived for Siam. The King of the Bramas was then three days march from the royal city, when he was attacked with a mortal abscess. This Prince, less affected with his own misfortune, than at the obstacle which stopped him in the triumphant course of his prosperity, called to him some Europeans who served in his army. He asked them how long it would take them to reduce the city; these adventurers replied that they only required three days to make him master of it. Fly then instantly, said the King, to that rich conquest, and if fortune should not second your courage, immediately return to me.

The army moved forward; all the towns and villages fell a prey to the flames. The suburbs of the royal city shared the same fate. Only the quarter belonging to the Christians was spared. The Bramas, convinced of their courage, dared not contend with men too detached from this world to fear death. Some Christians who had not imitated others in their flight, killed two of the enemy with the muskets of the semi-

nary, and this bold resistance was the safety of all. The Bramas frightened had no farther inclination to attack them. The quarter of the Dutch was reduced to ashes; only the warehouse was spared, which contained too rich and precious merchandize not to tempt the greedy cupidity of these military robbers.

While the country afforded this desolating spectacle, the royal city of Siam was vigorously attacked; but the enemy, after many useless assaults, was obliged to abandon his enterprize, and, profiting by the darkness of the night to hide his shame and retreat, he made the same signals as usual, to lead the Siamese to believe he was still round their walls.

It was the intelligence of the death of their King which determined the Bramas to renounce their conquests. The youngest of his sons, who had received his last sigh, caused himself to be proclaimed King. He had occasion for the army to establish his yet young authority, and to awe those inclined to murmur. The troops received orders to evacuate the provinces of the kingdom of Siam, and never was retreat conducted with more precipitation.

The Siamese, delivered from their oppressors, returned to their former possessions. Instructed by experience, they should have sought the means of preventing fresh invasions. The Dutch settled in the kingdom could have supplied them with artillerymen, of whom they had a great number at Batavia, in the island of Java; but their stupid tranquillity dissimulated the danger, and, presumptuous without courage, they would have thought they disgraced themselves in requesting the assistance of a foreign nation to instruct them. The high idea this people entertain of themselves led them to believe that the Christians brought up at Siam were a bulwark against foreign assaults. The proofs of intrepidity they had given made them respected as heroes who watched over the public safety. They called the French church the church of victory; and in recompence for the services they had received from them, they made presents to the bishop, his priests, and their disciples, of habits suitable to their stations. All the Christians who had contributed to the defence of the country were remunerated with a sum of money. Eight of them who had most distinguished themselves in the hour of danger were advanced to the first military rank.

Every thing announced a lasting calm, when the state found itself again thrown into confusion. The King passed sentence of death against one of his brother's favourites, suspected of having maintained a secret correspondence with the enemy. This sentence was looked upon as an abuse of his power: the people called for an account of the blood spilt on slight suspicions. A general discontent determined the monarch to return to his pagoda, and he seemed to descend from the throne with more pleasure than when he took possession of it. His elder brother again took the reins of the empire, and his rekindled ambition made him assume a situation whose elevation more plainly exposed his vices and follies.

It was in May 1762 that the Prince abdicated the crown to embrace the state of priesthood. Numbers of Siamese followed his contagious example: all were ennobled by the precedent of a master. The priests, more proud of the dignity of their state since the King had assumed their habit, demanded the same honours that were paid to their gods. The ignorant and seduced multitude exhausted their fortunes to bestow alms on them and support their idleness. The holy ministers, who were poor from the rules of their society, found wealth in the folly of the people—an inexhaustible fund, and ever open to impostors. It was not that their manners inspired much respect for them: they often presented scandalous scenes, and, sure of impunity, they even disdained

disdained to draw a veil over the beastly and impure pleasures they gave themselves up to. Avaricious and crafty, they seized by the cunning of chicanery whatever they could not obtain by seductive arts.

The reigning monarch, by his example, authorized all these disorders. Unrestrained in his desires, unblushing in his actions, he had no other rule than his inclinations; and in the intoxication of his brutal passions, he had the impudence publicly to marry his sister by his father's side. The ministers, besotted by debaucheries, into which they plunged to gratify their master, were neither capable of foreseeing nor fearing the storms. Their security was founded on the information that the King of the Bramas, a restless and warlike Prince, had, on his return to the kingdom of Ava, been dethroned, and that his elder brother, contented with reigning over his own subjects, had no ambition for conquests.

Firm in his determination to maintain peace, he loudly blamed those who had advised his father to attempt an invasion of the kingdom of Siam, which had been watered with the blood of the Bramas, more precious than the vile spoils they had brought away. Such pacific dispositions promised a lasting calm to the neighbouring nations; but the destined hour arrived that was to punish a people buried in sloth and debauchery. The pacific monarch was carried off by a premature death; and his successor, full of ambition, and too confined in his states, was the rod that heaven made use of to punish the Siamese.

#### CHAP. XVII. — *Revolution of 1767.*

THE new King of the Bramas breathed nothing but war and slaughter. Led away by the restlessness of his character, he placed his glory in spreading the tempest that reigned in his own bosom over foreign nations. Too proud and presumptuous to dissimulate, he loudly proclaimed that he had promised his dying father to complete the destruction of a base and cowardly nation, which only waited for a conqueror to wear his chains. Some of his mandareens suspended his ambitious designs. His first victories were gained over his stubborn and rebellious subjects. As soon as he had conquered and punished them, he sent one of his generals, at the head of five thousand of his best troops, to retake Tavail, the governor of which, although a Brama, had made himself independent in 1761.

This rebel, not finding himself powerful enough to support his cause with his own forces, sought the alliance of the English, who furnished him with all kinds of warlike stores. At the same time a vessel from the coast of Coromandel, laden with rich presents for Pegu, was obliged to put into Tavail. The temptation of a rich prey seduced the governor, who resolved to appropriate so many valuable effects to himself, to purchase the alliance of the Siamese, who alone could support him in his usurpations. Unjustly seizing these magnificent spoils, he sent them to the King of Siam, whose assistance he solicited. The ministers deliberated if it was consistent with their master's dignity to receive this embassy; and, for a long time, uncertain as to the advantages or evils which might result from it, they thought they should leave it to the prudence of the bishop of Tabraca and the missionaries, who having no personal interest to interfere, ought to view it in a juster and more extensive light. They answered with their natural candour, that it would be contrary to justice and policy to become the protectors of a rebel. They added, that Tavail had always been subject to the Bramas; and that by affording assistance to the ambitious person who had usurped its sovereignty,

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was to become accomplices in his rebellion, and to expose the kingdom to the vengeance of a formidable neighbour, who had nothing to fear from defeat, and every thing to hope from victory. The King's ministers, satisfied with this answer, required them to give it in writing; being persuaded that the authority of the prelate and missionaries, proved by their morals and prudence, would have great weight in the King's mind.

The memorial was drawn up, and the ministers gave it to the King's brother-in-law, whose covetous heart in secret devoured the presents of the rebel governor. He seemed hurt that, through false delicacy, they should deprive him of the food for his avarice. He tore the writing which contained the principles on which depended the peace and prosperity of the empire. It is thus that, in all ages, the public destiny has depended on the avarice of individuals.

The intrigues of favourites prevailed, and the ambassadors were received with honour, and heard with complacency. Instant orders were sent to the governor of Tennasserim to send off men and arms to the relief of Tavail; but this step was useless, the governor of that city had rendered himself the object of public execration; it was by the effusion of the blood of its first citizens that he sought to establish his infant power, and his new subjects were all become his enemies. The oppressed people had two or three times attempted his life in 1762; and the more he punished the more he became hated. So many conspiracies are a lesson to Kings and ministers who abuse their power: it only needs to shed one drop of blood to create thousands of avengers; and severity of punishments has often converted those into rebels who at first were only murmurers.

The general of the Bramas was arrived at Martavan with his army; from thence he wrote to the governor, requiring of him to receive him into the place without resistance: he threatened those in the severest manner who should refuse to concur in his designs. The people of Tavail, who saw an army ready to invest their ramparts, declared they were determined to return to the obedience of their lawful master. The usurper, surrounded by foreign and domestic enemies, weak within, and threatened without, had no resource but in flight.

This rebel, for a long time a wanderer and fugitive, sought an asylum in the port of Mergui, where he was followed by his relations and a few partisans, generous enough to share his misfortunes, or perhaps guilty enough to dread the vengeance of an angry judge. His fleet, composed of sixty galleys, did not inspire confidence in the inhabitants, frightened at having within their walls a fugitive followed by a victorious army. The consternation was general: some fled into the woods, and others among the desert islands, dreading less to perish by famine, than to have to answer to an enraged conqueror.

The governor feared that those who had given him an asylum might not long respect the laws of hospitality. He only asked them for a small assistance to retake his city, which he left on false reports. He had considered that the letter from the general of the Bramas had been brought by the advanced guards, which he even kept in time of peace: from that he began to doubt its authenticity, and suspected that it was the work of some discontented persons, who had forged it to create a false alarm and oblige him to fly. He became so familiarized with this idea, that he persuaded himself he had no other enemies than his own subjects. Thus the victim of his credulity, he went to give himself up to the discretion of an offended master.

This conjecture gained such ground, that the captains of vessels that were in the port of Mergui, and who had been alarmed at the first intelligence of the approach of the

the Bramas, thought themselves in perfect security. Trade, which had been interrupted for some time, flourished as before. The fugitives returned home, and the city, which for eight days had been a desert, again beheld its former inhabitants. The Christians had testified the utmost eagerness to embark for the coast of Coromandel, and now not one would accept the officious offer of a Portuguese captain, who failed on the 8th of January, 1765; but it was not long before they perceived they had been the dupes of their own security.

On the 10th of January, in the evening, on the side next the river, was heard, all of a sudden, the confused noise of a multitude, who made the air ring with their clamours. This tumult made it believed the enemy was approaching, and that the first apprehensions were but too well founded. In fact, he was only three or four leagues from the city, and a pilot had seen ten of the ships. A slight calm succeeded this first confusion. The pilot, when questioned, said he had not seen any thing, and on his testimony every one returned quietly to his home.

The missionaries more calm, as they had beheld the tranquillity which reigned on board the ships that were at anchor in the middle of the river, affirmed that the uproar that they thought they had heard was but an error of the imagination disturbed by fear; but some fifty discharges of cannon, about four o'clock in the morning, was the unequivocal signal of the arrival of the Bramas. The weeping inhabitants now only contemplated the image of death or approaching captivity. The captains of merchant vessels instantly cut their cables, and, fearful of falling into the power of a savage enemy, they abandoned themselves without a pilot to the course of the waters, heedless of the accidents to be apprehended in a river, the inequalities of whose bed made them liable to shipwreck.

The Christians, who had a recent remembrance of the miseries of the last war, shuddered with horror on contemplating those savage animals imbrued in the blood of decrepid age, and infants slaughtered on the still reeking bodies of their mothers. All fled to their barks, and exerted their utmost to fly from inevitable death. The Bramas landed without resistance. The love of life made them forget the means of defence. The volumes of flames which arose on all sides made the inhabitants conclude that their whole country was only one vast funeral pile, whose fire was to consume them.

The general, who remained on the shore, made strict enquiries to discover where individuals had deposited their riches, and he tore their secret from them by torture. The Bramas are incessantly thirsting after riches, and though born with warlike dispositions, it is rather the love of pillage than glory that makes them prodigal of their blood. War to them is only a trade, and he who returns with the richest spoil has the greater share of the respect of his country. An enemy who falls into their power has every thing to fear when unable to satiate their avarice; and it may be said that they are only cruel from an excess of avarice.

The Bramas were too avaricious to confine their cupidity to the conquest of Mergui: one of their generals marched with the main body of the army, and advanced against Tennasserim, the capital of the province of that name. This city, fortified by art and nature, did not appear a sufficient bulwark to stop this horde of vagabonds, who arrived at the foot of their walls without meeting with any resistance. The gates were open: the affrighted inhabitants had fled to the woods to avoid a danger they were strong enough to have resisted. Fear had exaggerated the number of their enemies, and, in the eyes of the timid, phantoms are realities. Their governor had set them the example of desertion, and they were rather vanquished by their fear than by the arms  
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and courage of the enemy. The Bramas loaded their ships with their spoils, and when they had carried off every thing that could tempt their avarice, they reduced the city to ashes, and their army returned triumphant to Mergui.

More occupied in pillaging than in making conquests, their army consumed in debauchery the wealth of the conquered. When they had exhausted their booty they sought a new prey. The general, vain of his first success, promised himself easy triumphs. He marched against Juthia, persuaded that the conquest of the capital would give the other cities the example of submission. Immense forests were to be traversed, and steep mountains were to be climbed. All these obstacles were foreseen and overcome. The provinces situated to the north-west of the royal city were ravaged: the inhabitants only escaped death or slavery by dispersing in the woods, where they disputed their food with the wild beasts. The fire which devoured the towns and villages threw the capital into consternation. The Siamese, threatened with approaching ruin, united their forces: they marched trembling against an enemy whose valour they had so often experienced. They risked an engagement, and fought with more courage than they were accustomed to do: their bloody defeat left all the country in the power of the conqueror: the fields, laid waste by fire, only presented scorching ashes; and the famine which threatened was as terrible a scourge as the sword of the barbarians.

While this victorious army every where spread desolation, a new swarm of barbarians covered this devastated kingdom. The Bramas finding no resistance, overran the provinces, and every where left traces of their ravages. They built a city at the confluence of the two rivers, which they called Michoug. This new bulwark was an asylum they prepared for themselves in case of a reverse of fortune, to make it the centre of their force.

While storms shook the whole empire, the King of Siam, shut up in his seraglio, consoled himself with his concubines for the miseries of his subjects. The news that the enemy had evacuated Tennasserim and Mergui had given room to believe that the danger was over, and that the state had no farther occasion for protectors. In short, the Bramas were at the gates of the city, and they had not the shadow of an army to oppose them. The King awoke from his profound sleep at the noise of the inhabitants of the country, who rushed in crowds to take refuge in the royal city. They employed them to repair the fortifications: they raised columns forty feet high to mount cannon on. The Christians refused to assist at this labour, convinced of its inutility, and that they would crumble under their own weight.

The enemy, before they began the attack on the royal city, laid waste all the territory. They were certain of finding subsistence in the back country, of which they were masters, and their destructive policy was to oblige the Siamese to surrender by famine. One of their detachments extended its ravages to the very gates of the city. Bancok, a fortress which defended the approaches to it, was destroyed; the gardens, stripped of their ornaments, were covered with ruins. A college the missionaries had established in the environs was reduced to ashes. After this excursion the incendiaries retired with precipitation to the main body of their army, and their retreat for a moment allayed the alarm.

At this period two English vessels arrived. The captain brought the King an Arabian horse, a lion, and several valuable articles. This captain, whose name was Powny, had on some occasions proved his courage. The King, who had more confidence in his valour and talents than in his cowardly and effeminate courtiers, begged him to undertake the defence of the city; but the Englishman, convinced that he should be badly seconded by a people void of courage, refused the honour of the command:

mand: the example of the Dutch, who had withdrawn, confirmed him in his repugnance to accept it. They would not have abandoned their factory, which contained such valuable effects, if they had thought the Siamese capable of seconding of them in the common defence. He was irresolute on the part he should take, when he suddenly found himself attacked by the Bramas, who, masters of Bancok, took their dispositions to batter him with cannon.

The brave Englishman, too weak to defend himself, and too brave to submit, took the wise resolution to tow his vessel up to the narrows, where the barbarians were endeavouring to fortify themselves; but the fire from the artillery of the ships destroyed their works, and carried death among their ranks. Protected by their cannon, the English could defy the fury of the Bramas with impunity. The inaction they experienced on board their ships wounded their pride, and, impatient to punish their aggressors, they made several descents, and throwing themselves in order on their undisciplined enemies, they made a dreadful carnage of them.

Powny, forced by necessity, consented to undertake the defence of the city, on condition that they would furnish him with cannon, and whatever was necessary for attack and defence. His demand was complied with, and, as a pledge for his fidelity, the Siamese required him to deposit his merchandise in the public magazine. This condition wounded his pride, but he was obliged to submit to it. He delivered thirty-eight bales of valuable effects, and embarked the rest in different ships, and after having settled every thing with the ministers, he went on board his own ship, where he prepared to justify the opinion they entertained of his courage. He ordered descents, which were all murderous to the enemy: their forts, scarcely erected, were destroyed: every day was marked with their defeat or flight. In order to profit by these advantages, he wrote to the court of Siam for cannon and ammunition, but he experienced a refusal. The Siamese, suspicious, were fearful of his becoming too powerful, and of their being dependant on a foreigner. Their distrust fettered their protector: it was to forge those very chains they feared to wear. The ministers replied, that as the enemy was preparing to make an attack on the other side of the city, they wanted all the cannon they had to repulse them.

The Englishman, irritated at this infraction of their promises, resolved to abandon a people who could neither fight themselves, nor supply their friends with the means of defending them: but before he failed, he published a kind of manifesto against the Siamese Monarch to justify his desertion. He seized six Chinese vessels, one of which was loaded on the King's account; the other five came to trade at Siam, and were stopped in the gulph, where they were much surpris'd to find themselves stripped of their effects. The Englishman, to indemnify them for what he had taken, gave the captains letters of exchange drawn on the King of Siam, to the amount of the thirty-eight bales he had deposited with him. After having thus secured himself, he boldly passed before his enemies, who, instead of troubling his retreat, congratulated themselves on being freed from a rival who alone could hinder their success.

His departure raised the courage of the Bramas, who now only having to fight against effeminate men, every where carried desolation. The pagodas became a prey to the flames, and the lead they stripped from them served them to make balls. The enemy, for a long time master of the country, had not allowed the lands to be sown; and, uselessly cruel, they even envied the Siamese the bounties of nature. But the fruitfulness of the soil produced an abundant harvest, neither the reward of the labourer, nor the produce of sowing. The grains of rice which the year before had fallen from the hands of the reapers, took root, and came to maturity. This un-

expected bounty was a great consolation to people threatened with famine. But what should have been a resource to them, was the cause of their misfortune: the inhabitants being spread over the fields to gather in the rice, were surpris'd by the Bramas, who led them captive to their camp.

While the Bramas, spread through all the provinces, warred against man and nature by their devastations, the King and his superstitious ministers put all their trust in their magicians. The officers and soldiers, led away by this example, consulted them on the means to render themselves invisible, that they might attack the enemy without being seen; and the hopes of learning a secret which favoured their cowardice, prevented them from exposing themselves to fight till it had been revealed to them. The illusion was so strong, that experience was unable to convince them of the vanity of that lying art. The chiefs, as cowardly as the subalterns, seem'd only to have taken arms to turn them against their fellow citizens. They dispossessed them of their money and corn, under pretence of providing for the wants of the soldier, to whom they distributed but the most worthless portion of their plunder, and that trifling bounty serv'd them as a veil to cover their extortions.

A Siamese Prince, who had been exiled to Ceylon, was touch'd with the miseries of his country. He forgot that he had been ill treated; he was still powerful enough to raise an army, which he had the generosity to offer to his persecutors. The court of Siam, too proud to accept the assistance of a banished man, whose zeal censur'd his injuries, reject'd his offers with contempt, and instead of seeking him as a protector, sent several detachments against him, which were sometimes victorious, sometimes defeated. This conduct was the more imprudent, as it divided their forces at a time when the army of the Bramas became every day stronger by the junction of discontented Siamese.

It was in the month of March that the enemy's army advanced to within two leagues of the city. It was arrested on its march by the death of the general, who was carried off by a quincey. It was judg'd expedient to hide his death from the soldiers, and the secret was only disclos'd by the dissensions which broke out among the chiefs, who all wish'd to assume the command; but soon united by their thirst for plunder, they put themselves in motion, to proceed to the pillage of the most celebrated and richest temple in the environs of the capital. They flatter'd themselves with finding the foot of an idol which was of massive gold; but the King of Siam had the precaution to remove into his palace this monument of public worship, which the barbarians, though superstitious, would but have little respect'd.

The Bramas, irritated at being deprived of this prey, revenged themselves on the walls of the temple, which they demolish'd, and on its ruins erect'd an edifice consecrated to profane uses. The other pagodas built round the city were not spar'd: They were built with brick and surrounded with ditches, which appear'd to defend them from fire or the assaults of an enemy. The Christian churches, on the contrary, were only constructed of stakes and boards, less fit to protect them than to facilitate the progress of the flames. But, in spite of their weak state, they were maintained by the vigilance and courage of those who had the charge of defending them; and the enemy did not set a foot in them till after the Siamese and Chinese had experienced frequent defeats.

The 7th of September, 1766, they got possession of a very high tower, about three furlongs distant from the royal city. They plant'd a battery of cannon on it, to bear on the strand, which made them absolute masters of the river. The danger becoming more pressing, the Siamese had no hope but in the Christians, whose heroic valour

had been proved in the last revolution. They gave them the defence of the bastions; they granted them thirty pieces of cannon, balls, and powder. Six thousand Chinese were ordered to defend the Dutch factory, and a large pagoda contiguous to it; and, by a particular favour, they made them a present of rather better than four hundred pounds sterling.

The Christians were but eighty-four in number to defend different posts, exposed to the surprisals of a numerous army. This brave militia were not trained to military discipline, nor to the use of arms; a sword and musket in their hands would have been a subject of derision in the eyes of an European soldier. But notwithstanding their awkwardness, they were the flower of the Siamese army, and there was only the abuse of their courage to be apprehended from them. The first days passed in skirmishes, but at length the enemy, having united his forces, got possession of five large temples, which were converted into so many fortresses, from whence they battered the advanced works, and especially the church of St. Joseph, the roof of which was shot through, without the least injury to the multitude assembled in it.

On the 8th of December they were informed that the besiegers were preparing a fresh assault. The Christians immediately marched out of the church with drums and trumpets; they engaged, and made a great slaughter of the enemy, who were rather vanquished by their fears than the arms of the Christians. This first success inspired them with courage to become the aggressors in their turn: they attacked the Bramas, who were entrenched in a pagoda; nothing could withstand them: they returned with an elephant, a brilliant pledge of their victory. Their name became formidable to the enemy and the boast of their fellow citizens.

The Portuguese, who dwelt about two short leagues from the bishop of Tabraca, also gave striking proofs of their bravery: they cut to pieces a number of Bramas who had attempted to storm their college. Confounded and disheartened at the uselessness of their attacks, they retired filled with admiration for this handful of Christians, whom they feared much more than fifty thousand Siamese, who had neither the courage to wait for them, nor to pursue them in their retreat. It is true that these Christians, though more courageous, were not better disciplined, and it was that fault which caused the loss of the French quarter. The guard was buried in a profound sleep, when the Bramas, recovered from their first terror, set fire to the upper part of the bishop's quarter. The Christians took refuge in crowds in the church, where the cries of the women and children announced a peril, the horrors of which were redoubled by the darkness of the night. One Christian, who had strayed, was unmercifully massacred; the others made an obstinate defence; and though surpris'd, they appeared invincible. The enemy, every where repulsed, attempted an attack on the Dutch quarter.

The reputation of their courage drew many Siamese and Chinese to their quarter, who, under their shade, thought themselves sheltered from the tempest. All contributed to the general defence: they raised walls on the ruins of destroyed pyramids: the Chinese found among them a great deal of silver: the Christians had the leaden gutters for their share, of which they made balls.

The city, ready to fall into the power of the Bramas, would have been buried in its ruins, if they had not had recourse to negotiation to soften the besiegers, already armed with torches to reduce it to ashes. The Bramas, proud of their superiority, replied that they had no other conditions to prescribe than for them to surrender at discretion, and that they were determined to use all the rights that victory gave them. Such hard laws were rejected, and hostilities recommenced. On the 28th of April, 1767, the

city was taken by assault. The riches of the palace and pagodas became a heap of ashes and ruins: the golden images of the false gods were melted, and the blind rage of these barbarians deprived them of the rewards which had awakened their cupidity. Their own fury robbed them of their prey; and to revenge their loss, they made their resentment fall on the inhabitants, whom they burnt on the soles of their feet, to make them discover the places where their treasure was hid. They violated their weeping daughters before their eyes.

The priests, suspected of concealing riches, were run through with darts or lances, and many were knocked on the head with clubs: the fields, as well as the pagodas, were strewn with the dead: nothing was to be seen but carcases floating down the rivers, and the stench attracted swarms of flies, who revenged the country by the ravages they caused in the army during its retreat. The great officers of the kingdom, and the Monarch's favourites, were loaded with irons and condemned to row in the galleys. The King, witness of the miseries of his courtiers, endeavoured to escape the horrors of their fate; but he was discovered, and massacred at the gate of his palace.

The King, priest-torn from the silence of his retreat, was led captive with the Princes and Princesses of his blood; and all, through fear of death, owned they had concealed treasures. When the avarice of the enemy found nothing further to glut itself with, and the country only presented the spectacle of the dead and the dying, the victorious army began its march towards Pegu. It led in its train the King of Siam, who, instead of courtiers, had only the companions of his captivity, less wretched than himself, as they had not fallen from such a height. The bishop of Tabraca, included in the general misfortune, was put on board a galley. The detachment that guarded him was commanded by a man who had nothing of the barbarian in him. His courage and services had procured him the government of Tavail, a post of trust, which justified the discernment of the master in the choice of a servant.

#### CHAP. XVIII. — *Sequel of the Revolution of 1767.*

AS soon as the army of the Bramas had evacuated the kingdom it had just conquered, the wandering and dispersed Siamese emerged from the woods that had served them for retreats, and, uniting, they approached their capital. Animated with vengeance and the recollection of their misfortunes, they every where carried desolation: they sacrificed every one of the Bramas they could meet with. But the blood of their oppressors with which they were imbrued could not alleviate the horrors of famine which raged among them. Rice was so dear that it had ceased to be a resource: they were reduced to feed on wild roots and bamboo sprouts, which shoot up out of the earth like the asparagus of Europe. They were likewise afflicted with a singular disorder; those who were attacked by it lost their memory and speech: they became delirious, but at intervals had lucid moments, which made them more severely feel the horrors of their situation.

The Siamese, though united by a thirst for vengeance, were divided among themselves by the ambition of the command. Phaia-Thaë, a Siamese officer, born of a Chinese, had attracted the eyes of the nation. Equally politic and warlike, he paved the way to his greatness by affecting to despise it. He was called to the command by the unanimous voice of the nobles and people. At first he only assumed the modest title of defender of the nation; and covering his ambitious views with the veil of moderation, would only appear as citizen that he might really be King. Armed with the supreme power, he had the policy to obtain allies, persuaded that the people,

inconstant in their affections, quickly pass from love to hatred, and delight in destroying their own work, as soon as ever that the master they created ceases to respect their caprices.

Experience had taught him that the priests, abusing their power over the ignorant multitude, fomented revolts and popular commotions. He conceived a hatred for them which he took no pains to conceal. He looked upon the veneration paid them, as a diminution of his power, and this competition made him desire the extinction of these religious idolators, who, poor by profession, enjoyed in indolence the fruits of the labour of the artisan and cultivator. A Sancrat, who enjoyed a high reputation, was accused of incontinence. Phaia Thaè made him appear before his tribunal, and condemned him to undergo the proof by fire. The soles of his feet were wounded by the burning coals, and this was a proof that he was guilty. He would have been sentenced to lose his head, if powerful intercessions had not obtained his pardon, under the specious pretence, that his death would be an opprobrium, and the gods would be less respected when their ministers were disgraced.

Phaia-Thaè elevated all those who had been the architects of his greatness to the first dignities of the state. An implacable enemy to the Bramas, he denounced severe punishment on their partisans, who sowed the seeds of rebellion in the kingdom. In 1769 he shewed his benevolence towards the poor. A drought had caused a great scarcity, the general consequence of war, which suspends labour, and slackens the industry of the husbandman. Destructive rats had not waited the ripening of the rice to devour it: the seeds had been destroyed in the earth, radishes and herbs had fallen their prey. The resource of the yam had failed, which is a kind of potatoe, so large, that sometimes one is as much as a man can carry. Swarms of flies and gnats, attracted by the smell of the dead bodies, darkened the air, and made troublesome warfare with the living.

It was under these deplorable circumstances that Phaia-Thaè disclosed his compassionate disposition. The poor did not long pine in want. The public treasury, generally exhausted to support luxury, was opened for the relief of the wretched. Foreigners for ready money furnished those productions which the soil of the country had denied. The usurper by his bounty justified the titles of his greatness. Abuses were reformed: security was re-established. Frequent and bloody executions punished and prevented crimes. The law which never creates murmurers, was substituted for arbitrary power, which sooner or later makes rebels. In securing the public tranquillity he strengthened his usurped power; and his right to the throne could not be contested, if it fell to the lot of him who only fought the public good.

On the first intelligence of the revolt of the Siamese, the King of the Bramas had sent orders to the governor of Tavail to enter that rebellious kingdom with fire and sword, and to augment his army with the inhabitants of his city, to make them the instruments of the entire ruin of their country. These people had contrived to disguise their hatred against their new oppressors, under an affectionate exterior.

The general only took a small number of Bramas with him, because, deceived by appearances, he had put all his trust in the Siamese, who he thought were sincerely attached to him. It was not long before he found he had been the dupe of their hypocritical zeal. He detached them against the city of Beancham, and as soon as they became masters of it, they shut the gates, and declared they had only taken up arms to use them against their oppressors. They turned the cannon of the place against those

those who till then had been their companions. The general abandoned by these traitors, if that name should be given to the avengers of their country, every where fought for provisions, and every where he found enemies. The fields themselves were rebellious to his wishes, and refused to supply his wants. The Bramas in their last irruption, had stripped them of their fruit-trees. The beasts of burthen, who found nothing to feed on in these plains, which only presented heaps of ashes, dispersed to seek their food elsewhere. At length the army had only provisions for three days. A longer perseverance would rather have been obstinacy than heroic fortitude. The general thought he ought to preserve the lives of the rest of the men entrusted to his care; he therefore made a retreat, which had nothing disgraceful in it, because it was necessary. As soon as he arrived at Tavail, he informed his master of the bad success of his expedition, the failure of which he threw on the defection of his army.

The King of Ava, humbled to experience reverses in a country which had been the theatre of his triumphs, meditated the most cruel vengeance. But when he prepared to march against it in person to realize his threats, he was prevented in the execution of his projects by disputes he had with the Chinese, of which this was the cause or at least the pretence.

The Bramas, after having laid waste the kingdoms of Pegu, Siam, and Aracan, declared war against the Chinese, under pretence of taking revenge of a small nation of what they called barbarians, but who were less so than themselves. This obscure people, and who were satisfied to remain so, lived in forests which separate the kingdom of Ava from the empire of China, where, confining themselves to the productions of an ungrateful soil, they had no ambition to attempt the liberty of their neighbours. This wild nation, which knew no other wealth than its independence, seemed by its poverty to be free from ever tempting the avarice of a conqueror. The Kings of Ava, had always been its protectors, and it had submitted to pay them a small tribute. But the Cassiens, poor and haughty, seeing all the neighbouring kingdoms agitated with foreign and domestic wars, wished to free themselves from a tribute which was less burthensome than humiliating. It was in 1749, that they declared they no longer needed any protectors, that their forests were their strongest ramparts, and that their courage had taught them to brave every thing and fear nothing.

For some time they enjoyed their natural independence; but when the kingdom of Ava had regained its original splendour, they found themselves incessantly interrupted by the Bramas, whose frequent irruptions ravaged their lands, which of themselves scarcely furnished the means of supplying their moderate wants. To be protected from their tyranny, they sought the assistance of a neighbouring Chinese King, who alone could protect them, and who was interested in their defence, because they were a barrier between him and those brigands.

While a torrent of Bramas inundated the kingdom of Siam, another swarm of these barbarians spread themselves into the provinces of China, where without meeting with any resistance they seized several strong places, the inhabitants of which were all put to the sword.

On hearing of so many evils, the governor of Canton raised an army to free the country from so terrible a scourge; but the news of his march made the Bramas retire to their own country, to deposit their booty, and get reinforcements.

Some time after the Chinese engaged with advantage on the river, but the triumph was followed by the most sanguinary reverse. Their army was cut to pieces; 100,000 men.

men were led captive to Ava, from whence they were dispersed into the different provinces of the kingdom, to labour at the public works.

The defeat of the Chinese was a loss easily repaired. The Emperor assembled an army of 500,000 combatants, which he destined to carry desolation among the enemy's possessions. The King of Ava, too weak to oppose such a torrent, assembled the troops from all the provinces into the capital. All the inhabitants of the country contiguous to China abandoned their property; the country was become a desert, laid waste by its former inhabitants, who wished to deprive their enemy of the means of subsisting. At the commencement of 1769 the movements of the enemy were not yet known, who could not penetrate to Ava, without being exhausted by famine and distress. No intelligence could be received till the month of October of this present year 1771.

## A DESCRIPTION OF THE KINGDOM OF TONQUEEN.

By S. BARON, a Native thereof\*.

CHAP. I. — *Taverniere's Account of Tonqueen animadverted on.*

THE kingdom of Tonqueen has been discovered by the Portuguese above a hundred and twenty years since, and the relations that Padre Martin and Alexander de Rodes, both jesuits, give of it, is in general more true than this of Taverniere; for what contradictions we find in them may be imputed to the alteration of things by mutation of time.

Taverniere talks of eleven or twelve voyages his brother made to Tonqueen, from Achien, Batavia and Bantam; on the confidence of whose relation, together with what he enquired of the bonzes, or priests, that came while he was at Bantam, he has compiled his history, as fabulous and full of gross absurdities as lines.

For first, the Tonqueenese have no bonzes or priests, however they came to Bantam and Batavia; and then he saith, when the Tonqueenese make voyages they take their wives and families with them; I suppose he means those voyages they make on the river of Tonqueen, from one village to another, but for foreign voyages, they are altogether unacquainted with them, unless it be some few of the poorer sort that go to attend strangers, or are forced otherwise for a livelihood. He notes how the Tonqueenese were ravished with admiration, when he shewed them his Atlas, and some particular maps about the composition and structure of the whole world, and its several kingdoms and states, which they heeded as much as a world in the moon. Neither can I hear of a Taverniere that has made eleven or twelve voyages to Tonqueen on his own account: only thus much I have heard, that there has been one Taverniere, a purser in the Dutch service, and once in Tonqueen.

He commends his brother for a person of courage and cunning, how justly I cannot tell; but this I am sure, he has used but little cordiality, and less sincerity, notwithstanding all his protestations, in his account of Tonqueen: he magnifies the great sums of money his brother always carried with him, when he went on that voyage, but it is too well known what a purser in the Dutch service can do, and what they are allowed to do; hindering so strictly the private trade.

He talks of a large present he gave the King and Prince, together with his favourable reception and familiar conversation with them; if this be true, I say the Tonqueenese are much degenerated; yet it cannot be denied, that strangers at their first entrance into this country, had, in many respects, better usage than at present; but not so as

to permit themselves to play with a foreigner the good companion: at this time they keep their distance to all strangers, making but small account of them. To kiss the King's hand is not the Tonqueen mode, much less permitted to strangers: and when he spoke the Malayan language so fluently, he might as well have spoken French to them, that understood not a word of either. When he played amongst those lords, I wonder what game it was that he lost so many thousand crowns at, as he mentions; but it is most to be admired, that a calf and two jars of Tonqueen arrack, the usual largesse and liberality of this King, (water distilled out of rice) should supply his great losses. He farther tells you, that by the great familiarity his brother had at court, and by the frequent discourses he had with a great many Tonqueeneses, (who never stir out of the country, however he met them at Bantam and Batavia) he laid the foundation of his work, which is both faithful and exact. Furthermore he saith, no other consideration than the speaking of truth has invited him to undertake this relation, all which being notorious contradictions and false tales, shame indeed the author the more.

Our author, as all other Europeans, terms and intitles the general of Chova, King, because he disposes of the kingdom at his pleasure, receiving all foreign ambassadors, except that of China. However this is a mistake, for they have their King or Bova, though he signifies no more than a cypher, as will be noted in several places of this relation.

He not only vaunts of his cuts, which he says were drawn on the place, and will contribute much to the divertisement of the reader, but also praises for its exactness the map which he gives of the country; than which nothing can be more false, for compare it with our sea draughts, it will plainly appear what it is: but as fabulous stories and fictions, invented at pleasure, are pleasing only to the ignorant, so it is most certain, the ingenious reader will blame him for promising so much, and using so little probity in his history.

## CHAP. II. — *Of the Situation and Extent of Tonqueen.*

WE have no more reason to admire why our predecessors had no earlier knowledge of this kingdom than they had of that of China, because its discovery was something posterior to that; for the Portuguese had no sooner discovered the last, but they sent out ships to visit this also.

It is true, this kingdom was a province of China formerly, and pays tribute still to that Emperor: but that was not the reason why we had no sooner knowledge thereof, considering these people have been governed by their native Princes for above these four hundred years without interruption, which was long before the Portuguese came to make their discoveries in India. The true reason seems to be, that the people did never stir abroad, nor do yet, for commerce or other association; and they somewhat affect in this the Chinese vanity, thinking all other people to be barbarous, imitating their government, learning, characters, &c. yet hate their persons.

I do not know why Taverniere saith most people should believe this country to be in a very hot climate, considering it is situated under the tropic, and some part of it more to the northward; nevertheless he affirms it to be very temperate, by reason of the great numbers of rivers (and altogether free from those sand hills, and barren mountains, that cause such heat in Commaroan, and other places in the gulph of Persia) that water it, together with the rain that falls in its season; whereas the truth thereof is, that the rains, indeed, generally fall in the months of May, June, July, and

August, and sometimes sooner, which moisten the ground, but cause no fresh breezes at all; on the contrary, the said two months of July and August make the weather here unsufferably hot. Doubtless the country would be plentiful in fruits, were there not so many inhabitants, who living by rice chiefly, find therefore the greater necessity to cultivate what ground they have with that grain, not neglecting the least spot.

To the north-east of this kingdom lies the province of Canton; to the west it is bounded by the kingdoms of Laos and the Bowes; to the north it borders on two other provinces of China, Junam and Quanci, or Ai; to the south and south-east on Cochin-China. The climate is temperate and wholesome from September till March, sometimes very cold in January and February; though frost and snow are never seen here: the months of April, May and June, are not so healthful, both because of the rains and fogginess of the air, and the sun's coming to the zenith: but June, July, and August are excessive hot months. The winds are here divided between the north and the south for six and six months; the country is delightful from May till August, the trees being then in their verdure, and the fields all covered with paddy, very pleasant to the beholders.

The great winds that are called amongst our seamen the hurricanes, and known here by the name of Tanffoons, reign on this and the adjacent coasts, and the seas thereof are very terrible, but the time of their coming is very uncertain, sometimes once in five or six years, and sometimes in eight or nine; and though this wind is not known in other oriental seas by that name, and with that excessive violence, yet that which is called the Elephant in the bay of Bengal, and the coast of Coromandel, is not much inferior to this; and the sad effects thereof are but too often experienced by the seamen. I cannot find an astronomer in all Tonqueen, to ask from whence these winds should proceed, so I cannot affirm that they are caused by the exhalations of the mines of Japan.

As for the extent of the country, which he makes equal to that of France, it is a gross mistake, for this kingdom is reckoned by men experienced, not to be much bigger than Portugal; but may be thought to contain four times the number of inhabitants. Taverniere makes its limits unknown, forgetting that he had so lately described the borders and extent thereof.

As for islands belonging to this kingdom, there are several in the bay of Tonqueen, the chief whereof is called by the natives Twon Bene, and by the Dutch Rovers Island. It is situated in the latitude of 19 degrees 15 minutes north; is long one and a half, and broad half a league at most, the better part high land, and distant from the main one league, between which and the main sea ships may pass, as the Dutch did formerly, but the navigator must observe to keep the island side aboard, within a musket shot; where you will find six, seven, and seven and a half fathoms, ouzy ground. On the same side of the island, which is its west part, are two small bays, the northernmost has a small pearl bank, but not rich; yet none dare to fish here without the King's special grant. In both the bays there is sweet water, which we found to be exceeding good, and esteemed the best we tasted there. At the south-west point of this island is a ridge of rocks, extending from the said point one hundred paces into the sea, and may be discovered at half ebb, by the breach thereon; for the rest, a clear coast.

Towards the north-west, is a fair bay, three fathoms and a half, and four fathom water, clay ground; here resort many fishing boats, besides what appertain to this village, whose inhabitants I compute between three or four hundred persons, most fishermen.

In this island is the watch-house general, which is a place of the greatest profit in the kingdom of Tonqueen: for all trading boats, either to the province of Tingway or Guian, or from thence to the north, must stop here and pay custom, viz. for a large boat about the value of a dollar and a half, with some presents for the waiters, the rest proportionable; so that the customs of this place cannot yield less than a million of dollars per annum.

As for the ground, it is stony and mountainous, therefore not proper to manure; cattle we saw but few, though the inhabitants told us of many antelopes that sheltered amongst the rocks and shrubs of the mountains, so that rice and other provisions for sustenance, are brought hither from the adjacent shore. Some good regulations would make this place plentiful, and with small expence this port might be made a good one.

For cities and towns, excepting that of Ca-cho, there are not above two or three in the whole kingdom of any note. As for aldeas or villages, questionless the number is great, and more than I can exactly affirm, or any man else that hath not made it his business to inquire after them; neither is it an easy matter to find the truth thereof: the city of Ca-cho is the metropolis of Tonqueen, lieth in the latitude 21 degrees north, about forty leagues from the sea, and may, for its capaciousness, be compared with many cities in Asia, and superior to most for populousness, especially on the 1st and 15th of their new moon, being their market days, or grand bazar; when the people from the adjacent villages flock thither with their trade, in such numbers as is almost incredible; several of the streets, though broad and spacious, are then so crowded that one finds enough to do if he can sometimes advance through the multitude a hundred paces in half an hour. Every different commodity sold in this city is appointed to a particular street, and these streets again allotted to one, two, or more villages; the inhabitants whereof are only privileged to keep shops in them, much in the nature of the several companies or corporations in European cities. The courts of the King, General, Princes, &c. grandesa and high courts of justice, are kept here, of which I can only say they stand on large tracts of ground: the principal structure makes but a mean appearance, being built of wood, the rest of their houses of bamboos and clay, not well compacted; few of brick, except the factories of strangers, which outvie the rest. Stupendous, indeed, are the triple walls of the old city and palace; for by the ruins they appear to have been strong fabrics with noble large gates, paved with a kind of marble; the palace to have been about six or seven miles in circumference; its gates, courts, apartments, &c. testify amply its former pomp and glory. In this city is likewise quartered a formidable militia, to be ready on all occasions; and here also stands the King's arsenal or magazine for war, seated on the bank of the river, near a sandy island, on which the Thecadaw is kept, as hereafter will be mentioned. This river is called by the natives Songkoy, or the head river; it rises in China, and after it has rolled many hundred leagues, it passes here and disgorgeth itself in the bay of Aynam, by eight or nine mouths, most of them navigable for vessels of small draught. This river is exceeding commodious for the city, since all sorts of merchandize are brought hither as to the epitome of the kingdom, by an infinite number of boats trading up and down the country; yet they have their houses in their respective aldeas, and do not live altogether in their boats, as Taverniere reports, but when they are voyaging.

CHAP. III. — *Of the Nature and Productions of the Kingdom of Tonqueen.*

THIS country is for the most part low and flat, not unlike the United Provinces, especially for its moats and banks. The hills make the frontiers towards the north-west and south: it is watered by one special river, which disgorgeth itself into the sea by many branches, most of them navigable for ships of mean burthen. These rivers swarm with boats and large barks, which make it very commodious for traders: indeed in this country grows neither corn nor wine, which is not occasioned by the want of rain, for both of them require rather dry than wet ground; but by reason the inhabitants do not much care for them, as being ignorant of their goodness, and therefore do not plant them. Rice indeed is the chief sustenance of these people, and the country produces sufficient quantities thereof; and if this grain would have grown only by the rains of the months of June and July, we should not have experienced the sad effects of a most dreadful and calamitous famine, that swept away so many millions of souls in these two preceding years.

From the rice they distil a liquor called arrack, but much inferior to aqua vitæ. Their ploughs, and the manner of using them, are much after the Chinese fashion described in the history of China: the paddy they tread out with their feet, wherein their practice has made them very expert.

The fruits are equally good in their kinds with those of other oriental countries, but their oranges far exceed all that I have tasted. What Taverniere calls a palm tree is indeed a cocoa nut; the pulp within is white, and tastes something like an almond: this fruit is so plentiful in Siam, that they lade ships with the oil that is made of the said pulp to supply their neighbours, which is used to burn in lamps.

The liquor thereof is very cold and pleasant enough, but reckoned bad for the nerves: questionless it is the most useful tree that is found in India, serving for meat, drink, cloathing, firing, building, &c.

The grava is a fruit much like his description, but he is mightily out in the effects thereof; for whether green or ripe it is always binding, but not usually eaten green.

The papay is a fruit indeed resembling a melon, and somewhat of the taste, not unpleasent.

The arreak, called by the Malays penang, grows straight upright, bearing no branch, but at the top like a crown, the fruit of which is in bigness like a large pigeon's egg, which most Indians use to eat with the leaf called beetle by the Portuguese, and fera by the Malays. It is good to sweeten the breath, fasten the teeth, and revive the spirits: in chewing, the juice thereof turns red; it is so much in use that they think they do not make their friends welcome without presenting them with a dish of it. The Tonqueeneses, Siameses, Malays, and Javas had rather lose a third of their diet than be without it. They have a fig called by them hungs, in taste something like a carrot, but much more pleasant, not at all like our European figs.

The other sort, called bonana, or plantain, which he calls Adam's figs, some are in length about a span, some less.

The highways are here and there beset with trees and many sheds, where they sell tea and beetle, &c., very commodious for travellers; and for those exceeding great trees, that shade so many thousands of men, called the baman tree, I cannot contradict him; but what I have seen at Swallow, Mareene, at Surat, far exceed any of those in bigness.

In this country we have the fruit *lechea*, called *bejay* by the natives, in great plenty, which indeed no where else comes to maturity but in the latitude from 20 to 30 degrees north. It grows on high trees; the leaves resemble somewhat the laurel; the fruits, in clusters on the branches, shew like so many hearts, of the bigness of a small hen egg; when ripe of a crimson colour; the shell thin and rough, yet easy to be pulled off; the kernel is full of a white juice. This fruit is of an excellent taste, and most pleasant to the sight, but it does not last above forty days in season: the time of its maturity is April, about when the general will cause his *chiaop* or seal to be fixed on most trees of the best *lecheas* in the country, belong they to whom they will, which obliges the owner not only not to meddle with his own, but also to watch narrowly that others do not touch them, which would be to his peril, since it is ingrossed by the court, who allow him nothing for his fruit or pains.

The fruit called *jean*, or *lungung* (that is, dragon's eggs, by the Chinese), is very plentiful here: the tree much as the former; the kernel white, but exceeding luscious; the fruit round, and less than a small plum; the skin not rough, of a pale olive colour, and near to a withered leaf. This fruit, though it pleases many of the Tonqueeneses, yet it is reckoned hot and unwholesome. The season is May, and lasts till July.

The *na*, or as the Portuguese call it, *annona pampelmoor*, and two or three sorts of plums, with other kinds of Indian fruits (except *durrions*, which will only grow in hot countries, that is, from Siam towards the south, as *Mallaya*, *Mallacam*, *Java*, &c.), are to be found here. But what exceeds all I have tasted in other parts of that kind is the *jaca*, or *myte*, in Tonqueen: this is the largest fruit I think in the world; and, because of its bigness, provident nature has placed its growth on the stock or body of the tree; not on the branches, lest it should not be sufficient to bear the burthen. The skin, when green, is very hard, but ripe, of a yellow colour, and easy to be cut with a knife. There are several sorts of them; but that which eats driest, without sticking either to the fingers or lips, is the best and pleasantest. The greatest part are of a slimy substance, and, as it were, a yellow pap covers the nuts, which lie in little holes. Some of the poorer people will boil or roast the nuts and eat them, which have a kind of taste like our chestnuts, but are reckoned hurtful to the lungs.

Taverniere tells a long story of the rare mice that are in this country of many sorts, yet I never was at a feast of any, and therefore am no competent judge of their daintiness: I know the Portuguese eat them physically in several distempers.

The next thing to be taken notice of is a particular kind of birds' nests, which indeed are in great esteem among the Indians, and kept at a great price, being taken as great restoratives, and by some counted stimulators to venery; but Taverniere saith they are not to be found but in the four islands of *Cochin-China*, *A. B. C. D.*, which I am sure is a great mistake; neither do I know those islands, or of any birds' nests to be found in *Cochin-China*. The birds which make these nests are less than swallows. As to the form and figure of these birds' nests, they are much as he describes them, and the greatest quantities of them come from *Jehor*, *Reho*, *Pattany*, and other Malayan countries; but that they are, when boiled, of that exceeding fragrance and odoriferousness as he pretends, is a fiction. These nests are laid to soak in warm water two hours, then pulled out in strings, the smaller the better, and so stewed with hens, pigeons, or any other flesh, with a little water: in stewing they dissolve almost to a jelly, without either taste or smell.

And

And as M. Taverniere is very erroneous in his map, so I do not know, nor have I heard of those islands 1, 2, 3, 4, and 5, that afford, as he says, such infinite numbers of tortoises. The goodness of the said turtles is sufficiently known to our English seamen in their homeward-bound voyages; but that the Tonquenese or Cochinchinese do not believe that they have entertained their friends at a banquet as they ought till the tortoise is brought in is altogether fabulous; for when we were at the island Tevan Bene, or, according to the Dutch, Rover's Island, a tortoise of about twenty pounds weight was brought to the custom-house, where I lodged, to be sold, and the Tonquenese not caring to buy it, I had it for a small matter. Moreover, coming from Siam I touched at Pulo Ubi, where my mariners took five or six very large tortoises, and brought them on board, but the Tonquenese seamen that were with me (who were compelled to take up that employ because of the great famine that ravaged their country) would not touch them; neither do I know, as he asserts, that any of those tortoises are wont to be pickled by either of these two nations, or that there is any commerce carried on therewith amongst them; therefore I wonder how M. Taverniere could dream of a war between them, merely on account of catching them.

Tonqueen affords no great store of ananas, or pine-apples. The citrons he mentions are not altogether so large as those of Europe, which look green before they are ripe, and being mature look yellow.

They make good store of silks in the kingdom of Tonqueen, of which both rich and poor make themselves garments, since they can purchase them as cheap almost as outlandish calicoes.

As for sweet-smelling flowers, though I do not profess myself a florist, yet I know above two sorts in Tonqueen; but what he calls the bayne I cannot smell out: for, first, there is a beautiful rose, of a white colour mixed with purple, and another of almost the same kind, red and yellow; it grows on a bush without prickles or thorns, but has no scent.

The flower, that is nothing else but a bud, and resembles a caper, but much lesser, smells as fragrant and odoriferous as any flower I know, and will retain the scent above a fortnight though off the tree: the ladies of the court use it amongst their wearing apparel.

The Indian lily grows here as in several other parts of India; the shape somewhat resembles the European lily, but is a great deal less; it grows on a pretty high tree, is of a white colour, and yields a good scent, though a little faintish.

Here is a small flower, snow white, in scent like jessamine, but more vigorous; it grows on a low tree, or rather shrub. In Persia there are such great quantities of it, that they load whole ships with the water distilled from it. These flowers being of no great esteem among the natives I shall pass them by.

Here are great plenty of sugar-canes, but they have no great skill to refine the sugar they make from them; however, they do it after their manner, and use it, but not after meals, as Taverniere saith, for concoction.

Tigers and harts are here, but not many: apes in great plenty: of cows, hogs, hens, ducks, geese, &c. there is no want. Their horses are small, but very mettlesome and lively; and were it not that they are so seldom rode, and kept too tender, they might be of good use and fit for service.

Their elephants are all trained up for war, and are not of that prodigious bigness he would make one believe, for I have seen larger in Siam; neither are they nimbler than other elephants that are taught to lie down for the rider to mount.

They

They have many cats, but no great moufers, which defect is pretty well supplied by their dogs, which are fit for little else.

Birds here are not many, but wild-fowl in abundance.

Near the sea-side and in the city they have a great many musquetoës, but in the country they are not so much troubled with them: those that will be free of them must either smoke their rooms or lie in close curtains, made of thin silks for that purpose. The cold northern wind drives them away, and frees the country of those tormentors for a while.

What he saith of the white emmets is true: this vermin is very mischievous; in Siam hardly any house is free from them, so that merchants are forced to make hearfes, and to rub the feet thereof with oil of earth (which scent they cannot endure), in order to secure their merchandize.

The way of pickling hen or duck eggs, as Taverniere describes, is true, but these eggs serve only for sauces, and not to be eaten otherwise.

#### CHAP. IV. — *Of the Riches, Trade, and Money of the Kingdom of Tonqueen.*

THE chief riches, and indeed the only staple commodity, is silk, raw and wrought: of the raw the Portuguese and Castilians in former days, the Hollanders lately, and at present the Chinese, export good quantities to Japan, &c.: of their wrought silks the English and Dutch expend the most.

This kingdom has no lignum aloës at all but what is imported by foreign traders.

Musk we have here, brought from Boves and China annually; sometimes the quantity of five or six peculls, sometimes less; neither have they any gold but what comes from China. Their silver is brought in by English, Dutch, and Chinese trading to Japan. They have iron and lead mines which afford them just enough of those minerals to serve their occasions.

Their domestic trade consists in rice, salt fish, and other sustenance; little raw and wrought silk for their own wear. They likewise drive a commerce with Boves and Ai, though with no great profit, by reason of high expences and large presents to the eunuchs, who command the avenues; nor do the Chinese that pass those ways fare better, being often exacted upon, and sometimes stripped of all they have by the ravenous mandareens. And since it is one of the policies of the court not to make the subjects rich, lest they should be proud and ambitious, and aspire to greater matters, the King connives at those disorders, and oppresses them with heavy taxes and impositions; and should he know that any persons were to exceed the ordinary means of a private subject, they would incur the danger of losing all on some pretence or other; which is a great discouragement to the industrious, and necessitates them to bury their wealth, having no means to improve it.

As for foreign traders, a new comer suffers, besides hard usage in his buying and selling, a thousand inconveniences; and no certain rates on merchandizes imported or exported being imposed, the insatiable mandareens cause the ships to be rummaged, and take what commodities may likely yield a price at their own rates, using the King's name to cloak their griping and villanous extortions, and for all this there is no remedy but patience.

Yet strangers that are experienced here are less subject to those irregularities and oppressions, escaping their clutches, though not without some trouble and cost: in a word, the Tonqueen trade is at present the most fastidious in all India, wherefore I wonder our author should say it is a great pleasure to deal with them; for if you bargain

gain for any thing, and are likely to lose thereby, you are sure to bear the loss. Nothing almost is sold but upon trust for three or four months time, and yet then you run the hazard to lose what is so sold, or at least to undergo a thousand troubles for the recovery of the debt, and at last are likely to suffer, either in bad coin or unmerchantable goods. This defect and disorder in trade proceeds more from their indigency and poverty than from any thing else; for there is not a Tonqueenese merchant that has or had ever the courage and ability to buy the value of two thousand dollars at once, and to pay it upon the nail. But, after all, the Tonqueenese are not altogether so fraudulent, and of that deceitful disposition, as the Chinese; it may be by reason they are inferior to them in craft or cunning.

There is this further difference between these two nations; a Tonqueenese will beg incessantly, and torment your purse sufficiently, if you have business with him, whereas a Chinese is cruel and bloody, maliciously killing a man, or flinging him into the sea for small matters.

Another occasion of hindrance and stop to trade is, that they permit the greater part of what silver comes into the country (commonly a million of dollars per annum) to be carried to Boves and China, to be exchanged for copper cash, which rises and falls according as the Chova finds it agree with his interest; besides, this cash will be defaced in few years, and consequently not current, which grand inconvenience causes considerable losses to merchants, and signal prejudice to the public. Thus goes the silver out of the country, and no provision is made against it, which is very bad policy.

And though the Chova values foreign trade so little, yet he receives from it, embarrassed as it is, considerable annual incomes into his coffers, as taxes, head-money, impositions, customs, &c. But though these amount to vast sums, yet very little remains in the treasury, by reason of the great army he maintains, together with several other unnecessary expences. In fine, it is pity so many conveniences and opportunities to make the kingdom rich and its trade flourishing should be neglected; for if we consider how this kingdom borders on two of the richest provinces in China, it will appear that, with small difficulty, most commodities of that vast empire might be drawn hither, and great store of Indian and European commodities, especially woollen manufactures, might be vended there; nay, would they permit strangers the freedom of this inland trade, it would be vastly advantageous to the kingdom; but the Chova (jealous that Europeans should discover too much of his frontiers, by which certainly he can receive no injury) has, and will probably in all times to come, impede this important affair.

They have no coin but copper cash, which comes from China as aforesaid. Gold and silver they cast into bars, about fourteen dollars weight, and they are current amongst them.

#### CHAP. V. — *Of the Strength of the Kingdom of Tonqueen.*

THE kingdom of Tonqueen might be reckoned very formidable, were the strength wholly to consist in the number of men; for the standing force cannot be less than one hundred and forty thousand, all well trained up, and fit to handle their arms after their mode; and they can raise twice that number on occasion: but since courage in the men is to be likewise attended to, we cannot esteem them very formidable, being of dejected spirits and base dispositions, and their leaders being for the most part capadoes, and want their manhood.

The general may muster up about eight or ten thousand horse, and between three or four hundred elephants: his sea force consists in two hundred and twenty galleys, great and small, more fit for the river than the sea, and rather for sport and exercise than war. They have but one gun in the prow, which will carry a four-pound shot; they have no masts, and are forced to do all by strength of oars; the men that row stand all exposed to great or small shot, and other engines of war. They have about five hundred other boats, called twinquaes, which are good and swift to sail, but too weak for war, being only sewed together with rattans; however, they serve well enough for transportation of provisions and soldiers.

In one of these boats I was forced to go to Siam the last year, with three other gentlemen in company with me, we being left by a Chinese, in whose junk we had taken a passage, on an isle on the westernmost part of the bay of Tonqueen, where we were forced to this shift; yet, thanks be to God, we got our passage in twenty-three days, to the admiration of all that knew of it.

They are likewise provided with guns and cannons of all sorts, as also calibres, some of them of their own fabric, but the greatest part bought of the Portuguese, Dutch, and English, and stored with other ammunition suitable to their occasions.

But to return to the condition of the soldiery of Tonqueen: it is a very toilsome and laborious situation, and of little advantage; once a soldier and always a soldier; and hardly one in a thousand riseth to preferment, unless he be very dextrous in handling his weapons, or so fortunate as to obtain the friendship of some great Mandareen to present him to the King. Money may likewise effect somewhat, but to think of advancement by mere valour is a very fruitless expectation, since they rarely find occasion to meet an enemy in open field, and so have no opportunity to improve themselves or display their prowess; not but that some few have, from mean beginnings, mounted to high preferment and great dignity by some bold achievement; but this being extraordinary, is not to be generally reckoned upon.

Their wars consist in much noise and great trains; so they go to Cochin-China, look on the walls, rivers, &c.; and if any disease or sickness happens amongst their army, so as to carry off some few of their men, and they come within hearing of the shouts of the enemy, they begin to cry out a cruel and bloody war, and turn head, running, *re infecta*, as fast as they can home. This is the game they have played against Cochin-China more than three times, and will do so in all probability as long as they are commanded by those emasculated captains called capons.

They have had amongst themselves civil wars, wherein they contended for superiority; and he that has been the cunningest has prevailed always against him that has been valiant; but in former days, when they fought against the Chinese, they have showed themselves bold and courageous, but it was necessity that forced them to it. The general will sometimes take delight in seeing his soldiers exercise, either in his arsenal, or with his galleys on the river; and sometimes, when he finds a soldier to exceed his companions, it may be he gratifies him with the value of a dollar in cash.

The soldiers have very small pay, not above three dollars in a year, besides rice, except those of the life guard, who have twice as much; they are free of all taxes, and are dispersed among the Mandareens; which Mandareens have certain aldeas assigned them, which pay an income to them for the maintenance of the soldiers.

Castles, forts, strong holds, citadels, &c. they have none, nor do they understand the art of fortification, and make but small account of our skill therein; though they have so little reason to depend, like the Lacedemonians, on the bravery of their soldiers.

CHAP. VI. — *Of the Manners of the People of Tonqueen.*

THE people of Tonqueen are rather of a working and turbulent spirit, though cowards<sup>r</sup> than naturally mild and peaceable, since quiet and concord can hardly be maintained amongst them, without a heavy hand and severity; for they have often conspired and broke out in open rebellion. True it is, that superstition, to which the meaner sort are miserably addicted, did further the evil very much, and drove them headlong to the precipice, no less than ambition; but persons of great note, or mandareens of quality, are very seldom found to be embarked in those dangerous attempts, and rarely aim to make themselves heads of public factions, which, questionless, proceeds from the little credit they give to those fictions and fopperies of their blind fortune tellers, who delude and mislead the ignorant and superstitious vulgar, and from this their consciousness, that their folly and perfidiousness will hardly fail to meet with deserved destruction.

They are not much given to choler, yet are addicted to the far worse passions of envy and malice, even to an extreme degree. In former times they had in great esteem the manufactures of strange countries, but now that passion is almost worn out, and only a few Japan gold and silver pieces, and European broad cloth remain at present in request with them. They are not curious to visit other countries, believing they can see none so good as their own, and give no credit to those who have been abroad, when they relate what they have seen.

They are of happy memory and quick apprehension, and might prove of eminent abilities by good and due instructions. Learning they love, not so much for its own sake, but because it conducts them to public employments and dignities. Their tone in reading is much like to singing. Their language is full of monosyllables, and sometimes twelve or thirteen several things are meant by one word, and have no other distinction but in the tone, either to pronounce it with a full mouth, heavy accent, pressing or retaining voice, &c. and therefore it is very difficult for strangers to attain any perfection therein.

I do not find any difference between the court language and the vulgar, except in matter of ceremony and cases of law, where the China characters are used as the Greek and Latin sentences among our learned.

Both the sexes are well proportioned, rather of small statures and weak constitutions, occasioned perhaps by their intemperate eating and immoderate sleeping.

They are generally of brown complexion, like the Chinese and Japanese, but the better sort and women of quality are almost as fair as the Portuguese and Spaniards.

Their noses and faces are not so flat as the Chinese; their hair black, and if long it is reckoned an ornament; both men and women without distinction wear it down as long as it will grow; but soldiers when they are in their exercises, and handicraftsmen about their trades, put it up under their caps, or tie it in a great roll on the top of their heads. Both boys and girls, when they are past sixteen or seventeen years of age, black their teeth as the Japanese do, and let their nails grow as the Chinese, the longest being accounted the finest, which has place among persons of quality and those of wealth only.

Their habit is long robes, very little differing from those of China, and not at all resembling the Japan garb, or the picture in Taverniere's description, where he makes them to wear girdles, a mode that these people are strangers to.

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They are forbidden by an old tradition the wear of hose and shoes, except the literadoes (literati) and those that have taken the degree of Tuncy or doctor; however, at present the custom is not observed so strictly as formerly.

The condition of the vulgar sort is miserable enough, since they are imposed on by heavy taxes, and undergo sore labour; for the males at eighteen, and in some countries and provinces twenty years of age, are liable to pay the value of three, four, five, six, and seven dollars per annum, according to the goodness and fertility of the soil of their aldeas or village; and this money is gathered in two several terms, as April and October, being the harvest of the rice. From this tax are exempted the royal blood, the King's immediate servants, all public ministers and officers of the kingdom, together with the literadoes or learned men, from a Singdo upwards: for the latter are obliged to pay half tax; all soldiers and military persons, with a few others that have obtained this freedom, either gratis or bought it for money, which exemption is granted only for life, and is purchased of the Chava, or general: yet those that desire the continuation of the said privilege, may have their patent renewed for a moderate sum of money, by the succeeding Prince, who seldom denies to grant them their redemption on such an account; but merchants, though they live in the city, are rated in the aldeas or villages of their ancestors and parents, and are liable besides to the vecquun, or lords service of the city, at their own expences, and are obliged to work and drudge themselves, or hire another in their room, to perform what the governor orders, whether it be to mend the broken walls, repair the banks and ways of the city, dragging timber for the King's palaces, and other public buildings, &c.

The handicraftsmen, of what profession soever, are bound to this vecquun six moons in the year, and receive nothing, nor dare they demand any thing for their labour in all that time; it depends on their masters' (the Mandeercens) direction and bounty, to allow them the charges for their very victuals; the other half year they are allowed to make use of for themselves and family, and it must be supposed to be hard enough with them, especially if they are burdened with many children.

As for the poor aldeans, who inhabit barren soils, and therefore are unable to pay their taxes in rice or money, they are employed to cut grafs for the General's elephants and horses; and though their stations and villages be often very remote from the place where they fetch the grafs, they are obliged to bring it by turns the whole year on their own expences to the city.

By what is said, it appears with what politic maxims this Prince keeps his subjects poor and needy; and, in truth, it seems to be necessary enough; for if their proud turbulent spirits were not kept in the bounds of their duty and allegiance with a strong rein, they would often forget themselves: however, every one enjoys what he gets by his own industry, and may leave his estate to his heirs and successors; always provided, that the rumour of his wealth sounds not so loud as to charm the General's ear.

The eldest son's portion is much larger than the rest of the children of the deceased: the daughters have some small matter allowed them, yet can claim but little by law, if there be an heir male.

And as the Tonqueense are ambitious of many dependants and opulent kindred, so they have a custom among them to adopt one another, both sexes indifferently, to be their children, and of their family; and those so adopted are obliged to the same duty as their own children, viz.

At festival times to sombey and present them; to be ready on every occasion in their service; to bring them the first fruits of the season, and the new rice at harvest;

to contribute to the sacrifice made to some of the family, as the mother, brother, wife, &c. or near relations of the patroun, that are dead, or shall die. To these and several other expences, they are obliged several times in the year, at their own cost; and as this is the obligation of the adopted, so the patroun takes care to advance or promote them, according as occasion and their power will admit, defending and protecting them as their own children; and when the patroun dies, they have a legacy almost equal to the youngest children; and they mourn for the patroun as for their father and mother, though they be both alive.

The manner of adopting is thus: he that intends to be adopted, sends to acquaint the person of whom he requests that favour with his intention, who, if content therewith, returns a satisfactory answer; upon which the suppliant comes and presents himself before him, with a hog and two jars of arrack, which the patroun receives of the party, who having made four sombeys, and given satisfactory answers to some questions, he is adopted.

Strangers who reside here, or use the trade, have often taken this course, to free themselves from those vexations and extortions which they usually meet with from some insolent courtiers. I myself was adopted by a Prince, who then was presumptive and now heir apparent to the general, and had his choap or chop, which is his seal. I always gave him presents at my arrival from a voyage, which chiefly consisted in foreign curiosities. This Prince, though he be of a generous noble mind, and had an extraordinary kindness for me, yet I was not the better for him in my troubles; for on the decease of his grandfather, it pleased God to visit him, in the height of his prosperity, with madness, which was the overthrow of my business, by incapacitating him to protect me in my greatest trouble and necessity, but lately I understand he is recovered again.

The aldeans, or villagers, for the most part are simple people, and subject to be misled by their over much credulity and superstition. The character that is given of some other nations is applicable enough to them, that is, they are either extraordinary good, or extreme bad.

It is a great mistake, that the people of Tonqueen live out of pleasure or choice in their boats upon the rivers, when mere necessity and indigence drives them to that course of life; for to run from port to port, and from one village to another with wife and children, to look out for a livelihood, in a small boat, cannot be very pleasant, although they do not know here what a crocodile means.

The largest of the Tonqueenese rivers has, as I said before, its source in China, and the great rains there in the months of March, April and May, cause the waters to descend here with that incredible rapidity (this country being without comparison lower than China) as threatens banks and dams with destruction; sometimes the waters will rise so fast, and swell to that degree, as to over top most barricadoes, all human industry notwithstanding, drowning thereby whole provinces, which causes lamentable disorders, and great losses both of men and beasts.

#### CHAP. VII. — *Of the Marriages of the Tonqueenese.*

THE Tonqueenese cannot marry without the consent of their father and mother, or of the nearest kindred. When a young man comes to the age of sixteen, eighteen or twenty, his father and mother being resolved to get him a wife, make their application to the parents of the party they design for him, carrying with them an hundred dressed beetles in a decent box, one jar of arrack, or strong liquor, and a live hog; under

under favour of such a present only this is to be proposed. The friends of the maid seeing the visitants thus prepared, and knowing by the custom of the country whereto it tends, give fitting answers to the question in hand, according to their inclinations; for if they are unwilling it should be a match, they find their subtrefuges and excuses, by pretending their daughter's youth, and inability to take upon her the burthen of a household; and that, however, they will consider of the matter further hereafter, and the like compliments; wherewith they and their presents are sent back again.

But in case they are content to bestow their daughter on the young man, the present is readily accepted of, with expressions of their approbation of the business; and then immediately, without any other formality, they consult and agree about the most auspicious time, in which they are guided by their blind superstition, for the solemnization of the wedding. In the meantime the parents of the bridegroom send often presents of victuals to the bride, and visit her now and then, yet the young people are not permitted so much as to speak to each other,

At the prefixed time the wedding is kept with a feast, agreeable to the condition and abilities of the parents of the young couple, which doth not last above a day. The ceremony of their marriage is barely this: in the afternoon of the day that precedes the wedding, the bridegroom comes to the bride, and brings with him, according to his quality, either, gold, silver, or a quantity of cash, the more the greater honour, and victuals prepared, all which he leaves there, and retires to his own home. The next morning being the wedding day, the bride is dressed in her finest robes, with bracelets of gold pendants, &c.; her parents' acquaintance and servants are ready to conduct and wait on her to the bridegroom's, whither she goes about ten o'clock in the forenoon, with all this train attending her, whilst all her moveables, household stuff, and whatever else her father and mother give for her portion, together with what she had of the bridegroom, is carried in great state, and for a more glorious shew, it passes in a long field before her and the whole company, all which enter the bridegroom's house, who receives her and them with kindness and courtesy, after their mode, and presents them with victuals prepared for the purpose, whilst music and other expressions of joy are not neglected: and this is the whole solemnity of the wedding, without any farther formalities of either magistrate or priest, as our author talks.

Polygamy is here tolerated; however, that woman whose parents are of the greatest quality is chief amongst them, and has the title of wife.

Rapes, and the like, are not known, much less practised in this country. The law of the land permits a man to divorce his wife, but the woman has not the same privilege, and can hardly obtain a separation, against the good liking of the husband, unless she be of a family that is able to compel him to it, by mere authority. When the husband designs to repudiate his wife, he gives her a note, declaring under his hand and seal that he has no more pretensions to her person, and that she is free to dispose of herself as she finds occasion, which liberty capacitates her to marry another; neither would any person dare to pretend to her, without being certain of the said note, for fear of her former husband, who in that case can claim her again, and thereby embroil such a one in the labyrinths of the law, and recover a good sum of money from him.

The woman so repudiated, when she departs from her husband, may take along with her the same quantity of gold, silver, cash, &c. as he brought to her house at the time of his espousing her. The children born during the time of their mutual cohabitation the husband keeps; but their Mandareens seldom, and only on urgent occasions or for capital offences, will deal thus severely with their wives, yet their

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concubines are thus served on every light occasion, when the humour takes them to make an exchange, or that they are fatiated with their persons. Among the meaner sort, when a man and his wife disagree, and mutually desire a separation, they are divorced in the presence of some small judge and public officers, by mutual discharges in writing; but the village husband, that cannot write nor read, breaks a copper cash, (this country money) or a stick, in the presence of his wife, as a testimony of his resolution to dismiss her; the one of the half he keeps himself, the other he gives to her, which she carries to the heads and elders of the aldea, or village, requesting them to bear witness her husband had discharged her of her duty to be any longer his wife, and that he has nothing more to pretend to her for ever; so she may either keep or throw away the piece of cash, or stick, and marry again as soon as she pleases.

As for adultery, if a man of quality surprises his wife in the fact, he may freely, if he pleases, kill her and her paramour with his own hands; otherwise the woman is sent to be trampled to death by an elephant; the adulterer is delivered to the justice, who proceeds with him to execution without any farther delay. But with the meaner sort of people it is not so; they must go to law, where the offenders will have severe punishment inflicted on them, if they are proved guilty of the crime.

The story that M. Taverniere relates to have happened whilst his brother was at Tonqueen, is not at all agreeable to the customs of this people, or congruous with their dispositions; wherefore, in all probability, it is only a fiction.

#### CHAP. VIII.—*Of the Visits and Pastimes of the Tonqueens.*

THEIR visits are generally made in the afternoon. It is uncivil to come to any great man's house before dinner, unless necessitated by urgent business, or expressly invited, because they then have the least time to spare; for in the morning very early they go to court to attend the general, which attendance takes them up till eight o'clock; when they come home, they employ themselves awhile in ordering their domestic concerns among their servants, if more important state affairs will permit it; the little space that remains between that and dinner is reserved for their retirement and repose.

The Princes, or great Mandareens, ride either on elephants, or are carried in a hammock, and followed by most their servants, soldiers, dependants, &c. that are not otherwise occupied in such a season, which is more or less numerous, according to the degree of the person's dignity; those of lesser rank ride on horseback, and are followed by as many as they are able to maintain, without limitation, which usually is not above ten persons, but to be sure all that can must go, for they are very ambitious of many attendants.

If he that gives the visit is of greater quality than the person visited, he dares not to offer him any thing of meat or drink, no not so much as a beetle, unless he calls for it. Their water and beetle is always carried with them by their servants.

In discoursing with them, especially if the person be of authority, care must be had not to move any mournful subject, either directly or indirectly; but things that are pleasant, in commendation of them, are best approved. But that which is most intolerable in these lords is, that they permit the men of their train (a rude brutish gang) to enter with them into the most private apartments of other people's houses, especially when they come to visit Europeans, where they behave themselves very apishly, and commit many absurdities and impertinencies in their talk and jestings;

and moreover often steal whatever they can lay hold on ; in all which their stupified masters rather take delight, than check them, for their fauciness and misdemeanors. But if they are invited by their superiors or equals, then they entertain them as they find occasion, either with tea or meat, &c. not omitting beetle, which is always the first and last part of the regale. The boxes wherein the beetle is presented, are generally plain lacquered, either black, red, or some grave colour ; yet the gentry, and the Princes and Princesses of the royal blood, have them in massy gold, silver, tortoise shell, or inlaid with mother of pearl ; the painted and gaudy ones are only used at their sacrifices in their pagodas. But such rich boxes as M. Taverniere avers to have seen, to have the value of four and five hundred thousand livres, at the Great Mogul's court, were certainly no Tonqueen ones ; for diamonds, rubies, emeralds and other jewels do not grow in this country, neither are they in request among the natives ; nor could that have been brought thither by any Tonqueen ambassador, since the Kings send none thither, nor is there the least commerce between the two nations.

They seldom visit sick persons, and they hardly care to admit any but their kindred and relations to put them in mind of death, how desperate soever their state may be, and the least admonition to settle their affairs and concerns would be a heinous crime and unpardonable offence ; so that those that die make no will, which defect often creates vexatious lawsuits among the kindred, if the deceased leaves no children behind him, even to the ruin of their own estates, and the loss of what they contend for.

In the halls of great men's houses are several alcoves, where they sit cross-legged upon mats, according to their degree, the higher the more honorable ; and these seats are all covered with mats, answerable in fineness to their stations, except in time of mourning, when they are obliged to use coarse ones. As for carpets they have none, neither can they afford them ; wherefore I wonder at our author's saying, that the mats are as dear as a fine carpet, which at the cheapest costs from thirty to fifty rupees and upwards in Persia and Surat ; whereas the best and finest mat may be bought here for the value of three or four shillings at the most ; neither do I believe any European, besides himself, has ever seen a Tonqueen mat nine ells square, and as soft as velvet ; however, this is like the rest of his fables. As for cushions, these people use none, either to sit or lie on ; but they have a kind of bolster made of reeds or mats, to sleep or lean on.

As for their victuals they are curious enough therein, though their diet does not generally please strangers. The common sort must be content with green trade, rice, and salt fish, or the like ; the great lords may if they please feed themselves with the best in the land.

I can make no comparison for neatness between the Europeans and them, in their houses, wherein they have but little or no furniture more than usual in the meanest cots, sometimes tables and benches, seldom chairs. They use neither table cloths nor napkins, nor do they want them, since they do not touch their meat with their fingers, but use two sticks, as the Chinese and Japanese do. All their victuals are served in little plates and dishes, not made of wood, and then lacquered and varnished over, as M. Taverniere affirms, but of China and Japan wares, which are in esteem here. Persons of quality or condition use a kind of formality and decency at their feasts ; but as for the rest, as soon as they are at the bandeses, which are small lacquered tables, they do not so much as mind any discourses ; and this not out of good manners or reverence to the aged and grave persons, but a greedy desire to fill their guts,  
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they being generally great eaters and true epicures; also they may be afraid to lose their share by prating, whilst others make all the silent haste they can to empty the platters and dishes. I have often seen the followers and attendants of Mandareens at the like sport; and used to admire their eating both for quantity and greediness, in which I believe no nation under the cope of heaven can match them.

As for drinking, though the clowns and meaner sort seldom fall under the excess and debauchery of strong drink, yet amongst the courtiers and soldiers drunkenness is no vice. A fellow that can drink smartly is a brave blade. It is no custom of theirs to wash their hands when they go to table, only they rinse their mouths, because of the beetle; yet after meals, they often wash both; and having cleansed their teeth with a piece of bamboo, prepared for the purpose, they eat beetle. At a friend's house the entertained may freely, if he please, call for more boiled rice, or any thing else, if he is not satisfied, which the host takes very kindly. They do not ask one another how they do, but compliment them with a "Where have you been thus long?" and "What have you done all this while?" And if they know or perceive by their countenance that they have been sick or indisposed, then they ask "How many cups of rice they eat at a meal?" (for they make three in a day, besides a collation in the afternoon, amongst the rich and wealthy), and "Whether he eats with an appetite or no?"

Of all the pastimes of the Tonqueenese, they affect most their balls, ballads, and singing, which are for the most part acted in the night and last till morning, and are what M. Taverniere calls comedies; a very improper name, and resembling them in no respect; much less are they set out with beautiful decorations and machines, as he says, very pleasing to behold; and they are as skilful to represent sea and river water, and marine combats thereon, as they are able to describe the fight in 1588, between the English and the Spaniards; neither have they in the city any theatres to act upon, but every Mandareen's hall, and the yards of other houses, must serve in turn: yet in their aldeas they have singing houses, erected at the expence of three, four, or more aldeas, or villages; and in this they celebrate their festival times, singing and banquetting after their mode. The actors of one house are sometimes three, four or five persons; their fees are no more than a thousand cash, to the value of about a dollar, for a whole night's labour: but the liberal spectators give them presents, as often as they perform any thing dexterously. They are usually habited in country taffeties, palong, satin, and the like. They have but few songs, and not above five different tunes, and those composed most in praise of their Kings and generals, interspersed with amorous interjections and poetical elegance. The women only dance, and she that dances must sing too, and will be between whiles interrupted by a man that plays the part of a jester, who is generally the wittiest mimic they can find, and such a one as is able to make the company laugh at his inventions and postures. Their musical instruments are drums, copper basons, hautboys, guitars, with two or three sorts of violins, &c. Besides this, they have another kind of dancing, with a bason filled or piled up with small lamps lighted, which a woman sets on her head, and then dances, turning, winding, and bowing her body in several shapes and figures, with great celerity, without spilling a drop of oil in the lamps, to the admiration of the spectators; this act will last about half an hour.

Dancing on ropes their women are also expert at, and some will perform it very gracefully.

Cock-fighting is a mighty game amongst them, so that it is become a princely sport,

sport, and much in fashion with courtiers. They lose much that lay against the general, for right or wrong he must and will win, whereby he impoverishes his grantees, so that they are not able to undertake any thing.

They delight much in fishing, and have the convenience of many rivers, and infinite ponds.

As for hunting, there is scarce a wood or forest proper for this exercise, in all the country, neither are they expert in that sport.

But their grand pastime is their new-year's feast, which commonly happens about the 25th of January, and is kept by some thirty days; for then, besides dancing and the recreations aforesaid, all their other sorts of games, as playing at football, swinging on an engine erected of bamboos, at most corners of the streets, tricks of bodily activity, and a kind of hocus-pocus, are brought on the stage, to encrease merriment; neither are they behind-hand to prepare their feasts and banquets plentiful and large, striving to outdo each other therein, for the space of three or four days, according to their ability; and as this is indeed the time to gormandize and debauch to excess, so he is accounted the most miserable wretch that doth not provide to welcome his friends and acquaintances, though by so doing he is certain to beg the rest of that year for his livelihood.

The first day of the year the ordinary sort do not stir abroad, unless they are dependants of some lords, but keep themselves close shut up in their houses, admitting none but their nearest relations and domestics; to others they would deny, on that day, a draught of water, or a coal for fire, and be very angry too at any one's making such a request, superstitiously believing its consequence would be to subject them to infallible malediction; and that if they should give any thing that day, it would be their bad destiny to give continually, and beggar themselves thereby at last. Their reason for not stirring abroad proceeds from the same cause, which is, fear to encounter with some ominous thing or other that might presage evil to them that day which would make them unfortunate all the year; for they observe superstitiously many frivolous niceties, as good and bad luck. But the second day of the new year they go to visit each other, and acquit themselves of their duty and obligations to their superiors, to sombey them; as likewise do their soldiers and servants to them. But the mandareens go the first day to the King and general, of which they are as careful observers as the others are sharp and precise exactors of this attendance.

Some reckon their new year from the 25th of their last moon, but very improperly; their ground for it is, because the sup unu, implying as much as the great seal reversed, is then put into a box, with the face downward, for a whole month's time, and in that interval the law is, as it were, laid asleep, and no acts whatsoever pass under the said seal; all courts of judicature are shut up; debtors cannot be seized on; small crimes, as petty larceny, fighting, beating one another, &c., escape with impunity; only treason and murder the governors of the city and province take account of, and keep the malefactors prisoners till the grand seal comes to be active again, to bring them to their trial, &c. But their new year more properly begins at the first of their new moon, which falls out usually about our 25th of January as aforesaid, and lasts, according to the China custom, one whole month.

By what is related it appears how excessively our author has hyperbolized on these passages, especially where he commends the Tonqueenese for laborious and industrious people, prudently employing their time to the most advantage, which in some degree may be granted in the women, but the men are so lazy and idle generally, that were

they not, by mere necessity, compelled to work, I verily believe they would be glad to spend their time only in eating and sleeping; for many will surfeit themselves by overgorging their stomachs, feeding as if they were born only to eat, and not to eat for the support of life chiefly.

It is also a mistake to say the Tonquenese deem it a disgrace to have their heads uncovered; for, when an inferior comes to a mandareen, either upon business or some errand from a mandareen, he has always his black gown and cap on, and the mandareen receives him bare; but if the messenger comes with an order from the King, verbal or in writing, then they dare not hear the message, or peruse the note, without putting on their gown and cap. Of this more will be said when I come to speak of the court of Tonqueen.

As to criminals, they are shaved as soon as they are condemned to die, because they may be known and apprehended if they should chance to outrun their keepers, which is a different thing from being uncovered, which M. Taverniere talks of. So likewise to nail malefactors on crosses, or to dismember them by four small galleys that row several ways, are torments unheard of in this country.

#### CHAP. IX. — *Of the learned Men of Tonqueen.*

THE Tonquenese have a great inclination for learning, because it is the only step to acquire dignity and preferments, which encourageth them to a studious and diligent application to learning, which is often attended with good or ill success, as in other countries, according to their several talents, and as they are endued with vivacity, spirit, and more especially as they are furnished with a good or bad memory, which is the chief requisite for mustering that sort of learning which is in repute in this country, which, consisting mostly in hieroglyphic characters, whereof they have as many as words or things, requires a very retentive memory. Hence it is that some scholars are fit to take degrees upon them after twelve or fifteen year's study, others in twenty-five or thirty, many not in their life-time.

They may, as soon as they think themselves able or capable, adventure their trial, without either obligation to continue longer a scholar or limitation of years. Nor have they any public schools, but every one chuses such a preceptor for his children as he fancies at his own cost.

Their learning consists not in the knowledge of languages, as among us in Europe, much less are they acquainted with our philosophy; but they have one Confucius, a Chinese (or, as the people call him, Congtu), the founder of their arts and sciences, which are the same with those of the Chinese. This man composed himself but one book, but he compiled four others from the works of the ancient Chinese philosophers, containing moral and political precepts, with their rites and sacrifices, &c. Moreover, his disciples have, out of his works, extracted divers rules, sentences, and similes fit for the state in general, and every person in particular; all which is collected into one volume, divided into four parts, and entitled *The Four Books*, which, with the five before mentioned, make nine books, and are the ancientest they have, and of that reputation, that they will admit no contradiction whatsoever against them; and these are the sole foundation of the learning not only of the Chinese and this nation, but also of the Japanese, some small differences excepted.

The said books comprehend likewise the greatest part of their hieroglyphical characters, the multitude of which none can easily affirm, yet they reckon ninety or a hundred

hundred thousand, because their learned have a way of compounding and connecting them to shrink that number; and as it is not necessary for the vulgar sort to know so many, so very few do, and twelve or fourteen thousand is sufficient for usual writing.

They are wholly ignorant of natural philosophy, and not more skilled in mathematics and astronomy: their poetry I do not understand, and their music I do not find very delightful and harmonious; and I cannot but wonder by what faculty M. Taverniere has discovered them to be the most excellent of all the oriental people in that art.

Having thus confusedly mentioned a word or two in general of their learning, I return to the scholars. They must, in the acquisition of employ and dignity (I do not say nobility, for the custom is here, that all the honours die with the person, and descend not to his posterity), pass through three degrees: the first, of a *singdo*, something like the bachelors in Europe; the second a *hung-cong*, resembling our licentiates; the third degree is a *tuncy*, equal to the degree of doctor with us.

Out of these doctors they chuse the ablest and elect him *trungiveen*, which is as much as to say, a president, or professor of learning.

And indeed the election of these literadoes is managed with the most commendable policy and justice that I know of among them; for whereas, in all other things, they are swayed by corruption, partiality, or private passions, in the distribution of these degrees they respect singularly the deserts of persons, since no man can obtain any of them, unless he is found worthy thereof, by a strict and most exact examination.

The order and method observed in the promotion of *singdos*, or bachelors, is this: once in three years it is customary for the King and general to nominate two or three *tuncies*, with some *wene quan*, or justice of peace, who has the degree of *hung-cong*, to be examiners of the designed academy in that province where the election is to be made (for in this they proceed from one province to another by turns), whither they repair immediately on receiving their commission. Great care is taken that none speak with those to be examined on the way, or receive any bribes of them. Being arrived, they take up their lodgings in houses built of bamboos and straw, encompassed with a wall of the same materials, leaving a spacious empty place in the midst thereof for a theatre. The *tuncies* are presently separated from the *wene quan* and the rest in distinct apartments, and are not to speak one with the other during their functions, strict guards being kept at the several doors, and all comers in or out are searched for papers, writings, &c. If any is found to have transgressed herein he is rigorously punished and loses his dignity.

In the morning of the day prescribed for the commencing of the said examination, all the students resort to this place, where they find an officer, who exhibits to them five short sentences, written in capital letters, whereof every one, as many as there are, may take copies; which being done, they are all searched for papers or other writings, and then placed on the bare ground of the yard aforementioned, at good and equal distance, and many watches are set, that none comes to speak with them.

Thus they sit to write their themes, which they must finish before evening; neither must the said answer contain more than twenty-four sides of paper; and as every one brings in his, he fastens to it, on a particular sheet, his name, the names of his parents and village, which the *tuncies* tear off, and mark the answer and paper of names with the same number, which are put up severally, according to their provinces and *aldeas*.

All the papers being thus served, the *tuncies* send them to the *wine quan* (the names of their authors being kept into custody of another officer) to be examined, who throws

out all the bad, and sends the good ones to the tuncies again. They, upon a strict review, put out a great many more, so that sometimes of four or five thousand pretenders, only one thousand are approved of the first time; the second, perhaps, no more than five hundred; and, on the last proof, only three hundred are to be graduated bachelors. Such as have behaved themselves well in the first trial their names come out in public within eight or ten days after, to be prepared for the second examination; and those whose names are thus thrown out need not stay, for they cannot be admitted that sessions any more. In the same manner they continue the second and third trial, only their task at the second trial is but of three sentences, and the answer twelve sides; the last of two sentences, and its reply eight sides, but more difficult than the former. Whosoever passes these trials is declared bachelor, and has his name registered among those of the same rank in the book of state, and from that time they pay but half the taxes which they were rated at before, and likewise enjoy some other petty immunities.

Now follows their manner of electing the hung-congs, or licentiates: these are selected out of the bachelors, more or less, as the King pleases to order; they are examined by the same officers, and created alternately in the place aforesaid where the bachelors were. If they can overcome but one proof more, which is the fourth, including the three preceding of the sangdoes, or bachelors, they become licentiates. The formality used in this proceeding is in a manner the same with the former, only they and their examiners are still more severely watched, and they are not permitted to see or speak with any of the competitors; they are separated and distant enough from each other when they write their meditations, &c.: and all those hung-congs of former creation must leave, at that time, the province where the school is held, by repairing to the capital city, and abide there till the end of the act; many spies are set over them, and they are numbered every day. The like care is recommended to the governors of the other provinces about the said hung-congs during the solemnity, to prevent frauds and deceits in that behalf.

The examiners propound three sentences out of their book of their prince of philosophers, Confucius, and four more out of the volumes of his disciples; the arguments of so many orations, which the candidate is to answer with so many themes in writing, which is to be in an elegant and sententious style, and adorned with the best of their rhetoric, the more concise the better.

The examiners then reject the worst and present the best, who are to proceed to the tuncies, or chief examiners, and they chuse those that are to be admitted graduates, and expose their names with much ceremony. The privileges and immunities of the licentiates are far greater than the bachelors; besides, they have the honour to be presented to the King, who gives to each of them one thousand small pieces of coin, about the value of a dollar in money, and a piece of black calico for a gown, worth about three dollars more.

The last, or third degree, called tuncy, answerable to our doctors, is conferred every fourth year, at the capital city or court of the kingdom, in a particular palace, with marble gates, formerly the best in the country, but now, through age, much decayed. The choicest and learnedest of the hung-congs, or licentiates, are only admitted to this trial: of many competitors few are successful. Their examiners are the King himself, the Princes, and most eminent doctors of the realm, with other principal magistrates: This trial is in most circumstances like the two former, except in the questions propounded, which are both of greater number, and more intricate, grave, and specious, being commonly the most difficult part of their ethics, politics,  
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and civil law, and something of poetry and rhetoric, all which they are to expound and resolve in writing, at four several times, in the space of twenty days, and he that doth it is admitted doctor. This is no easy task, considering what a burthen it is to the memory to retain all the characters of the four last of the nine books of Confucius, which necessarily they must have, word for word, by heart, to acquit themselves well therein.

They write their themes and meditations on the exhibited sentences in a close cage, made of bamboos, for that purpose, and covered with calico, wherein they sit from the morning to night, being searched, that they have nothing about them but pen, ink, and clean paper; and to watch them the narrower, two doctors, or tuncies sit at a good distance from them under umbrellas. Thus they are served at four distinct times, before they are made tuncies, or doctors. The King and general honour this solemnity with their presence the two first days, as the most important, and leave the compleating thereof to the ministers. Those thus graduated are congratulated by their friends, applauded by the spectators, and honoured by their brother doctors with many complimentary expressions; the King presents each of them with a bar of silver, of the value of fourteen dollars, and a piece of silk, besides the revenue of some aldeas, or villages, for their maintenance, which is more or less, according to favour or desert, and they are feasted at the public expence of their aldeas for some time. Out of these the principal magistrates of the kingdom are chosen, and they are sent ambassadors to China, and are permitted to wear Chinese boots and caps, with their proper vest.

The rejected licentiates may, if they please, continue their study, and try fortune again; if not, they are capable of some magistracy in the country, as justice of peace, head of an aldea, &c.

The bachelors have the same privilege; and those that are unwilling to make any further progress in learning may find likewise employment, if they have money, among the governors of the provinces, in the courts of justice, or as clerks, stewards, secretaries, or solicitors to the mandareens; and, in all this, an eloquent tongue is not so requisite as a good pen.

Such fire-works as M. Taverniere mentions these people to be exquisite in the making of, I have met none all the time I frequented this country, nor any other sorts, unless it be squibs, or the like. And as for those machines, or change of scenes, in every act of their comedy, they may be long enough sought after, but will never be found here, wherever he saw them.

In astrology, geometry, and other mathematical sciences, they are but little skilled, but they understand arithmetic reasonably well; their ethics are confusedly delivered, not digested into formal method, as is their logic.

#### CHAP. X. — *Of the Physicians and Diseases of the Tonqueenses.*

EVERY one that pleases may be a physician at Tonqueen, and indeed every one almost is his own doctor, whereby this noble science is become the public practice of the very dregs of the nation, to the disgrace of the public in tolerating it.

Their principal study in this science consists only of the examination of some Chinese books, that direct them how to boil and compound their roots, herbs, and simples, with some obscure notions of their several qualities, nature, and virtue, but generally so confused, that they know little or nothing until they add thereto their own experience. They understand hardly any thing of anatomy, or the nature and composition  
of

of men's bodies, with the divisions of the several parts thereof, which might lead to all to form a judgment of the diseases incident to the human system, but attribute them the blood, as the principal cause of all the disorders that befall the body, and therefore consider no further the constitution or temper in the application of their remedies; and with them it is enough to succeed well in three or four cures, though by mere chance (for they are hardly ever able to give a reason for what they do), to get the reputation of an excellent medicus, which oftentimes, as it encreases their practice, so gives them a greater power to kill their fellow creatures. Their patients are generally very impatient under the hands of their doctors, who, if he doth not afford them present ease and speedy cure, they send for other help, and so often go from bad to worse, till they are either well or killed, for want of patience on one side, and judgment on the other.

These people generally, on visiting a patient, feel the pulse in two places, and that upon the wrist, as the Europeans; but they must be the Chinese physicians whom M. Taverniere extols for their skill in the pulse; and I own that some of that nation excel in it, but the far greater number are mere pretenders to this art, and affect to amuse the patient by ostentatious conjectures and conceited and confused notions, to inspire a belief of their skill in discovering thereby the cause of diseases, and so gull the credulous patients of their money, and oftentimes their health to boot.

These people have no apothecary among them; every one that professes the art of physic prepares the dose himself, which consists, as I mentioned, in the composition of herbs and roots boiled in water.

The pestilence, gravel, and the gout are hardly known in these countries: fevers, agues, dysenteries, the jaundice, small-pox, &c. reign here most, to all which they administer the said drugs for remedies, sometimes with desired success, wherein more is to be ascribed to the patient's own cure, sparing diet and abstinence (in which they are most singular, occasioned perhaps by their more than common fear of death), than the skill and judgment of the physicians.

The grandees drink the herb tea of China and Japan, but it is not much admired; they use most their native tea, called by them chia-bang, the leaf of a certain tree, and chiaway, the buds and flowers of another certain tree, which, after they are dried and roasted, they boil and drink the liquor hot; the last is of a good pleasant taste. Besides these two sorts they have many other sorts of liquor, made of beans, roots, &c.

I need not here describe the quality and virtue of the China and Japan tea, since they are so well known in England, and most other parts of Europe; only I will note how grossly M. Taverniere was mistaken to prefer the Japan tea before that of China, when, in the choice of them, there is above 30 per cent. difference.

Phlebotomy, or blood-letting, is rarely practised amongst this people, and when they do it, it is not after our way, in the arm, and with a lancet, but on the forehead, and with the bone of a fish tied to a small stick, in form like the horse-fleams in England; which instrument is applied to the vein of the forehead, then they give thereon a fillip with a finger, and the blood gushes out. Their grand remedy is fire in most distempers, which is used as they see cause, not regarding therein either the time of the day or night precisely. The matter wherewith they burn is the leaf of a tree, well dried, and then beaten in a mortar until it grows almost like to our beaten hemp, and this they take and fix on every place to be burnt (for they do it in many places at the same time), so much as will lie on a farthing, striking each parcel with ink of China at the bottom, that it may stick to the skin; then they fire it with a match of paper. Many account this a sovereign remedy; how true I cannot affirm; however,

I am certain that it puts the patient to a great torment, and that our use of letting blood is but a flea-bite in comparison of it.

But most common and frequently amongst them cupping is used, because cheap and easier. Their way here is much after the same manner as ours in Europe, only that they have calabasses instead of glasses.

Of anatomy they understand nothing, as I said before, and of surgery little, admiring much our Europeans' art in that behalf. To broken bones they apply certain herbs, which they say will heal them in the space of twenty-four days, and cement them as strong as ever. They have another remedy, which is to take the raw bones of hens, and beat them to powder, making thereof a paste, which, applied to the part affected, is esteemed by them a sovereign medicine.

Their little children are so much subject to dangerous obstructions, which deprive them of the benefit of nature, both by stool and urine, causing their bellies to swell so that often their lives are endangered thereby. Their remedy for this is, cockroches and onions roasted and beaten together; this they apply to the navel of the child, which is often attended with good success.

These people affirm, that crabs are turned into stones by the power of the sun, and use them as physic, but not in fevers and dysenteries. Moreover, they take up by the sea-side a kind of cockles, which being beaten to powder, they drink in the cholic.

CHAP. XI. — *Of the original Government, Law, and Policy of the Tonquenese, with some Considerations thereon.*

IT is without all dispute that the Tonquenese ever were a nation of themselves different from the Chinese, who call them Munto, or Barbarians, and their country Gannam, because situated far to the south, in reference to them, and the inhabitants bearing a great affinity with other Indians in eating penany, colouring their teeth, going barefoot, and that their right great toe standeth athwart from their foot, as is to be seen yet by some of the Tonqueen cast. But how this country was governed before it was made a province of China is hard to know, since they had in those days no characters, by consequence no history of that time can be extant among them; what was afterward compiled thereof may be suspected as fictitious, invented at pleasure; and indeed they are most of them so unaccountable, that they ought rather to be looked upon as dreams and chimeras than historical narrations; neither is there much appearance of verity in those relations of theirs, which make this people so valiant, that they were not only able to contend with but vanquish also the formidable armies of the prodigious empire of China, and maintain their liberty in spite thereof for many ages; but it is most likely that they have set the best face in their narrations upon their actions, that they might not hand themselves down to posterity and to strangers in the base light which it seems to me their cowardice and ill conduct have deserved.

They pretend they have had the use of the Chinese characters amongst them before the reign of Ding, one of their first kings, according to their best historians, which, by computation, cannot be less than two thousand years; if so, I infer they were once before either conquered, or voluntary subjects to that empire, because the China laws, rites, customs, character, &c. could have been neither of that antiquity, or so entirely and all at once introduced among them, as it was by their own testimony; besides, this agrees with the China chronicles, that mention about the same time their empire was in great glory, calling it a triumphant one, whose limits extended as far as Siam, therefor<sup>e</sup>

therefore there is no reason to believe, this neighbouring kingdom could have remained unmolested, since it lies as a bar, just in the way to hinder and obstruct their progress, but rather that it was immediately incorporated with their empire.

Yet it may be, the Chinese did not keep the country the first time long under subjection, but left them on the invasion of the Tartars, or on some other motives, so that after their departure Ding was King. Now, whether they made him so, or whether he usurped the regality, by the assistance of great numbers of vagabonds, and other scum of the nation, is differently delivered. They say that King Ding had enjoyed the sceptre but a small time, before the great ones murmured against him; the malcontents finding the common people disobedient, whose affections, whether he had lost by cruel and harsh usage, or that they disdained to be any longer subject to their contryman, as it commonly falls out with people accustomed to servitude, to be incapable of using well their new recovered liberty, (with other occult motives and malignant influences that caused the effects of those distractions,) they fell into open rebellion, and took arms against Ding, whom they murdered; whereon ensued bloody civil wars for many years, till being weary, they chose by general consent, a puissant Prince of theirs, called Leedayhang, for their King.

In his reign, they say the Chinese invaded the country, not mentioning for what reason; probably they were Chinese rebels that fled thence, and that this people fought many battles against them with good success. Yet, in the height of this war Leedayhang dying, whether in battle or otherwise is uncertain, left to his successor Libatvie, a politic and valiant Prince, the prosecution thereof, which he carried on with no less valour than prosperity; for having encountered and routed the Chinese in six or seven battles, he restored peace and tranquillity to the whole kingdom, and built that large and magnificent palace of marble, which is now through age so decayed that nothing but the gates and some of the walls of that sumptuous structure remain.

They say, that after this King, his posterity possessed the crown to the fourth or sixth generation successively, and ruled in great prosperity; but the last left the succession to a daughter, having no heir male, which Princess coming to the crown, married a powerful lord of the family of Tran, who ruled with her jointly but few months; for another of their grandees, called Hue rebelled against them, and having vanquished them in battle put them to death, and ascended the throne himself.

He governed not long, for the people conspired against him; for what cause I cannot find: it may be suspected, that he used bad means for the maintaining of his unjust possessions; and having called the Chinese to their assistance, they killed the usurper, and withal lost their own freedom, for the Chinese shewed themselves true auxiliaries, in seizing the whole kingdom for a reward of their labour and victory.

A Chinese viceroy or general was then ordered over this people, to govern them as formerly, which continued for the space of sixteen years, when they began to be weary of the Chinese oppressions and insolence, and withal commemorating their former condition, they resolved unanimously to endeavour to free themselves from the Chinese yoke, and accordingly took arms under the leading of a valiant captain, by name Lee, and fought with the Chinese, and routed them in several battles, killing many of them, with their viceroy or general Luetang; which disaster, with the charges of the war abroad and civil commotions at home, and the small profit this country yielded, were perhaps the motives why the China Emperor Humcew thought convenient to quit it again, which is now about four hundred and fifty years ago. Having therefore imposed on them certain conditions, and taken security for their faithful performance, viz. to come every three years, once to the imperial city, Pekin, with several presents,

which

which they call tribute, and to do homage to the Emperor, in acknowledgement that they hold this their kingdom and liberty of his mere grace and bounty, he withdrew his troops from Tonqueen; and these conditions are punctually observed to this very day.

Among the presents, they are to carry images of gold and silver, made in the posture of criminals, denoting that they are such to the China empire, for the murder of Luetang the aforesaid General, and that they are to remain evermore, supplicants to that court for the said offence. The Kings of Tonqueen have likewise their choap or seal from the Chinese Emperor, as a mark of their dependency. And though this formality be a mere piece of Chinese vanity, yet they make no little ado about it. This year (1683) came here an ambassador from the imperial court of Peking, to bring the title for a Bova, that had been inaugurated above eight or nine years before; he was received with all the pomp and magnificence that the general could devise, or was capable to put in practice, and that not out of love, but mere ostentation, to shew the Tartars his grandeur and puissance. They had presented to their view a great number of soldiers, richly clothed in English and Dutch manufactures, most of their elephants and cavalry in their best furniture, gilded galleys, &c. But for all this, the ambassador did not deign to visit his Highness; as indeed no ambassadors of that empire ever do, making of him no other account than as a plebian usurper, obscure in comparison of their emperors.

But to return: the Chinese having thus forsaken the country, Lee was proclaimed King, who reigned several years, and his family enjoyed the sceptre afterwards uninterrupted, for the space of above two hundred years, and then Mack usurped the crown. This man was of a low and vile original, born about Batshan, a fisher village, at the river's mouth, where the European ships enter it: he was a wrestler by profession, and so dextrous therein, that he raised himself to the degree of a mandareen, or lord. But his ambition, that aspired higher, could not be satisfied with any other condition, but the sovereignty itself, and accordingly he conspired against the King, and effected his design rather by crafty practices and stratagems than force.

Having thus usurped the crown, he fortified Batshan and other places, because of his many enemies, especially of Hoawing, a mighty and powerful Prince, in the province of Tingiva, of whom he most stood in fear, since he was in open defiance of the usurper. This Hoawing married his daughter to Hoatrin, a man of singular strength and valour, who had been formerly a notorious robber, and made him general of his forces, and when he died, left him the guardianship and tuition of his only son, at that time about fourteen or fifteen years of age. Hoatrin having gotten the forces of his deceased father-in-law at his devotion, made open war against Mack, and after many petty encounters, with various success, at last overcame him. The usurper finding himself reduced to a nonplus, was necessitated to fly for his security to Cabury, a kingdom on the frontier of China, and subject to this King, formerly inhabited by a kind of wild people. But Hoatrin came immediately after the victory of Cocha, the metropolis, and having first demolished the fortifications of Mack, he made proclamation, if there was any heir male of the house of Lec, he might freely discover himself, promising to place him on the throne of his ancestors, and protested he had taken arms for that end; and accordingly, when a youth of the house of Lee was brought to him, he expressed much joy, placed him on the throne with abundance of readiness, and owned him his sovereign, ordering every one to pay obedience to Lee, lawful King of Tonqueen, &c., and for himself he reserved the title of Chova, or general of all the forces. This was to the infinite discontentment of his pupil the young Hoawing, who

did not dream but that his brother-in-law, would have converted all the effects of his father's forces and army, with the prosperous success thereof, to his particular use, greatness, and advancement, by excluding the orphan; but he was deceived in his account; for Hoatrin having previously made the requisite provision for the settlement of the government, he sent a peremptory letter to his brother-in-law, requiring his obedience to this Prince of the house of Lee, or by default, to declare him a rebel and open enemy to the state. This occasioned a civil war and a rent in the kingdom of Tonqueen; for young Hoawing, although he was not against Lee, yet could he not endure to think that Tring should make himself general, esteeming that place more justly to belong to him: but finding he was too weak to resist the power of Tring, and to remain so near as Tingwa is to the city of Cacho, he thought it the safest way to retire to Cochin-China, where he was joyfully received by those governors and soldiers, who immediately elected him Chova, or general, to Lee, their lawful Bova, or king, proclaiming Tring a traitor and rebel; so that ever since, now above two hundred and twenty years, this kingdom has remained divided under two lieutenant-generals, with royal authority; both own Lee as King and ruler, according to their antient laws, customs and rights, but are mortal enemies, and wage continual war against each other.

I return now to Tring, and see why as victor he did not ascend the throne, and take upon him the name and title of a King. Certainly it was not for want of ambition, or altogether out of modesty and sense of justice, that he did not accept of any higher title than that of general; but it was in consideration of two very specious reasons: for should he assume the crown and royal title to himself, he would be regarded as an usurper, and expose himself to the general hate and envy of the natives, and more especially to the persecution of Hoawing, who would be able, under the most just and plausible pretexs, to work his ruin and extirpation. The other motive was his apprehension, that the Chinese Emperor should be against him, as knowing he was a stranger to the royal race of the Kings of Tonqueen; whereby Tring would involve himself in a torrent of troubles, and be, probably, the cause of his own perdition; therefore he thought it was the securest way to set up a Prince of the house of Lee, with only the bare name of King, and reserve the royal power for himself; and indeed all that belongs to the sovereign resides in the Chova, for he may make war or peace as he thinks fit, he makes and abrogates laws, pardons and condemns criminals, he creates and deposes magistrates and military officers, he imposes taxes, and orders fines, according to his pleasure; all strangers make their application to him, except the ambassadors of China; and in a word his authority is not only royal, but absolute and unlimited; wherefore the Europeans call him the King, and the true King is called for distinction's sake, the Emperor; whilst the Bova or King is shut up in his palace, attended by none but spies of the Chova; neither is he permitted to stir abroad more than once a year, and that on the great solemnity of their annual sacrifices, &c. As for the rest, he serves only to cry amen to all that the general doth, and to confirm for formalities sake, with his choap, all the acts and decrees of the other; to contest with him the least matter would not be safe for him; and though the people respect the Bova, yet they fear the Chova much more, who is most flattered because of his power.

The general's place is like the King's, hereditary, the eldest son succeeds the father; yet often the ambition of the brothers has occasioned commotions and civil broils, aiming to supplant each other; therefore it is a common saying amongst them, that the death of a thousand Bovas doth not endanger the country in the least; but when  
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the Chova dies, every one's mind is possessed with great tremors and heavy consternation, expecting fearful changes in state and government.

This kingdom is, properly, divided into six provinces, not reckoning the country of Cubang, and a small part of Bowes, which are maintained as conquered lands, that people being of a different language and manner from the Tonqueneſe; and five of the six provinces are governed by their particular governors, which at present are all eunuchs, with ample power; but he that rules in Giang, the frontiers of Cochin-China, the sixth province, is a kind of viceroy, or lieutenant-general, and the militia under him are not less in number than forty thousand soldiers. His authority is in a manner absolute, from whom there is no appeal, except in cases of high treason, to the supreme court of the kingdom. This viceroy is usually a person of great favour, and much confided in by the general, who, to oblige him the more, marries either his daughter or sister to him: it would be of ill consequence to the whole kingdom, especially to the general, if this man should revolt to Cochin-China.

In former times they had eunuchs to govern this province too, but since the trick the Cochin-Chineſe put on one of them, they have not placed there any more as governors in chief. The jest was thus: the Cochin-Chineſe, who hate these kind of creatures, and never employ any of them in business of importance, especially in the militia, knowing the Capon-viceroy of that province was appointed generalissimo for the expedition in hand against them, they sent him, in contempt, a breast-piece of silk, such as is worn by their women, for a present, desiring him to make use of it; giving thereby to understand, that such a dress and ornament better became him than either to command soldiers or to govern provinces, &c. as approaching so near the female sex.

The governors of provinces have for their seconds a literado mandareen, or lawyer, to assist them in civil government and administration of their laws, who sit with the governors in public courts of justice: besides this, each province has its several inferior courts of judicature, and one among the rest that is independent of the governor's authority, the judges whereof have their characters immediately of the sovereign court of the Quan fo Lew, at Cacho.

In small controversies of property, of grounds, houses, debts, or the like, they proceed thus: a man that has an action against another gives his complaint in to ongshaw, or the head of his aldea, who takes some cognizance of the matter, and brings it before the wean quan, head of twenty, thirty, or forty aldeas, or villages, where the plaintiff and defendant are heard, and then sentence is given. But if one of the parties be not content to stand to this award, he appeals to the foe quan, head of eighty, one hundred, or one hundred and fifty aldeas, where the matter is examined, with the sentence of the wean quan, who, as he finds cause, passes his sentence. And in case this does not satisfy them, the suit is brought before the provincial governor, where it receives its final determination, without further appealing, provided the matter is of no great importance, as I said before; but if the debt is considerable, or the pretensions ample, &c. they may appeal from the governor to inga hean, a court as is noted above, which the provincial governors have no jurisdiction over. In this tribunal a tuncy, of the class of the first literadoes, always presides, and from thence the suit may be removed to the several courts of the city, if they are firmly resolved, by prosecuting the law, to ruin each other; and although the judges cannot hinder the parties appealing from one court to another, yet, if two different courts give the like sentence on one and the same cause, then the court from which the appeal is made has the privilege to inflict some corporal punishment on the appellants, or fine them, as is ordained by law.

Criminal cases, as theft, or the like matters, belong wholly to the governors of the province, who punish immediately small offences; but such as deserve death, their sentences are sent to the general, to have his consent for the execution thereof.

The quarrels of the great ones come generally to the city of Cacho; but the names of all the courts, and the precise methods of process, I cannot exactly affirm. However, I think they begin with the courts called Guan Key Dow, then an appeal lies to Quan Gay Chue, and, in case of great moment, petition being made to the general, he remits the cause at last for a revise to Quan fo Lew, who hold their assize in the general's palace. The persons who compose this college are most of them old literados, reputed wise, and such as have been presidents of the chief courts of judicature, and known, or at least supposed to be of great integrity and honesty, and exalted to be principal ministers and counsellors of state, on whose care and prudence reposes the whole weight of the civil government and laws of the kingdom.

Quarrels indifferently about ground, houses, &c. in and about the city, belong to the court called Quan fu Doven, where all such differences are decided; but the party may appeal to Quan gnue Suo, and thus successively to Quan fo Lew, by way of petition.

Rebellion and conspiracy against the general, &c. falls under the cognizance of the court of Quan fo Lew, and the governors of the city put their sentences or decrees in execution, who are as much as presidents of life and death of the city and its jurisdiction; but more immediately appertain to them all causes of murder, theft, and other like crimes, both to judge and punish the offender without further appeal.

They are the rebels that come before the general with a wisp of straw in their mouths, after they have made their peace and obtained pardon, to shew that, by their disorderly life, they have made themselves equal to brute beasts; but not those guilty of murder, as Taverniere is pleased to assert.

The Chinese laws are in use amongst them, which indeed may be considered as their civil and written law; but the temporal edicts, statutes, and constitutions of their princes and chiefest doctors, intermixed with their old customs, are of greatest force, and, in a manner, the whole directory of the government, and the rule of the people's obedience; all which are committed to writing, and digested into several books, that make at present their body of law; and, to give this people their due, they shew much more good nature and honesty than the Chinese, or Aristotle himself, in that respect, where both their laws tolerate, nay, command the exposing of all maimed, deformed, and female children, which are maxims that these people abhor as unnatural and brutish.

With no less disdain they reject that law of their neighbours which encourageth the most execrable and abominable vice, not fit to be named. Questionless their primitive legislators were wise and good-intentioned politicians: but how commendable soever those institutions were, yet the misery of human imperfections, degeneracy by length of time, multiplicity of lawyers, together with the daily increase of other petty officers, have brought justice now to that corruption, that for money most crimes will be absolved, since there are few of their judges but what are subject to bribes.

Justice thus betrayed and perverted, even by its officers, has brought the country into much disorders, and the people under great oppressions, so as to be involved into a thousand miseries; and woe be to a stranger that falls into the labyrinths of their laws, especially into the clutches of their capon-mandareens, to be judges of his particular affairs; for to them it commonly happens in the like cases that matters are referred, and he must look for nothing less than the ruin of his purse, and be glad if he escapes

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without being bereaved of his senses too; whereof I could alledge many examples of my own knowledge, to my woeful experience, were it to the purpose.

Having thus amply spoken of their laws and their manner of proceeding therein, it remains now to consider the other state column as it stands at present, their policy, in which is very remarkable their great veneration for the family of their lawful Kings, whose title, though an empty one, is used in all their writings. The Chovas are exceedingly to be commended for their religious observing their promises to maintain both the royal stock, and the laws and constitutions of the land, and to innovate nothing therein, though repugnant to the interest of their usurped power.

To this is owing chiefly that we see the heir of the crown permitted to live after he is stripped of his rights and royal authority; a thing, I believe, that has no where an example, and is not to be found in the histories of any other nations, and may sound like a strange paradox in the ears of the politicians of other countries. Nor is it altogether the fear of China that ties the general's hands so as not to be able to instigate him against the King, nor ignorance of the power of those temptations which generally the lustre of a diadem inspires in the minds even of such as have no reason to pretend to it; nor are they strangers to the practices of other oriental monarchs, who retain their possessions by what means soever they acquire them, though it be by the perversion of justice and honesty, and the subversion and violation of all laws human and divine.

But in truth, we may say, these generals were moderate, and that of those qualities proper to tyrants, as ambition, covetousness, and cruelty, this last was never found predominant in them; whereof their brothers, who are often entrusted with important employs, as governors of provinces, the conduct of armies, &c. are both convincing proofs and manifest arguments. They are, in short, too generous to follow the maxim of killing them for their own imaginary security.

One prince indeed I knew who was poisoned by order of his brother the general; but the necessity, if one may so say, was so urgent, that there was no other way in that exigency to preserve his own life, as it will be noted in the next chapter.

Their method of promoting scholars to their several degrees, which I have already mentioned, is both regular and just, and a great encouragement to learning and the well-deserving therein.

The often removing their mandareens from their government is good prudence, to prevent plots and conspiracies; but as there is no government but what has its defect as well as its perfection, so this is not wanting in both qualities; and it is certainly a great weakness in their politics, as it is a needless charge to the public to maintain such a great army idle, as they do in time of peace, and must needs be a mighty burthen to the commonalty, who feel the weight most.

The general is likewise short in not making timely provision for the great numbers of his people, since their daily increase will make them too numerous and incapable of living together, therefore it would be a good expedient to find some outlet for those superfluous humours, for fear they might in time cause some violent convulsion in the state, which perhaps might irretrievably overturn it. The last famine, in particular, swept away two-thirds of the inhabitants, who, if they had been employed against the Cochin-Chinese, or some other hostile countries, they might have destroyed it with their very hands and teeth.

The over great confidence the general reposes in the capons, as it is a mean thing, so it is contrary to good policy to tolerate so much evil as they occasion in the state, for the small and unjust benefits which he receives by their means.

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The custom of selling most offices indifferently to such as will pay most for them, not regarding condition or capacity of persons, is certainly a foul merchandize, and a baseness unbecoming the public, especially as to the officers of judicature; for if they buy their places dear, it is likely they will make the most advantage thereof, at the expence of right and justice.

Their militia, as it is also much more numerous than is required in a defensive war (which is a conduct that for several years they have thought it their interest to observe), or besitting peaceable times, so it may prove of dangerous consequence if they should be troublesome. Some years ago these soldiers mutinied, and had they then found one to head them, it would have gone very hard with the general, who perhaps might have experienced from them some such insolences and devastations as several Roman emperors met with from their pretorians, and the Turks from their janissaries. He doth well to shift them from place to place, and change often their commanders, and to keep them in continual labour and action. But the worst of all is, that the captains of his militia are eunuchs, who, generally, are cowardly fellows; and it is thought their business has been the grand cause of the many overthrows this nation has received of the Cochin-Chinese, and will be, as long as they are thus employed, always a hindrance in the conquest of that spot of ground which, in comparison of them, contains but a handful of men.

They trust more to their infantry than to their cavalry or elephants, by reason the country is low, swampy, and full of rivers and brooks, which renders them of small service.

Their soldiers are good marksmen, and in that, I believe, inferior to few, and surpassing most nations in dexterity of handling and quickness of firing their muskets.

Firelocks are not in use amongst them, but the bow is mightily in fashion, in which they are expert to admiration.

In fine, they soon learn their exercise of arms, and are good proficient therein; but to mount the great horse is no more with them than the getting astride on a common beast, which this country produces for the most part small, yet very lively.

Their elephants are trained up for war, and emboldened against some sort of fire-works and the noise of guns, as far as the nature of the creature is capable of. As for artificial fire-works, they are rather ignorant than skilful therein.

Their finances, or invention to bring in money to the general's coffers, over and above his annual revenue, are,—by sale of most offices in the kingdom; by the fines imposed on mandareens and transgressors; the tenths of all contrabands; considerable shares out of the estates of deceased mandareens: but he is heir-general of the eunuchs, or capons, and has in a manner all they leave: add to this his accidental revenue, which comes in by strangers, merchants, &c. (which is more or less, according as ships and vessels come to trade in this part); the poll or head money; excises on provisions, and impositions on inland merchants' commodities, &c.; so that the general's revenues must needs amount to a very considerable sum. But since this money, for the most part, is taken from one to feed the other, the public wealth is nothing bettered thereby, but rather the worse, forasmuch as it is the sweat and blood of the industrious, which the lazy and idle often spend most prodigally and profusely; also for that the oppressive taxes do not surcease thereby; which (together with their proceedings in matters of commerce, which they hold in scorn as much as they despise the traders, neglecting the great convenience they have thereby to render their country rich and flourishing, which is the study of all well-governed nations throughout the world) renders them in the main but a poor and miserable people.

I have noted this more particularly in the chapter treating about the trade, &c. of the kingdom; so referring thereto, I shall proceed next to give some account of the general and his grandees and court.

CHAP. XII. — *Of the General of Tonqueen, his Family, Officers, and Court.*

BY what hath been said in the foregoing chapter, it may easily be understood how far the authority of the Bova of Tonqueen extends, and that the general has really the helm in hand; let us then consider him as the spirit and life of this state. His power is, like that of most eastern Kings, monarchical in excess, yet not so tyrannical as many of them, since they ever had their laws and old customs in great veneration, and comported their actions agreeable thereto.

The present general is the fourth of the house of Tring, in a direct line, that has, as one may say, swayed the sceptre over this people. His family was established in the government as soon as Mack the usurper was suppressed, and then laid the foundation of their present greatness. He is aged fifty-three years, and is a sharp subtle politician, but of an infirm constitution. He succeeded his father in the year 1682, with whom he reigned jointly several years. He had three sons and as many daughters by sundry concubines, but his eldest and youngest sons dying, the second, just on his grandfather's decease, fell mad or distracted, but is now recovered, and has the title of Chu-ta, that is, young general (the usual title of the eldest surviving son), who keeps his court separate, and almost as magnificent as his father, has his mandareens, servants, and officers of the same denomination, only that in precedency they give place to those of the father; but as soon as the prince succeeds the general, then his servants take place of the others, very few excepted, who often, for their wisdom and experience, keep their former stations.

If the general marries, which seldom happens but in their latter years, when there are little hopes of issue by the person, this lady, as wife, is chief of all his women, and has the name and title of Mother of the Land, because of her extraction, which is always royal; but concubines he takes early, and sometimes before eighteen; the number not limited; sometimes three hundred, often five hundred and more, if he pleases; for it is an honour to excel therein; and in the choice of them their beauty is not so much regarded as their art and skill in singing and dancing, and playing on a musical instrument, and to have the wit to divert the general with diversity of pleasing sports. Of these, she that proves mother of the first son is honoured, as soon as her son is declared heir apparent, with the name and title of true and legitimate wife, and though not quite so much respected, yet far better beloved than the former: the rest of the concubines that have children by him are called ducha, or excellent woman; his male children, the eldest excepted, are saluted with the appellation duc-ang, i. e. excellent person, or man; the daughters are called batua, which is as much as to say princess with us; the like titles have his brothers and sisters, but not their children, nor his grand-children, except those descending from his eldest son.

For his own children questionless he provides well, but his sisters and brothers must be content with such revenues as he is pleased to allow them out of the public, which decreases in their family as it declines and grows remote from his blood, so that those of the fourth and fifth descent can expect no such provision.

The present general has many brothers and sisters, but he is not over kind to them, which I take to proceed from his suspicious temper and weakly constitution. Most of his predecessors were otherwise inclined; they admitted their brothers to public affairs,

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and conferred on them the titles and power of generals, field marshals and provincial governors, with the trust of numbers of soldiers, always employing them in honourable charges, and such as became the general's brothers.

As I said before, I could never hear of more than one example amongst them, of killing a brother in cool blood, and is that of the late deceased general against Prince Chechening; which, all circumstances considered, can hardly be termed cruelty. The history runs thus:—

This Chechening was second brother to the deceased general, a prince endued with many heroic virtues; his liberality, generosity and courteous disposition, made him popular, and so beloved among the soldiers that they would call him their father. A prudent captain he was, and no less eminent in valour, for having given the Cochin-Chinese several overthrows, he was so extremely redoubted, that they called him the Lightning of Tonqueen. His fame thus daily increasing both abroad and at home, it at length drove him on the rocks and precipices of his brother's envy and jealousy, which the good Prince perceiving, endeavoured to remove; humbly telling him, he would do nothing but what he should order; and that the good success he had in arms proceeded wholly from his wise and prudent direction, protesting and solemnly swearing, he never did nor would undertake any thing that might in the least be prejudicial to him; and that if the soldiers or rabble should dare to offer him his place, he would not only refuse and abhor it, but punish also most severely the movers of such propositions.

This declaration gave for the present some seeming content and satisfaction to the general; but a few years after, whether the ground was the envy and jealousy aforesaid or that he had done somewhat that could be misconstrued or suspected, or was falsely accused, or whatsoever else the matter was, for it is differently reported, the general sent for him and part of his army from the frontiers of Cochin-China. In obedience to this command, he came to court, where by order of the general, he was immediately clapped in irons, and confined to a certain close prison near the palace.

In this condition he continued several years, by which it seems his faults were not capital, or at least nothing could be proved against him to take away his life; but in the interim, as fate would have it, about the year 1672, the soldiers that were in the city of Chacha, a great number, no less than 40,000 meeting all at once, and filling every corner thereof with fear and tumultuous noises, and driving out thereby its vulgar to their several aldeas, came with sad exclamations to the palace gate, yet had so much reverence as not to enter: they brought no arms but their hands and tongues, rudely bawling forth their random thoughts against the general in opprobrious language, reproaching his ungratefulness towards them, and prodigality to his women, whom he permitted to squander and waste the treasure of the land, while they were ready to perish in want and misery, as if he purposely designed their destruction and confusion by the most uneasy and insupportable methods of famine and nakedness; magnifying their own deserts in his service, threatening to take some severe course, if he did not enlarge their pay, and distribute some money among them committing the mean while a thousand insolent enormities, hovering round the palace, and encamping at the several avenues thereof, as if they intended to besiege the general therein; and in effect none could go out or in without their commission.

In this extremity and strait, the general consulted with the Quan fo Lew, and other privy counsellors what to do. One of them, a great literado, was of opinion, it was best to grant the soldiers their desires, which being moderate they might easily be appeased, alledging that to quell the country people, when rebellious, it was customary

to use the foldiers : but to quiet the mutinous foldiers, money was the only expedient : but another literado, by name Ong Trungdume, of great fame for his wisdom, and in high respect for his dignity, of a violent resolute nature, opposed the first opinion, saying it was imprudent, and of pernicious consequence to indulge a company of mutinous fellows too far ; adding that it was much the better remedy to seize some of the ring-leaders, and put them to death, which would amaze and astonish the rest, as to make them shift for their safety and security. The general inclined most to this last advice, for love of his money, yet was doubtful in his resolution. The foldiers having their spies in the palace, as he had his among them, had presently notice of what passed, which so incensed them against Trungdume, that watching the time of his coming forth the palace to go home, they immediately seized him, and treated him in the cruel and barbarous manner an enraged multitude could invent ; for having inhumanly bruised and beaten him with their fists, knees, elbows, knobs of their fans, &c. they trampled the breath out of his body with their feet, and then dead as he was, they drew him ignominiously through the street to the sandy island near the arsenal, where they tore and cut his body into small pieces. This audacious cruelty, together with other notorious affronts put on several mandareens at the same time, plunged the general and his courtiers in divers deep perplexities, and filled them with mortal fears, in so much that most began to creep in holes and corners to avoid the rage of this terrible tempest, leaving their master in a manner desolate.

The discreetest among the foldiers, finding that they had passed the Rubicon, thought there was no retiring, and therefore advised their companions to provide themselves with a head who might guide and order their irregular and tumultuous proceedings, proposing Prince Chechening as fit for the purpose ; to which they unanimously consented, and would have fetched him out of prison that instant, and proclaimed him general, but that the night, which was already come on, hindered the enterprize, and caused them to defer it to next morning ; but the general having item of their intentions, prepared with his own hands a dose for Prince Chechening, and sent it him in the dead of the night, by a trusty eunuch, with order that he should drink all the potion. The capon, as soon as he came to the prince, after he had made four sombeys, delivered his errand, and the general's present, which the Prince presently guessed to be what it was ; but what he said is not well known, only that he made four sombeys toward the general's palace, and then took off the draught, and in few hours after died. This was the end of Prince Chechening, whose virtue was his greatest crime, the foldiers' unseasonable love causing his untimely death. The next morning he ordered a great quantity of silver and copper cash to be given to the mutineers, quenching thereby in an instant the fire of this popular insurrection : but several of them perished afterwards, few knew how.

It is time now to return from our digression, to take a view of the lords of the blood, mandareens, &c. either civil magistrates or military officers, who at the time of their abode in the city, go every morning early to court to wait on the Chova and Prince. The Bova is complimented on the 1st and 15th of every moon by them, in their violet or blue garb, with caps of their own callico manufactures, in which they are obliged to clothe their retinue. The Chova receives them in great state, sitting at a great distance uncovered, for the more pomp (unless on some solemnity) his numerous lifeguard in arms in the palace yard, surrounded by many capon servants, who carry his order and commissions to the mandareens, and bring their answers, or, according to their method of speaking, supplications, which they deliver to him on their knees. In fine, at this time most state matters are here handled and dispatched ; the acts and resolu-

tions of the *Quan fo Lew*, or supreme court (whose sessions is in this palace) is presented to him, to have his approbation thereon. The Prince likewise has his solicitors near the general (for he himself comes hardly once in a moon to court), who gives him notice of all that passes, that he may regulate his proceedings accordingly. No business of requests or petitions slide in this court except it be greased with presents and gifts answerable to the import of affairs.

It is a goodly sight to see such a crowd of lords, and how every thing is carried here with that decency and decorum that strikes an awe in every beholder, and would have really much majesty in it, if they would dispense with or abrogate that slavish custom of going barefoot. The general indulges his mandareens much, treating them with respect and tenderness as to their lives, which are seldom in danger, but for treason: for other offences they are fined or disgraced, by being turned out of employ, or banished the court.

When any mandareen intercedes for their friends or kindred that have offended, they come covered before the general; then putting off their caps, they fombey four times, a way of reverence or rather adoration, which consists in falling first on their knees, then touching the ground with their bodies, after the Chinese mode, they request his highness to pardon the crime, and impute the fault to the intercessor, who is ready by the sign of standing bare, which on such like occasions intimates the condition of a criminal, to undergo such punishment as the Prince shall please to inflict on him.

About 8 o'clock the general withdraws from the audience palace, and the lords, &c. retire from court, all but the captain of the guards, with some that have offices at court, who are capons, of which a great number being young, are menial servants, who with the domestic maids are only permitted to enter his privy apartments and seraglio of women and concubines.

Of these capons, a pest of mankind, the parasites, sycophants, and perverters of these Princes, there are no less than 4 or 500 belonging to the court, who are usually so proud, imperious and unreasonable, as makes them not less hateful and abhorred than feared by the whole nation; however, the Prince confides most in them, both for domestic and state matters; for after they have served 7 or 8 years in the inner court, they are raised gradually to public administrations and dignities, so as to be graced with the most honourable titles of provincial governors, and military prefects; while several of the more deserving, both of the military officers and the classes of the literadoes, are neglected and suffer for want. But it is certain, the general respects his own present profit (whatsoever the consequence may be) in the advancing them, for when they die, the riches they have accumulated by foul practices, rapine and extortion, fall in a manner all to the general as next heir; and though their parents are living, yet in regard they contributed nothing to their well being in the world, but to geld them, to which they were prompted by great indigence, and hopes of court preferment, therefore they can pretend to no more than a few houses and small spots of ground, which also they cannot enjoy but with the good liking and pleasure of the general.

However, not to detract from truth, some of these capons have been of extraordinary merit, and among them, more especially these three by name, *Ong-Ja-Tu-Lea*, *Ong-Ja-Ta-Foe-Bay*, and *Ong-Ja-How-Foe-Tack*; these were indeed the delight of *Tonqueen*; but they were such as lost their genitals by chance, having had them bit off either by a hog or dog. These sort of capons are by the superstitious *Tonqueenese*, believed to be destined to great preferments and eminence.

The last of these is yet living, and at present governor of *Hein*, and the largest province in the country, admiral of all the sea forces, and principal minister for the  
affairs

affairs of strangers; a prudent captain, a wise governor, and an uncorrupted judge, which renders him admirable to these heathens, and a shame to many Christians, who, though they are blest with the light of the gospel, rarely arrive at that height of excellence, as to know how to be great, good, and poor at once.

Remarkable is what they relate of Ong-Ja-Tu-Lea, famous for his sharp brain, and prodigious parts, and no less for his sudden rise, as strange and tragical fall; whose history take as follows:—

In the minority of the house of Tring (that is to say, before it was firmly established in the government,) the then reigning general having great necessity for some able statesmen, on whom he might disburden some part of his weighty affairs, and being afflicted with continual perplexities on this head, he chanced to dream that he should meet a man the next morning, whom he could trust and employ; and as it happened, the first man that came to the court in the morning was this Tu-Lea, who agreeing exactly with the imaginary picture of his dream, both in proportion, stature and physiognomy, the general conferred with him; and after some discourse found him of great ability, and exactly acquainted with their *arcana imperii*; whereupon he raised him immediately, and in a little while augmented his authority so greatly, that there was hardly any difference between the master and the servant, but if any, Tu-Lea was more respected, courted and feared than the general himself. Whether this was the cause of his displeasure against him, or that this mushroom (raised in a night), forgetting his obligation, prompted by ambitious ingratitude, and blinded by his overmuch prosperity, did conspire really to destroy his master, and to assume the place himself (as the common bruit was), or that this was merely a pretence to colour the general's jealousy of his overgrown greatness, I will not determine; but to be brief, he was by the general's order torn in pieces by four horses, his body and dismembered limbs cut in pieces, and then burnt, and the ashes thrown into the river.

Every year, about the latter end of our January, which falls out about their last moon, all the mandareens, officers and military men are sworn to be faithful to the King and general, and that they shall not conceal treasonable machinations against their persons, on forfeiture of their lives. The mandareens take the like oath of their wives, servants and domestics. He that reveals high treason, has at most but thirty dollars, and a small employ for a reward, which is far short of our author's multiplication.

They have annual musters for the levy of soldiers through the whole kingdom; in which choice they greatly respect the tallness of persons. Those of extraordinary height are allotted to be of the general's life guard, the others are disposed of according to occasions.

All those that have any degree in learning and handicrafts-men are exempt from this muster. How they proceed with deserters I cannot affirm; but am certain the Tonqueenese know not what hanging means; their way is to behead them; only those of the royal blood are strangled. I must needs say they are neither cruel nor exquisite in these inventions.

As for strangers they employ none, thinking none so wise as themselves; however, when I came from Siam, I was examined about the affairs of that kingdom and Cochin-China, and concerning my voyage in the Tonqueen sing-ja, and whether those boats might be able to transport soldiers through the high seas; to which I answered as I thought fit. Then I was questioned how, if the general should give me the command of two or three hundred soldiers to be employed against Cochin-China? To which I replied, I was by profession a merchant, consequently ignorant of martial affairs, and

therefore incapable of serving his highness in that respect; which excuse and refusal, though it served for that time, yet it operated against me when I was accused by the Chinese.

With the nobility of this country, as I have hinted elsewhere, and acquainted you that nobility only descends to the posterity of the King and general, and that only to the third degree; but the rest as they obtained it by arms, learning, or money, so it is but *durante vita*. By the first means few are raised, by the second some, but the third is the true loadstone which attracts most favour.

The general's court stands in Cacho, almost in the midst of the city: it is very spacious and walled about; within and without built full of low small houses for the convenience of the soldiers: within they are two stories high most open for air. The gates are large and stately, all of iron work, as indeed the greatest part of the palace is. His own and women's apartments are stately and costly edifices, set forth with carved, gilded and lacquer work. In the first plain of the court are the stables for his biggest elephants and best horses; on the hinder part are many parks, groves, walks, harbours, fish-ponds, and whatsoever else the country can afford for his pleasure or recreation, since he seldom stirs out.

CHAP. XIII. — *That there is no such Manner of Coronation and Inthronization of their Kings as is related by M. Taverniere.*

AS our author is most erroneous throughout his book, so this his thirteenth chapter is in a manner one entire error; for how diligent soever I was to enquire of their learned men, and other persons of quality, I could not find that they used the solemnity of inthroning or coronation of their Kings, with such pomp and magnificence, or any thing like it, as he relates; nay, scarce that they observe any ceremony at all.

They told me that such external gallantries and all ostentations were contrary to their customs and practice: for when their King or general dies, all public shews whatever that express mirth or demonstrate any magnificence, or have any sign of glory, so much as the wearing gold, silver, or gaudy cloaths, are not only forbidden throughout the whole kingdom, but reckoned very scandalous to be used. Neither must a courtier, during the time of his mourning for his Prince, appear in rich furniture himself, or in his horse, elephants, palankeens, hammocks, &c.; but the worst, coarsest, and meanest habiliments they can invent are accounted the properest, especially for the highest dignified and nearest of blood, with many other nice observations whereof more amply in due place.

All the ceremony they use on these occasions, consists only to sombey, and present the Prince so succeeding, who entertains the complimentors of note with meat, yet not with the usual court splendor or merriment, by reason of his mourning for his predecessor. But was it usual with them to advance their King (who at present has no interest in the state) with so much grandeur and state to the throne, questionless they would have some degrees of honour likewise for the general when he assumes his dignity; since his power and authority, though intruded, controls all, and that on all occasions he is most respected and observed.

In 1682, when I arrived here from Siam the old general was newly deceased: his heir made no noise at all when he succeeded; nay he carried himself so private therein, that none abroad heard of court matters, or perceived the least alteration of government whatsoever; neither would he receive the usual honours from his own mandarrens, or admit strangers to audience, either to condole his sorrows, or to congratulate his

his advancement ; only their presents were received. Thus, without any other formality, the general took possession of his office ; and undoubtedly he would never condescend the King should exceed him in that kind, not only because he is to bear all such charges and expences, but also for fear the other should increase too much in reputation thereby.

Our author then is to be admired for relating things both unknown and contrary to the customs of this people : confidently affirming his brother was an eye witness of that ingenious invented romance, on this occasion : for what are they else than fables, to say that, in this solemnity, all the artillery of the court walls were fired, when there is not so much as a great gun upon the walls, nor ever was, by relation ; that all the soldiers were drawn thither from the frontiers, which is to open the gates of the kingdom to the Cochin-Chinese, who are always upon the watch for such an opportunity, to incorporate with their dominion the two adjoining provinces, which were once ruled by the predecessors of their Chova ; that they swear fidelity to the King, and that they will defend him and the country against the Chinese their inveterate enemies, when as we have recounted they are tributary to the Chinese empire, now in possession of the Tartars, whom they endeavour by all means imaginable not to offend, for fear of losing their country and freedom ; that the King's liberality extends that day to one million of panes of gold, which in silver amounts at least to one hundred and fifty millions of crowns, a sum I am sure the whole kingdom can hardly muster up both in gold and silver, though he aims to persuade the world that the King of Tonqueen possesses the riches of Cræsus ; that the King makes presents of money to officers of unknown names, and officers never heard of in the country ; that he bestows so many panes of gold and silver on the constable, meaning thereby the general, from whom he receives all he has ; that the sacrifices should be so large as to contain that prodigious number of beasts, whereby necessarily the plough must stand still, and the people be content to fast the whole year as to flesh.

After this epicurean banquet, together with what he mentions of the bonzes, fireworks, bird-nests, colt's flesh, &c. impertinent contradictions and absurdities, not worthy regard : I must confess he notes some things and passages here proper to Siam, and agreeable to the manners and constitutions of that people, so that he is only mistaken in the application. What is to be said of the King's going out I will note in the next chapter.

The ladies of quality, when they go abroad, are carried according to their several degrees, either in close sedans or hammocks upon the shoulders of men. Neither does this nation keep their women so strict from the sight of others, as the Moors and Chinese do.

The celebration of their nativity they observe very punctually, from the Prince to the meanest, each to his ability and power, with feasting, music and other pastimes, fire works excepted ; in which they are very deficient, as I hinted before. They are also presented on the said occasions by their kindred, friends and dependants, who attend them to honour the solemnity.

As to the King's liberality, who sent his son and successor a donative of a thousand panes of gold, intrinsic value, an hundred and fifty thousand dollars, and five hundred bars of silver, above seven thousand dollars at once, it is altogether impossible ; because the yearly revenue allowed him, comes to no more than eight thousand dollars. He errs likewise in his multiplication, making those panes of gold and bars of silver to be only an hundred and twenty thousand livres.

As to the King's successor, he himself is often ignorant which of his sons is to succeed him, if he has more than one; and if but one, it is not certain that he shall be King after him, since it lies in the general's breast to name such an one as he likes best, provided he be of the royal stock; though he seldom puts by the next heir, unless it be for great reasons, and urgent political motives, &c.

CHAP. XIV — *Of the Ceremony of the King's blessing the Country, vulgarly amongst them called Bova-dee-yaw, or, according to their Characters, Can-Ja.*

THE King seldom or never goes out to take his pleasure, but once a year he shews himself in public (not reckoning when he is carried by the general on particular occasions) on the solemnization of their grand ceremony, at the beginning of their new year, on a particular chosen day; for they believe some to be good, others better, some indifferent, others bad; whereof they are so superstitiously observant as to undertake nothing of importance, without consulting first most seriously both their China almanacks and blind country diviners.

The King, general, and Prince, with most of the mandareens of the court, on this solemn occasion, go before break of day severally to a place at the south end of the city purposely built for this occasion, with three gates different from their other pagodas; neither are there any images in the house. Here they stay without in sundry apartments till day light: the King in the mean time is to wash his body, and put on new cloaths never worn before.

About eight of the clock a piece of ordnance is fired; on which signal the general, Prince and Mandareens repair to the King, to do homage, though it extends as to the general and Prince, no further than a bare point of formality. This compliment passes in silence, yet with much state and gravity on both sides: then immediately the second signal of a gun is heard; whereupon the King is accompanied to the gates of the said house, which are all shut, whereat he knocks, and is by the door-keeper asked who he is. He answers, the King, and they let him in; but none may enter with him, that being contrary to their superstition. Thus he does three several times, till he comes into the house, where he falls to his devotion and supplications, having kept a strict fast to his gods, after their mode; which done, he seats himself in a gilt chair placed in the yard of the said house; and having paused a little, a plough with a buffalo tied to it, in the same manner as they use them for tilling the ground, is presented him, who holding it by the place usually taken hold of when they work it, he blesses the country, and teaches the people by this emblem, that none should be ashamed to be a husbandman, and that the diligent, industrious and provident, especially in the culture of the ground, may certainly expect the enjoyment of their labour and pains.

I am informed by some, that, at the same time, the ceremony of the cups is used; others again contradict that, and affirm it to be on the day of installing the new King.

Be it when it will, the manner is thus: on a bandesia or lacquered table stands several cups with prepared victuals in them; and among the rest there is one with boiled white rice, another with yellow rice, one with water, and one with herbs or greens: all these cups are neatly covered with fine paper, and with starch fastened thereon, so that one cannot be known from another. One of these the King takes at adventure, which is immediately opened, and if he lights on the yellow rice, there is great rejoicing, because it portends (as they believe) plenty in the land; if on the white rice, a good harvest;

if water, an indifferent year ; but the herbs or greens is extreme bad, denoting great mortality, famine and desolation ; and so the rest of the cups every one hath its particular signification and augury, according to what their idolatry and superstition dictates.

With this ends this grand ceremony ; and the third gun being fired, the King mounts his open chair, covered with many umbrellas, and is carried on the shoulders of eight soldiers, as it were in procession, through several streets to his palace, accompanied by many literados in the China vests all on foot. He is likewise attended by a handsome guard of the general's soldiers, some elephants and horses, under the noise of drums, timbrels, scalmay, copper basons and hautboys, &c. standards and colours flying.

As he passes along he demonstrates his liberality to the poor spectators and aldea people, by throwing cash or copper coin amongst them. A while after the King, the general follows riding on a stately elephant, waited on by many Princes of his own, and royal family, with most of the military officers and civil magistrates of the kingdom, richly attired and guarded by a detachment of three or four thousand horse, and about an hundred or an hundred and fifty elephants with sumptuous furniture, and an infantry of no less than ten thousand men, all fine and gallantly clothed with coats and caps made of European manufactures, so that he far exceeds the King in pomp and magnificence. He comes a great part of the same way the King did, till he arrives at the street that leads directly to his palace, where turning he leaves the other on his march. The Prince brings up the rear of this cavalcade ; he has half the train of his father, comes the same way, but takes the nearest cut to his own palace.

#### CHAP. XV. — *Of the Theckydaw, or purging the Country from all malevolent Spirits.*

THE theckydaw is observed commonly once every year, especially if there be a great mortality amongst the men, elephants or horses of the general's stables, or the cattle of the country ; the cause of which they attribute to the malicious spirits of such men as have been put to death for treason, rebellion, and conspiring the death of the King, general, or Princes, and in that revenge of the punishment they have suffered, they are bent to destroy every thing and commit horrible violence. To prevent which their superstition has suggested to them the institution of this theckydaw, as a proper mean to drive the devil away, and purge the country of evil spirits. For the performance of which the general consults and elects a fit day, which commonly happens about the twenty-fifth of our February ; just on the chaop's re-assuming new life and vigour. When the needful orders are given for preparation, and that every thing is got in readiness, then the general, with most of the Princes and other qualified persons of the land, repairs to the arsenal about eight o'clock in the morning of the day appointed ; he either rides on an elephant or horse, or else in a palanquin upon wheels, which is pushed forwards by lusty fellows kept for that purpose, and shadowed by many umbrellas. The guard that follows him is very numerous, not less than sixteen or eighteen thousand men, besides elephants and horses, all set forth to the best advantage. The streets through which he passes, are adorned with standards, pendants, and armed soldiers, to hinder the people from opening either doors or windows, for fear of sinister designs and machinations, though strangers are sometimes permitted to see this stately procession, if they will request it.

Being arrived at the arsenal, the mandareens go to their several posts (which have been kept for them by their soldiers) on the sandy island near the said arsenal, which is heaped

heaped up, and increased yearly by the descending waters from China, whose rapid and violent courses do not only eat away much of the land in some places, and cast it up again in others, but spoil the river too: here, I say, they build many slight houses with bamboos, and raise infinite tents to shelter them from the injuries of rain and sun, and place their soldiers, foot, horse, and elephants as it were in battle array, with flying colours, standards and pendants, their ordnance placed on advantage, the boats of war along the bank in good posture, and every thing else in the method of an exact formidable army, noble and glorious to behold; and is indeed a shew that would, above all others, sufficiently express the power of the kingdom, were but their courage proportionable to their conveniences, and their leaders men instead of capons; for the number of infantry present on that occasion cannot be less than eighty thousand soldiers, well disciplined, expert either for sword, pike, musket, aigenats, &c. and the cavalry about five thousand, with rich furniture, armed with bows, arrows, swords and guns: then there are about two hundred and fifty elephants trained up for war, many of them fearless of fire and the noise of guns, having on their backs a box or chair richly gilded and lacquered, and two men in them with a kind of carabines and lances; and there are not less than three hundred pieces of artillery ranged in proper order: nor do the lords, mandareens, commanders, &c. in their best garb of fine scarlet, with gold buckles on the breast, in manner as we wear our loops, and a cap of the said cloth on their heads, make the least part of this glorious shew. The soldiers of the general's life guards are stout lusty fellows, some of prodigious height, with caps and coats of the same fashion and fabrick as those of the mandareens, the gold loops excepted, and the cloth not altogether so fine. The general's ten horses and six elephants of state far outshine the rest in splendour, their furniture being massy gold and scarlet, with an infinite number of standards, flags, pendants, hautboys, drums, copper basons, and all other sorts of warlike music, and gallantry, ranged promiscuously; and the whole being attended with a vast concourse of people, makes the island very glorious and pleasant for that time.

Every thing being thus ready, three blows on a large drum are heard, keeping good time between every stroke, which sounds almost like the discharge of a small piece of ordnance: on this signal the general comes from the arsenal to the place, where the soldiers stand in order, and enters the house prepared for him. In a while after, three other strokes are given on a great copper bason or gong, in the same manner as on the drum for distance of time; the general beginneth then to offer meat offerings to the criminal devils and malevolent spirits (for it is usual and customary likewise amongst them to feast the condemned before their execution), inviting them to eat and drink, when presently he accuses them in a strange language, by characters and figures, &c. of many offences and crimes committed by them, as to their having disquieted the land, killed his elephants and horses, &c., for all which they justly deserve to be chastised and banished the country. Whereupon three great guns are fired as the last signal; upon which all the artillery and musquets are discharged, that, by their most terrible noise the devils may be driven away; and they are so blind as to believe for certain, that they really and effectually put them to flight.

At noon every one may feast himself at his own cost, but the soldiers are fed with the offered meat.

In the evening the general retires to his palace in the same state with which he went forth, much glorying that he has vanquished his enemies on so easy terms.

The Bova or King never appeareth in this solemnity; perhaps the general suspects that the soldiers, if they should be dissatisfied with him, might take the opportunity

revolt and confirm the King the real and essential power which at present resides in him, and therefore finds it unsafe that the King should be then present; but on journeys in the country, be they but for two or three days (if he makes any), and when he goes to war, he never omits to carry the King along with him, not only to cloke all his designs with the royal name, but also to prevent any plots which in his absence the King might give into to his utter ruin, or by condescension permit others to seize his royal person, whereby they would authorise their pretensions and gain so much reputation as might subvert and confound both the general's greatness and government.

They imagine our way of firing great guns to compliment friends, or the saluting therewith each other's health, very strange and barbarous, because contrary to their customs, since they entertain only their enemies and the malicious devils with such a noise as is related.

#### CHAP. XVI. — *Of the Funerals in general.*

THE Tonqueenese as they have a great horror at death, so the conceit they have thereof is not less superstitious; for they believe that only the spirits of young children are transmigrated into the bodies of other infants who are yet in the mother's womb; but all others come to be devils, or at least spirits that can do either good or harm; and that they would wander up and down as poor vagabonds ready to perish for want and indigence if they were not assisted by their living kindred, or if they did not steal and commit violence to subsist; so that death, in their estimation, is the ultimate and greatest misery that can befall human nature. They note with incredible care and exactness the time, hour, and day (all which are distinguished by several particular names as, apes, cats, dogs, mice, &c.), wherein a party dies; which if it happen at the like time in which his father, mother, or near relations were born, it is reckoned very ominous and bad for his heirs and successors, who therefore permit not the corpse to be interred till their conjurors and diviners advise them of a good and auspicious time for which they wait sometimes two or three years, sometimes less, as their critical rights and blind doctors shall direct them. The body is confined the meanwhile and kept in a particular place, and must stand no other ways than on four stakes erected for that purpose.

This nicety is only observed among the rich, but others who do not die in this scruple, are buried within ten or fifteen days: but the longer the corpse is kept, the more expensive it is, not only to the wife and children (who present him daily three times with victuals, and keep always lamps and candles burning in the room, besides the offering of incense, perfumes, and a quantity of gold and silver paper, some made in the shape of gold and silver bars, others in the likeness of horses, elephants, tigers, &c.), but the rest of the kindred and relations are also obliged to contribute their several shares to the general feast, but most liberally at this time; besides it is very toilsome and a great deal of trouble both to the children and all that are of kin, to resort so often to the corpse to salute and adore it, by prostrating themselves four times on the ground, and lamenting him three times a day at the hours of repast, with endless other ceremonies too tedious here to relate.

All that have means are very careful to provide their own coffin, when they are well advanced in years in which they are extraordinary choice, both as to the thickness and goodness of the wood, as well as workmanship, and regard no expences to have it to their fancies.

They observe this distinction in the sexes : if a male die he is clothed with seven of his best coats, if a female with nine. In the mouth of those of quality, are put small pieces of gold and silver with some seed pearl. This they fancy will not only render him honourable in the other world, but prevent also want and indigence ; yet the poorer sort use the scrapings of their fingers and toes, believing that the mouth of the deceased being filled with this filth he cannot plague and torment his living relations. Likewise some will place on the coffin a cup of rice, which is shifted every meal, and at last buried with the corpse.

They use no nails to fasten the lid to its coffin, but cement it with lacquer so tight as is really admirable, esteeming it a great injury to nail up the body of the deceased.

When the sons accompany the corpse they are clad for that day in very coarse robes, made of the refuse of silk, and caps of the same stuff which are tied with cords on their heads ; they have staves in their hands to lean on for fear grief should cause them to faint.

The wives and daughters of fashion have a curtain very large held over their heads, that they may not be seen, yet they are easily heard by their moans and lamentations, which are made  *viva voce*  and very loud. As the corpse is carried through the streets, the eldest son will lie down now and then on the ground, for the corpse to pass over him (which in their opinion is the greatest mark of filial duty) : then rising again, he pushes the coffin back with both his hands, as it were to stop it from going further on, which is continued till they come to the grave.

Painted and gilded images in the shapes of men and beasts, all of paper work, follow the hearse in great numbers, with some friars, with the noise of drums, timbrels, hautboys, copper-bassons, &c. much in the nature of a Popish procession : which paper finery is to be burnt immediately after the interment.

More or less sumptuous is the funeral according to the condition or quality of the person ; for those of account are not only carried by many men, but have also double coffins, one in another, and over it a canopy of state, richly set forth, attended by soldiers, and honoured with the presence of great mandareens.

Their manner is to cut their hair to the shoulder, and to wear ash-coloured cloaths, and a particular sort of straw hats, for the space of three years, for either father or mother ; yet the eldest son must add thereunto three months more ; for other relations less.

Their way of reckoning is very strange ; for if one should die, or a child be born in January, be it the last day of the moon, February following being the first moon of their new year, they count him to have been dead two years, or the child to be two years old, when, in effect, it is no more than one day.

During the time of their mourning, they seldom use their wonted lodgings : they lie on straw mats on the bare ground, their diet is not only mean and sparing, but the very bandusia and cups the victuals are served in, are coarse and of the worst sort. They forbear wine and go to no feasts or banquets ; they must lend no ear to music, nor eye to dancing, nor contract matrimony ; for on the complaint of their kindred on this head, the law will disinheret them. They have a great care not to appear in public anywise fine, but rather austere abstain from all merriment and finery whatsoever : but as the three years grow near an end, they gradually decline too in the severity of this discipline.

Their sepulchres are in the several aldeas of their parents' nativity, and unhappy is he deemed whose body or bones are not brought home, as they term it ; but how to chuse

chuse the best place to inter the dead, is the grand mystery, and held to be of that consequence that they verily believe, that infallibly thereon depends the happiness or misery of their successors; wherefore they usually consult many years with Tay-de-lee, before they come to a conclusion in that affair.

During these times of mourning, they feast the dead four times a year, in the months of May, June, July, and September, spending in each of them two, three, or four days; but the sacrifice which is made at the expiration of the three years is the greatest and most magnificent of all, though they are in the rest prodigal enough, and will spend not only their whole substance therein, but run themselves in debt too, and yet are for so doing both highly respected and commended of friends and acquaintance. After this they keep their anniversary offering on the day of the party's decease, which is punctually observed from generation to generation to perpetuity. I have in jesting told some of them I should not like to die a Tonqueense, were it only because the custom of the country whilst living allowed me three meals a day, but when dead they would feed me but once a year: a severity more than sufficient to starve the dead had they need of food.

It cannot fail of being entertaining to our readers to add to our author in this place, what the learned father Calmet has collected in relation to the practice of setting food upon the tombs of the dead; and of repasts made at their funerals: whereby it will be perceived that this custom is not confined to Tonqueen or even to China, but that it had obtained almost universally in the darker ages of the world. What he says will be found under the head of Repast, and is so curious that we shall give the translation of of it entire.

“Repast or food,” says he, “that was set upon the tombs of the dead. *Cæna mortui*. Baruch (ch. 6. v. 31.) mentions it in these words: *Rugiant autem clamantes contra deos suos, sicut in cæna mortui*. The Pagans howl in the presence of their gods, as in the repast which is made for the dead. He speaks of certain solemnities wherein the idolators used to make great lamentations: for example, in the feasts of Adonis. As to the repasts for the dead, they are distinguished into two kinds: one was made in the house of the defunct, at the return of the mourners from the grave. To this were invited the kindred and friends of the deceased, where they did no fail to express their grief by cries and lamentations. The other kind was made upon the tomb itself of the dead person, where they provided a repast for the wandering souls, and believed that the goddess Trivia who presides over the streets and highways, repaired thither in the night time. But in truth they were beggars and poor people, who came thither in the darkness of the night, and carried away what was left upon the tomb.

‘Est honor et tumulis animas placare paternas,  
Parvaeque in extructas munera ferre pyras. OVID, Fast.’

“Sometimes, however, the relations made a small repast upon the tomb of the deceased.

“The custom of setting food upon the sepulchres of the dead was common among the Hebrews. Tobit thus advises his son: Pour out thy bread on the burial of the just, but give nothing to the wicked. That is to say, not to partake in the repast, with the relations who performed the same ceremony. And Jesus the son of Sirach affirms, that delicacies poured upon a mouth shut up are as messes of meat set upon a grave. What is thus set upon a tomb is utterly lost as to the dead person; he can have no benefit from it. And elsewhere, A gift hath grace in the sight of every man living, and for the dead detain it not.

“ This custom was almost universal ; we find it among the Greeks, the Romans, and almost all the people of the East. It still obtains in Syria, in Babylonia, and in China. St. Austin observes that in his time in Africa, they laid victuals upon the tombs of the martyrs and in church-yards. The thing at first was done very innocently, but afterwards it degenerated into an abuse ; and the greatest faints and most zealous bishops, as St. Austin and St. Ambrose, had much difficulty to suppress it. St. Monica being at Milan had a mind, according to custom, to offer bread and wine to the memory of the martyrs ; but the porter would not open the door to her, because St. Ambrose had forbid him ; she therefore submitted with an humble obedience.

“ The repast that was made in the house of the deceased among the Jews was also of two kinds. One was during the time that the mourning continued, and these repasts were looked upon as unclean, because those that partook of them were unclean, as having assisted at the obsequies of the dead person.

“ Hosea says, Their sacrifices shall be unto them as the bread of mourners ; all that eat thereof shall be polluted. And in the form that the Israelites made use of, when they offered their first fruits, they addressed themselves thus to the Lord : O Lord, I have not neglected thy ordinances ; I have not used these things while I was in mourning ; I have made no use of them at the funerals of the dead. God would not permit Ezekeal to mourn for his wife. Cover not thy lips and eat not the bread of men. And Jeremiah : Neither shall men give them the cup of consolation to drink for their father or for their mother.

“ The other repasts made in the time of mourning, are those which were given after the funeral. Josephus relates that Archelaus treated the whole people in a magnificent manner, after he had completed the seven days mourning for the King his father. He there adds, that it was the custom of his nation to make great feasts for the relations ; which could not be done without an injury to many families, which were not in a condition to support such large expences. Saint Pauline commends Pam-machius for having made a great feast for the poor in the basilicon of St. Peter, on the day of the funeral of his wife Paulina.”

#### CHAP. XVII. — *Of the Funeral Pomp of the Chova or General of Tonqueen.*

THE funeral obsequies of the chova or general of Tonqueen are performed with the same pomp and magnificence as were usually observed at the burial of their former Kings, and in many respects exceed that of their present King. As soon then as the general dies his successors and courtiers endeavour, with all imaginable art, to conceal his death for the space of three or four days ; for should it presently be known abroad, it would unavoidably put the country, especially the chief city of Gacho, in great terror and consternation, because it has constantly happened at the decease of every one of them (this last excepted), that the state was disturbed with broils, contentions, and civil wars, amongst the surviving sons and brethren, who strive for superiority ; wherefore it is no marvel, if in this case the people are affected with their contention.

The first thing they do to their dead general is to wash his body, and to put on him seven of his best coats, and to present him with victuals, with which he is served in the best manner possible. Then his successor and all the Princes and Princesses of the blood come to lament his departure, prostrating themselves five times before him, weeping aloud, asking him why he would leave them, and what he wanted, &c. After them, the mandareens most in favour are permitted to perform their duty, but  
their

their ceremony of condolance is returned them again, by the Prince successor and eldest son, though they dare not to receive it. Except those persons, none are admitted to have a sight of the defunct; nay those related afar off cannot have this honour. After which ceremony they put into his mouth small pieces of gold, silver, and seed pearl. The corpse is laid in a stately coffin laquered over very thick, and of excellent wood: at the bottom of which they strew powder of rice and carvances to prevent any noisome smell, over which they spread fine quilts and carpets. The corpse thus served is placed in another room, where lamps and candles are continually kept burning: thither all his children, wives and nearest kindred repair three times a day, when the deceased is presented with victuals, namely in the morning between five and six o'clock, twelve at noon, and five in the evening, and they pay their adoration to him. This continues all the time he is above ground.

There is no such thing as embalming the body to lie in state sixty-five days, and liberty for the people to come and see him, as our author pretends; neither do the bonfes and poor partake of the victuals set before him; nor does the provincial governor receive any orders from court how long the country is to mourn, since their custom directs them therein sufficiently, without such particular provisions. The whole country is obliged to mourn, as well for the general as King, the space of twenty-four days; the Prince successor, three years and three months, his other children and wives, three years; the other near relations, one year; and those further off, from five, and others but three months; but all the great mandareens, three years equal with the children.

I cannot imagine in what part of the palace those towers he speaks of stood, or what became of those bells that never left tolling, from the general's expiring to the bringing of the corpse into the galley, since they were silent at the last funeral pomp of the general in 1683.

When the needful preparations are ready, then the galleys appointed to transport and accompany the body, wait near the arsenal, which is not distant two days' journey as he says from the palace, but only something less than half an hour, whither the corpse is conducted in the following manner:

Several companies of soldiers, all in black, with their arms, being led by their respective captains, or mandareens, bring up the van of this funeral pomp, marching on gravely and silently; then follow two fellows of gigantic stature, carrying a kind of partisans, with targets in their hands, and a mask or vizard on their face, to scare the devil, and open the way for the hearse to pass; next come the musicians, with their drums, hautboys, copper basons, &c. playing their mournful tunes, which really are very doleful. Next is carried the funeral eulogium and titles, which are more illustrious than what he had in his life time: and he is stiled, the incomparable greatness, most precious and noble father of his country, of most splendid fame, and the like; all which is embroidered in golden characters, on a piece of fine scarlet, or crimson damask, which is fixed on a frame of two or three fathoms high, and almost one fathom wide, and erected on a pedestal and carried on the shoulders of twenty or thirty soldiers of the life guard.

After this their idol, or pagoda, takes place, carried in a small gilded house, but with great reverence; then the two pennants, followed by the mausoleum, or state cabin, richly gilded and curiously carved, wherein is the general's corpse. The said mausoleum doth not stand in a chariot, nor is it drawn by eight stags trained to that service, and led by so many captains of the life guard, as related by our author (for it is a rare thing to see either deer or stag in this country); but it is carried on the

shoulders of a hundred or a hundred and fifty soldiers, in good order and great silence, with many fans and umbrellas round about it, as well to shade it as for state.

Just behind the hearse comes the eldest son and successor, with his brothers, all clad with coats, made of refuse silk, not unlike our sackcloth, of a brown colour, tied with cords to their bodies; their caps are of the same, and fastened in like manner; they all have sticks in their hands, and only the eldest has straw shoes. These are immediately followed by the deceased's wives, concubines, and daughters, under a curtain or pavillion of white calico, very coarse, their garb of the same stuff, howling and lamenting. Behind these come the servants of the inner court, both damsels and young capadoes; as the front, so the rear and flanks are guarded by armed soldiers, under their several commanders, so that in this funeral pomp, neither elephants, horses, nor chariots appear, as he relates, unless those of paper and painted wood, whereof great quantities accompany the interment to be burnt at the grave.

Being arrived at the galleys, in one of them, which is all black, laquered plain, and without any ornament of carved and gilded work, the corpse is placed: the rest of the galleys that attend the solemnity are but ordinary, fifty or sixty in number. Thus they set forth from Cacho for Tingeva, the aldea and birth place of his ancestors, a journey of five or six days at least, as they make it; for the galley the corpse is in is towed leisurely by five or six others, and must use neither oars, nor make the least noise by drums or music, for fear of disturbing the dead. The other galleys are also to keep as much silence as may be. By the way they stop at certain places in each province appropriated by the said governors to sacrifice; for which service they prepare large provisions of cows, buffaloes, hogs, &c. The new general however very often stays at home, and seldom permits any of his brothers to go for fear of plots, and innovation, but his sisters are commanded to attend the funeral. The ordering the whole solemnity is intrusted to the care and solemnity of some great favourite.

When they arrive at the intended aldea, there is more than a little to do with their obsequies and ceremonies, according to their rites: the particular place where he is buried few know precisely, and those are sworn to secrecy; and this not for fear of losing the treasure that is interred with him, as M. Taverniere fancies, (for there is none but what is put into their mouths as I mentioned before), but out of superstitious motives as well as state jealousy; for as they believe they shall be happy and great if they meet with a good favourable sepulchre for their relations, so the general is always fearful that the place where his predecessor rests being known to their enemies, it would depend on their malicious power to ruin his family, only by taking out his ancestors' bones and interring those of their own family in their place. Indeed we have many examples in this country of such fools as thought to make way for their exaltation, by thus transplacing the bones of the dead men; but as many as have attempted it have suffered for their foolish presumption.

As to those lords and ladies that, according to him, will needs be buried alive with the King or general, it is a thing so contrary to their customs, as well as repugnant to their natures, that I verily believe if they thought we had such an opinion of them, they would treat us as brutes and savages. Nor do I know of any city and its fair castle, in the whole kingdom of Tonqueen, that is called Bodligo; but indeed those banks of the river opposite to the city of Cacho are called Bode; but however there is neither King's house, palace, or castle, on or near the same.

But it remains to speak something of their third annual sacrifices and feast, for the defunct general, which happens about three months before the mourning expires. The

celebration whereof extends not only to his family, but all the mandareens that hold any office must appear at this grand solemnity, to pay their offerings in token of their gratitude to the deceased benefactor and common father.

The manner is thus: just before the arsenal on the sandy island, there are built of bamboos and slight timber many large and spacious houses, after the manner of their palaces, with wide yards and open courts, wrought most curiously with basket-work, &c. The apartments thereof, especially that where the altar stands, are richly hung with gold and silver cloth; the posts and stands are either covered with the same or with fine scarlet, or other European manufactures; the roof is canopied with silk damask, and the floor is covered with mats and carpets. The altar itself is most curiously carved, lacquered, and splendidly daubed with gold to profusion of cost, labour, and diligence. And as this is the general and his family's share, so the mandareens of quality according to their abilities, strive to outdo each other in their funeral piles, as I may call them, which are placed round about the former work, in good order and at an equal distance and height, and of a like fashion, either four, six, or eight feet square, about fifteen or twenty feet diameter, resembling much our large lanterns, open all sides, with shutters within, the banisters and rails very neatly set forth with rich painted, carved, and lacquered work, and hangings of costly silk and good pieces of broad cloth; the structure itself of slight timber and boards: the great mandareens each build two of these; the others, one a piece; so that this barren place is covered in less than the space of fifteen days, with all this finery which makes it resemble another city, or an Antiochian-like camp: in which interim the whole country flocks thither to see this goodly and pompous erection; and many strange beasts, as tigers, bears, baboons, monkeys, and what other wild creatures they can get, are brought thither from far places; for which they have been sometimes diligently seeking perhaps days and years. From all which the people (who gather together in such prodigious crowds, as to give a great idea of the populousness of the country), take occasion to admire the general's grandeur, and live to his deceased father. But for about three days before the time prefixed for this sacrifice, no spectators are so much as to approach this place, because then they are busied in setting the image of the defunct before the altar, richly habited with many coats, and to serve it with victuals; and to present him with amber, pearl, and coral necklaces, gold and silver tankards, cups, basons, tables, and in short with all the finery and toys that he delighted in, and made use of in his life time; and at the same instant they erect, in the court-yard where this altar stands, a machine; in the making whereof they had before employed five or six months, under the direction and oversight of three or four great mandareens, resembling somewhat the mausoleum which M. Taverniere describes, which they call anja tangh. It is about three or four stories or forty feet high, and about thirty feet long, and twenty broad, made of thin boards and slight timber, to be light and portable; and the different parts of it are so contrived as to take off and on; the undermost part stands on four wheels, whereon the rest are placed one by one, by means and help of such instruments and engines as our carpenters use to mount their heavy timber. The pageant or fabric itself is mighty neat, handsome and glorious, adorned with carved, gilded, painted, and lacquered work, as rich and costly as possible can be made of that kind, with many pretty little inventions of galleries, balconies, windows, doors, porches, &c. to adorn it the more. On this magnificent throne is placed another image of the dead general, in rich cloaths, which is afterwards burnt with the rest.

Matters being brought to this order, the general and his family repair thither early in the morning of the last three forementioned days, the ways being lined with soldiers, and he attended by his life guard, followed by mandareens and grandeens, where most of the day is spent in tears, mourning and lamentations, sombeys, sacrifices and offerings for his father; but, in the evening, the offered viands and other victims are divided amongst the assistants and soldiers.

Of the wild and savage creatures some are drowned, to send their ghosts to the deceased Prince, to be at his devotion in the other world, and others are given away.

About ten o'clock an infinite number of images of all sorts of fowls, horses and elephants, in paper work, &c. are burnt in the open court, just before the machine or mausoleum, where likewise the general, with his relations and mandareens, sombeys to the image of his predecessor therein; their magicians Thay, Phou, Thivee, all the while singing, reading, jumping, and playing so many antick tricks, and making such terrible postures, as would scare some, and persuade others they were either really demoniacal, or at least possessed with madness. About three hours after midnight fire is set to all this finery, the general, &c. retiring, taking along with him the pearls, amber, gold, and silver that was on the altar, (which are reserved for the service of the defunct in a peculiar place of his palace). The mandareens also send to their houses again whatsoever gold, silver, &c. they brought thither, leaving the rest to be consumed by the flames; and its ashes the wind scatters where it pleases, so that but very little, if any, comes where it was designed.

CHAP. XVIII. — *Of the Sects, Idols, Worship, Superstition, and Pagodas or Temples of the Tonquenese.*

THOUGH there are many sects amongst this people, yet only two are chiefly followed. The first is that of Congfutu, as the Chinese call him, (the Tonquenese, Ong-Congtu, and the Europeans, Confucius), the ancientest of the Chinese philosophers. This man they esteemed holy; and, for wisdom, he is reputed not only amongst them and the Chinese, but the Japanese too, the Solomon of all mortals; without some proficiency in whose learning, none can attain any degree in their civil government, or be any ways allowed to know matters of importance; though the truth thereof, and very quintessence of his doctrine, is nothing else but what we call moral philosophy, and consists in the following position: "That every one ought to know and perfect himself, and then by his good and virtuous example, bring others to the same degree of goodness, so as they jointly may attain the supreme good; that it is, therefore, necessary to apply themselves to the study of philosophy, without which none can have a proper insight or inspection of things, and be able to know what is to be followed or avoided, nor rectify their desires according to reason;" with other the like precepts, wherein consists the Chinese doctrine and wisdom.

But his disciples, building on his principles, have extracted therefrom many rules and precepts, which soon after became the main subject of their superstition and religion. They acknowledge one supreme Deity, and that all terrestrial things are directed, governed, and preserved by him: that the world was eternal, without either beginning or creator. They reject the worship of images; they venerate and pay a kind of adoration to spirits. They expect rewards for good deeds, and punishment for evil. They believe, in a manner, the immortality of the soul, and pray for the deceased. Some of them also believe that the souls of the just live after separation from the body; and that the souls of the wicked perish as soon as they leave the body. They teach that

that the air is full of malignant spirits, which is their dwelling-place; and that those spirits are continually at variance with the living. They particularly recommend to their pupils to honour their deceased friends and parents; and do much concern themselves in performing certain ceremonies thereunto belonging as I have mentioned already; and hold several other things very rational, and in my opinion, in many things nothing at all inferior to either the ancient Greeks or Romans. Neither must we think that the wiser and better sort amongst them are so shallow brained, as to believe the dead stand in need of victuals, and that therefore they are so served, as I have mentioned in its due place; no, they know better, and tell us they do it for no other reason, than to demonstrate their love and respect to their deceased parents; and withal to teach their own children and friends thereby how to honour them when they shall be no more.

However, the vulgar sort, and those that carry their judgment in their eyes, credit that as well as many other impertinent impossibilities of their superstition. In fine, though this sect hath no pagodas erected nor particular place appointed to worship the King of Heaven in, or priests to preach and propagate the said doctrine, nor a due form, commanded or observed, but it is left to every one's discretion to do as he pleases in these respects, so as he gives thereby no scandal, yet it has their Kings, Princes, grandees, and the learned men of the kingdom for its followers.

In former days the King of the land might only sacrifice to the King of Heaven; but since the general has usurped the royal power, he has assumed this sovereign prerogative, and performs the said ceremony in his palace himself, in case of public calamity, as want of rain, famine, great mortality, &c. befalling the kingdom, which no other may do on peril of their lives.

The second sect is called Boot, which signifies the worship of idols or images, and is generally followed by the ignorant, vulgar, and simple sort of people, and more especially the women and capadoes, the most constant adherers thereunto. Their tenets are to worship images devoutly, to believe transmigration. They offer to the devil that he may not hurt them. They believe a certain Deity coming from three united gods. They impose a cloister and retired life, and think their works can be meritorious, and that the wicked suffer torments, together with many foolish superstitious niceties to idle to repeat: however they have no priest, any more than the former sect, to preach and propagate their doctrine; all they have are their sayes, or bronzes, as M. Taverniere calls them (which by mistake he terms priests) which are a kind of friars or monks. They have some nuns also, whose dwellings are about and sometimes in their pagodas, who most commonly are invited to celebrate their funerals with their drums, trumpets, and other music: they subsist for the most part by alms, and the charity of the people. In brief, this is that sect that has spread its fopperies and impertinences very far; and, in effect, with its schism and imposture has overspread, in part or whole, most of the Eastern countries, as this of Tonqueen, China, Japan, Correa Formosa, Cambodia, Siam, the Gentoos of coast Cormandel and Bengal, Ceylon, Indostan, &c. From one of these two last places it was first brought into China on the following occasion.

One of the Chinese Emperors coming to the knowledge of a famous law that was taught in the west, which was very efficacious for instructing and conducting mankind to wisdom and virtue, and that the doctors and expounders thereof were persons extremely celebrated for their exemplary lives, and stupendous and miraculous actions, &c. he therefore dispatched several sages to find out this law, and bring it to China. These ambassadors, after they had travelled, or rather erred, to and fro, the space of

almost three years, arrived either in Indostan or Malabar, where, finding this sect of Boots very rife, and of mighty veneration, and being deceived by the devil, and weary of travelling any further, they thought they had found what they sought for; and so, without more ado, they got seventy-two books of those false tales of the natives, with some able interpreters, and returned to China, where the Emperor received them most kindly and joyfully, and ordered directly that the said sect should be publicly taught throughout all his dominions; in which miserable blindness they have ever since continued.

I cannot help making an observation in this place, for the honour of the Christian religion; and that is, that, in all appearance, this new law, which the Chinese Emperor at that time had heard of, could be no other than the first promulgation of the gospel in and about Judea; and its being then preached to Jews as well as Gentiles by the holy apostles, which was attended with so many miracles, that it was no wonder the fame thereof should extend to the remotest regions, and reach the ears of the Chinese Emperor: and this is still the more probable, because, by the nearest calculation that can be made, the time which the Emperor of China is recorded to have heard of the publication of this new doctrine, agrees punctually with that of the appearance of our Saviour and the preaching of the apostles. And had the fages sent by that Emperor proceeded as they ought, not only the great empire of China, but all the vast territories adjacent, that now lie immersed in paganism and the dregs of superstition, might have been converted, and brought to the glorious light of Christianity.

Some other sects, as that of Lanzo, are but slenderly followed, as is said before, though their magicians and necromancers, as Thay-Boo, Thay-Boo-Twe, Thay-de-Lie, are the profelytes and followers thereof, and in great esteem with the Princes, and respected by the vulgar; so that they are consulted by both in their most weighty occasions; and they receive their opinions and false predictions as very oracles, believing they speak by divine inspiration, and have the pre-knowledge of future events; wherefore it is not probable that they were of this sort that were sent to the frontiers for soldiers, as M. Taverniere has it.

I know indeed that the general rummages sometimes a certain sort of vagabonds that haunt every corner of the kingdom, pretending to be conjurors and fortune-tellers, cheating and misleading thereby the simple and ignorant people, and infecting them with notions contrary to the belief of the sects publicly tolerated: but as the Tonqueuese are really very credulous, and ready to embrace almost every new opinion they meet withal, so are they not less tenacious in retaining any notions which they are in possession of, and observe carefully times and seasons as good and bad, in which they will not undertake any voyage or journey, nor build houses, cultivate grounds, nor bargain for any thing considerable; nor even will they attempt, on ominous days, to cure their sick, bury their dead, nor in a manner transact any thing without the advice of their soothsayers and blind wizards, who are principally divided into three classes; that is, those who are followers of Thay-Boo, or Thay-Boo-Twe, or Thay-de-Lie, and have not the least sense of their being most grossly cheated and deluded by the fallacious pretensions of those impudent fellows, who live wholly by selling their directions to them at excessive rates, as the most desirable and current merchandize. And since these pretended conjurors are so much observed and venerated by the deluded people, I will descend to the particular functions of every one of them, and speak first of Thay-Boo and his class.

These pretend to declare all such future events as concern marriages, building of houses, and, in general, pretend to foretel the success of any business of consequence.

All that come to him, or those of his class, are kindly used for their money, and receive for answers what is supposed will satisfy them best, but always so ambiguous, as will bear a double and doubtful interpretation. The magicians of this tribe are generally blind, either born so, or come to be so by some accident or other. Before they pronounce their sentence on the proposed question, they take three pieces of copper coin, inscribed with characters, which they throw on the ground several times and feel what side of it falls uppermost; then prating and mumbling some strange kind of words to themselves, they deliver the result of the conjuration.

Secondly, *Thay-Boo-Twe*, to whom they resort in all distempers. This class of pretended magicians have their books, by which they pretend to find out the cause and result of all sickness; and never miss to tell the sick party that his distemper proceeds from the devil, or some water gods, and pretend to cure it by the noise of drums, bassons, and trumpets. The conjuror of this tribe is habited very antickly, and sings very loud, and makes hideous noises, pronouncing many execrations and blasphemous words, sounding continually a small bell, which he holds in his hand, jumping and skipping as if the devil were really in him; and all this while there is store of victuals prepared for an offering to the devil, but it is eaten by himself; and he will continue this sport sometimes for several days, till the patient be either dead or recovered, and then he can give an answer with some certainty.

It belongs to them to dispossess such as are possessed by the devil, which is the ultimate of their conjuration, and is commonly effected in this manner. They curse and most impiously invoke I do not know what demon; and they paint the pictures of devils, with horrible faces, on yellow paper, which is fixed to the wall of the house; then they fall to bawling so terribly, and scream so loud, dancing and skipping as is most ridiculous, sometimes fearful to see and hear. They also bless and consecrate new houses; and if they be suspected to be haunted, they drive the devil out of them by their conjuration and the firing of muskets.

*Thay-de-Lie's* business is to be consulted which are the fittest places for burial of the dead; so that the living relations and kindred may, by this means, be happy and fortunate, and the like follies.

I will speak nothing of *Ba-Cote*, because they are only the pretended witches amongst the baser sort.

As for temples and Pagodas, since the Tonqueense are not very devout, there are neither so many, nor those so sumptuous, as I have seen in some of the neighbouring countries.

## HISTORY OF TONQUIN.

From the French of Richard\*.

CHAPTER I. — *General Description of Tonquin : — Temperature of the Climate : — Variety of the Seasons : — Hurricanes or Typhons, what may be their Cause : — Winds and Tides : — its Division into Provinces. — An Island abounding in Antelopes. — Encrease of Land next to the Sea.*

**T**HE word Tonquin, in the Chinese language, signifies Court of the East, because, at the time of the great extent of China, Tonquin, which was a province of it, was the seat of one of the imperial courts, which that monarchy maintained in the four parts of the world, as the Chinese expressed themselves, being persuaded that their dominion contained nearly all the inhabitable earth; esteeming some neighbouring nations, the greater part of whom were tributary to them, as situated at the extremity of the world.

In the Tonquinese language this kingdom is called An-nam, which signifies the repose of noon. These two names designate its situation to the east, southward of Asia, relatively to China.

It is situated in from 17 to 23 deg. north latitude, and from 119 to 127 east longitude, and is wholly within the torrid zone.

To the east it is bounded by the province of Canton; to the west, by the kingdoms of Baos and Bowes; to the north, by Yunam and Quansi, provinces of China; to the south, by Cochin-China and the gulph which bears its name. Its extent is about one hundred and eighty leagues from north-west to south-east, and about one hundred and fifty from east to west.

If the situation of the country is considered, the heat is not excessive; the many rivers by which it is watered, and the periodical rains, considerably diminish its violence. It contains none of those immense barren sandy mountains, which cause a scorching heat in the countries bordering on the Persian gulph, although they are much farther from the tropic.

The salubrity of the climate is not at all times the same, even for the natives of the country, much less for strangers. It is healthy and temperate from the month of September to the month of March. The cold is very sensibly felt in the months of January and February, although they never have either snow or ice: it is even very

\* Paris, 1778, 2 vols. 12mo.

rare that any hail falls; that destructive meteor is almost unknown in Tonquin. The temperature of the air becomes unhealthy in the months of April, May, and June, as well on account of the fogs and rains, as because the sun then approaches its zenith: the heat is excessive during the months of July and August.

The rains, which regularly commence about May, sometimes sooner, and continue till August, render the earth very humid, and the view of the country delightful: the trees are then in their full beauty; but these rains tend so little to cool the air, that the heat is never so intolerable as when the country is as it were inundated, and the roads impassable, which frequently happens during the months of July and August.

The summer here answers to the rainy season, when the sun is at its greatest elevation, or approaches it. The heat, which continually encreases, excites a considerable evaporation, in a country for the greater part covered with waters and forests: the clouds dissolve almost as soon as formed, again soon collect, and yield successive rains, accompanied with storms and thunder, which are continually heard, and sometimes at all the points of the horizon at once; the air becomes suffocating, lightnings glare over the whole atmosphere: such is the prevailing state of the temperature from the beginning of April till the middle of August. The rains that fall during this interval cause sudden inundations, which are very destructive in the mountainous parts of the country; they tear away rocks, soil, trees, and even houses, when they are exposed to the impetuosity of the torrents. In the level lands the waters gently spread and cause less ravages: they inundate the fields and villages, enter the houses without destroying them; the inhabitants go every where in boats, even into the houses in towns and the villages which lie low, while the lands near the sea are dry, because the waters in the middle of the inundated provinces run off by numerous canals and the rivers to which they join.

The bay of Tonquin, and the provinces bordering on it, are sometimes, during the month of August and part of September, exposed to frightful hurricanes, which are felt in districts; for, if they were general, they would cause a total devastation: they are dreadful winds with small rain, which in four and twenty hours fly round the compass: seamen call them typhons; they may be traced by their destructive ravages wherever they pass; trees and houses are thrown down, corn torn up and scattered; even the birds, stupified by the whirlwind which tears them along, fall and may be taken with the hand. These destructive tempests are announced some days before they come, by a dull ark which appears in the north: that becomes a signal to the inhabitants of the country to secure the roofs of their houses, strengthen the pillars, and to well-fasten their boats. These precautions, however, only prevent a part of the accidents they endeavour to avoid; for the commotion of the air and the waters is so violent, that many vessels are lost by being dashed against each other: ships caught at sea in these hurricanes only escape by being sheltered by the elevated coasts of some islands which may protect them; those in the open sea are almost inevitably swallowed up. The districts where they are most destructive are the low lands near the sea, where little shelter is to be found.

In considering the different phenomena which accompany these tempests, it appears that the cause should be sought in the depths of the earth, which serve as a bed for the sea, from whence proceed violent irruptions, which spread an inflammable matter through a moist and thick atmosphere, which not being able to expand itself without strong efforts, excites these dreadful commotions. It is not uncommon, at those times, for the sea to transgress its bounds with a roaring noise, overwhelm many leagues of country, destroying multitudes of men and beasts. An eye witness relates, that about

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the year 1738 a similar irruption swallowed up more than ten thousand people. It happened at the same time that, after a noise resembling the report of a cannon, without any tempest or the least commotion in the air, the sea suddenly rose, and overwhelmed several villages near its coasts, and a few hours afterwards returned within its limits. It has also been remarked, that if it happens to thunder these hurricanes immediately cease; the igneous matter, which is the principle of their commotion, seems to spend itself by that explosion.

Custom, observation on the state of the air, signs which appear in it, enable the Tonquinese to foretel, with tolerable certainty, the approach of these tempests, though not to exactly fix the day; they are, as it were, habituated to them; there are few years but what they are exposed to them; sometimes even several succeed each other; there have been known as many as seven in the same year: they are the most formidable scourge of these regions.

The winds are regular in all the flat country, and even in the greater part of the mountainous: they are six months to the north and six to the south; the former commence in October and last till April; the latter begin in April and continue till October.

The tides change according to the direction of the winds, as well as the seasons: in Europe they flow six hours and ebb for the same period. At Tonquin, and adjoining parts it only flows and ebbs once every four and twenty hours, except at the new and full moon. The Tonquinese, although but little able to calculate the course of the moon, yet are pretty exact as to the time and changes of the tides: they have a kind of routine which serves them for a guide; for they are not all sufficiently instructed to derive any information from the rude almanack, which the government of this country causes to be made every year, which is one of the most important employment of some of the mandareens of the first order. The high tides occur in the months of November, December, and January, during the prevalence of the north wind; and the lowest in the months of May, June and July, which are in the south wind.

The kingdom of Tonquin is divided into eleven provinces\*, four are named provinces of the east, west, north and south, according to their situation, in respect to the royal

\* The navigator Dampierre, who visited Tonquin, and penetrated considerably into the interior of the country, and who likewise received information from the English merchants, settled for a long time at Kacho or Kecho, the capital of this kingdom, divides it into eight great provinces, four of which have no other names than of provinces of the four cardinal points. The fifth, which is in the centre is called Kacho or Kecho the same as the capital; the other three are Tenam, Tenchoa, and Nghéam. This division agrees pretty well with ours: time and other causes may have somewhat altered this distribution, such as Dampierre learnt from the English, about the year 1680; we shall mention it here, as it will serve to give an idea of the productions of Tonquin, and the situation of its chief places.

The province of Tenam is the most eastern: it has China on the S. E. The island of Aynan and the sea to the S. and S. W. and the province of the East to the N. W. its extent is middling and its chief production consists in rice.

The province of the East extends from that of Tenam to that of the North: it is bounded on the east by China, to the west by part of the province of the south, and by the province of Kacho, to the south by the sea. It is very large, extremely low, and nearly filled with islands, particularly in the south-east part, which the sea bounds on the side of Tenam. The capital and seat of government is Héan. It produces abundance of rice and cattle, and the inhabitants of the sea coasts carry on a considerable fishery.

The province of the South is a triangular island, enclosed to the east by a river which Dampierre calls Domea, or rather by the two arms of the same river, which Baron calls Songkoy. It is a very low country abounding in rice and cattle.

Tenchoa, situated westward of the river Rokbo, is bounded on the north by the province of the west on the east by the island of Aynan, and on the south by the sea: its riches consist in rice and cattle.

Nghéam,

royal city which stands in the middle of these four provinces, the others are X'ù tiên Kúong, X'u Hông Hoá, which border on China, X'u Thén, X'u Kâsbang, this last joins Junnâ'n, X'u Thank, X'u Nghe, one part of which is a frontier to Cochin-China, and another to Laos, and lastly the province of Jen Quàng which, properly speaking, is only a part of the province of the East, although it has a separate name.

The interior of the country is crossed by a navigable river, nearly the whole breadth of the kingdom : it runs from north to south it discharges itself into the bay of Tonquin ; it is called Songkoy ; there are several islands in it some of which are inhabited, and the others are used for fishing. This river receives several others, both from the east and west, which are advantageous to the inland navigation of the country and communicate with the numerous canals, which serve to transport their merchandize, as well as to water their rice. These numerous canals and navigable rivers, are the cause that the roads are but badly maintained, because the Tonquinese find it more convenient to use boats to pass from one place to another, than any other method of travelling.

The bay of Tonquin is very extensive, and contains several islands, some of which are inhabited : the chief is called by the inhabitants Twon-bene. The Dutch call it the isle of Brigands, perhaps because it is there that the advanced guard is stationed, the chiefs of which exercise the most lucrative office in the kingdom, the right of collecting the duty on the vessels that enter the provinces of Tenchoa and Nghéam : every large vessel pays a rix-dollar and a half, and in proportion for smaller ones. The annual revenue of this tax, cannot be less than a million. This island is situated in 19 deg. 15 min. north latitude, and is scarcely more than five leagues in circuit, it is a league from the coast, the soil is elevated and rocky, intersected with small mountains, and is little adapted for agriculture : its inhabitants breed but few cattle ; but it contains an immense number of antelopes which keep among the rocks and thickets, to the increase of which the natives ought to pay attention, as they obtain musk from them, which with them is an object of considerable trade\*.

Nghéam, situated to the east of Tenchoa, is bounded to the south and west by Cochin-China, and to the north by the province of the West. It is very extensive and joins to the advantages of the other provinces that of being constantly protected by troops against the attacks and surprises of the Cochin-Chinese.

The province of the west has Nghéam to the south, the kingdom of Laos to the West, the province of Kacho to the east, and to the south the province of the North. It is large, very pleasant, rich in wood and pasture ; it produces considerable quantities of lacker and silk.

The province of the North is a vast country, constituting the whole of the kingdom ; it has the kingdom of Laos to the west, China on the east and north : the kingdom of Baos or Bowes to the north-west and the three provinces of the West, of Kacho, and of the East to the south ; in its vast extent it is diversified in the quality of its soil ; the greater part is covered with high mountains, which produce gold, marble and numbers of wild elephants. The other districts produce lacker, silk, cinnamon, and different articles of commerce.

The province of Kacho forms the centre of the kingdom, between the provinces of the East, West, North, and South. Dampierre, who had time to visit it, no less praises its fertility than its pleasantness ; it is not deficient in wood, but rice, lacker, and silk are the chief objects of trade.

\* The musk which comes from Tonquin is of the first quality, it is most probable that the antelopes which afford it are chiefly of this island. It is known that this animal eats snakes in preference to any other food ; and the soil of this island must be very favourable to the multiplication of these reptiles. Since our most celebrated naturalists seem to distinguish the animal that bears musk from the antelope, and that for want of knowing it, and of having compared it with the antelope, there is every reason to believe that it is not of a different kind. Those most acquainted with the antelope, say they are about the size of a small deer, brown, sometimes spotted with brighter spots of the same colour ; the bag which contains the perfume is situated near the navel of the animal ; it resembles a small purse, and is surrounded with a very delicate skin, covered with very fine soft hair : this purse or bag is about three inches long, two broad, and half an inch in depth ; the musk collects in the bag, and adheres round it like a kind of salt.

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A small bay to the westward of this isle, is very celebrated in the country for the pearl fishery carried on there, but which no person can practise without a special licence from the court. There are some other islands near the coast, which serve as shelter to the fishing boats, which are very numerous in a country where next to rice fish is the most common food.

It must likewise be observed that the sea of Tonquin, so far from gaining on the land, visibly recedes from it. Thus the greater part of the islands above mentioned, will in time be joined to the continent. The tradition of the country is, that the province of the South, which is one of the most considerable in the kingdom has successively emerged from the bosom of the deep. At present it is at least thirty leagues in length, following the course of the river Songkoy, which takes its rise in the lofty mountains of China, and after a long course washes the walls of the King's palace, and crosses the capital. This city is now at least 30 leagues from the sea, and it is said, that formerly the disemboguing of the river into the sea, was some leagues above this same city. What gives some probability to this opinion is, that several towns and villages, which within the memory of man were situated on the sea coast, are now more than half a league distant from it. These lands are not yet solid enough to be capable of culture, or producing grain, but it already produces wood fit for fuel, and even for building houses: they furnish abundance of those rushes, which the inhabitants use to make beautiful mats, and to cover their houses.

To judge by the quantity of sand and shallows which lie between the two principal mouths of the river, which extend for more than two leagues of coast, it may be supposed that the province of the South will continue to increase. These two mouths are about 20 leagues distant from each other. The chief, which Europeans call Doméa, is the only one they enter, it is encumbered with a bar of about two miles in length, the channel of which is more than half a mile wide, and is bounded on each side by sands which render the passage difficult, and even dangerous to strange vessels, which not only require a pilot of the country, but cannot clear it during low water. The fishermen serve as pilots. They inhabit a village called Batcha, so advantageously situated at the mouth of the river that they can see every ship that approaches, or hear the report of the cannon that European vessels discharge on their arrival. The entrance to the river is known by a mountain called the Elephant, for which they steer N.W.  $\frac{1}{2}$  N.; making directly for the land, it shoals to six fathom, they are then only two or three miles from the entrance of the bar, they bear up as much as possible N.N.W. where they anchor to wait for pilots.

The other provinces of Tonquin situated on the sea, to the eastward, receive but little of these acquisitions, because they have so many rivers as cross the province of the South, and empty themselves into the sea at its southern extremity.

CHAP. II. — *Topographical Description of Tonquin. — Capital of the Kingdom. — The King's Palace. — Chief Cities. — Great Roads. — Inhabitants of the mountainous Country. — Productions and Culture of the Lands. — Fertility of the Soil. — Grounds and Lakes filled with Fish. — Fruits. — Flowers. — Domestic and wild Animals.*

TONQUIN may be divided into two general parts, mountainous and flat country. The frontiers towards China, a part of Cochin-China and the kingdom of Laos are found by extensive mountains, mostly covered with immense forests: it seems that they would all be fertile if cultivated: they are not defaced by dry and barren rocks like the Alps, they more resemble that part of the Apennines which extend from Genoa

to the Adriatic Sea from west to east by the south. The woods are very beautiful; gold, silver, iron, yellow, red and black copper, which is much esteemed in the country, are found in them.

The low part of Tonquin much resembles Holland by its many canals, dykes, rivers, and lakes. The single province of the West is watered by seven large rivers, which unite about 15 leagues above the royal city, and form a kind of sea or large lake, many branches issue from it, which uniting at different distances, form considerable rivers.

The province of the South affords a singular appearance throughout its whole extent, by the number of canals and rivers which intersect it, and which are all covered with boats. It is therefore that this is one of the dampest countries known: although situated in the midst of the torrid zone, those scorching droughts which destroy the productions of nature, are never experienced in it; but they are exposed to all the inconveniences of a damp heat, which occasions a number of diseases.

Tonquin in general is well peopled: there are few cities, but many towns and villages or *aldées*, so close to each other every where that is not covered by water, that they seem to form but one continuation of dwellings, all belonging to the same community, so that at first sight it is difficult to distinguish them one from another. It is said that it is not uncommon to meet with towns containing thirty, forty, and even a hundred thousand souls, which is equal in point of population to the largest cities of Europe.

The only city, which properly deserves that name, is Kacho, or Kecho, the capital of the kingdom. The king resides there: it is situated on the river Songkay, 40 leagues from the sea, in  $21^{\circ}$  N. lat. In size it may be compared with the most celebrated cities of Asia, and its circumference is reckoned at least equal to that of Paris; but no city, that is known, equals it for population, especially on the first and fifteenth of each moon, when the large markets are held, which attract nearly all the inhabitants of the towns and villages within a considerable distance. One may judge of the multitudes of people that are then collected, and thus suddenly augmented by millions of souls, to such a degree, that it is making great progress to advance a hundred paces in half an hour, although the streets are very broad. Notwithstanding this innumerable crowd, the most perfect order prevails throughout the city. Every kind of merchandise sold there has its particular street assigned to it, which belongs to one, two or more villages, who alone have a right to keep shop there.

The streets of Kacho are large and handsome, paved with brick, except where the elephants, horses, King's carriages, and cattle pass. Two-thirds of the houses are of wood, the rest of brick; among these are the stores of the foreign merchants, distinguishable amid a multitude of cabins built of bamboo and clay.

The palaces of the mandarins and public edifices, which occupy large tracts, have nothing remarkable in them but a large wooden building which constitutes the chief part, and is built more solid than the generality of houses, and are ornamented with sculpture and paintings: the interior is divided into several chambers; the pavement and flooring is neat, and the roof of tiles of different colours is well contrived.

The common houses are composed of roofs supported on posts, generally covered with straw, sea-reeds, or large leaves, which last 30 or 40 years, if no accident happens to them. They have neither ceilings, nor stories; they are merely divided by boarded partitions for different uses; they have all only the bare ground. They have no glass to their windows; it is scarcely known in this country; its place is supplied by open linen and mats of bamboo or rattan, so fine as to be almost transparent.

In the manner the houses are built, fires are to be dreaded, and prevented by the utmost precaution: it is therefore forbidden to keep fires during the night, and they are only permitted during certain hours in the day; the police pay visits when least expected, and those who are found with fires during the prohibited time are fined.

The utmost order in general prevails in this capital: it is divided into quarters and bodies of trades, each having their chief, and forming different communities, which have their own peculiar police and laws. Their commerce is very great, and carried on by means of barks and boats on the large river which crosses it. Each boat pays about two-pence halfpenny for anchorage, which produces considerable sums. The number of boats is so prodigious that it is difficult to approach the shores of the river: our rivers and most commercial ports, even Venice, with all its gondolas and boats, can give no idea of the bustle and population of the river at Kecho, although only those who are necessary to conduct the boats and protect the goods remain in them: all the merchants having houses in the neighbouring villages, none of them living in vessels, as some accounts assert, and among others that of Tavernier.

The King's palace occupies a part of the city; it has an inclosure of walls, entirely hid by the surrounding houses. These walls are said to be three leagues in circumference, six or seven feet high, and nearly as thick, which forms a public promenade. This quarter is the handsomest and best built of the city; it is inhabited by the most distinguished people: the grandees of the kingdom, the courts of justice are in it, and the land is excessively dear to those who would build there. The architecture of the palace is not more distinguished than of the principal edifices of the city: its entrance announces nothing of the grandeur of the monarch that inhabits it, nor of the wealth it contains: little of its interior is known, except that sculpture and painting are carried as far as the state of those arts in this country will allow. The buildings are of the finest wood and brick; gold and silver reigns throughout in profusion: there are gardens parks, canals, ponds, and every thing that can contribute to the amusement and accommodation of those who pass their lives in it; especially the prince's wives, who never quit it, nor the women and eunuchs who wait on them.

Before the revolution which established the present government of Tonquin, the buildings were much handsomer and more solid than they are at present. The triple walls of the old city and of the ancient palace, its courts paved with marble, the ruins of its gates and lodges, give some idea of what it was in its splendour, and makes one regret the destruction of one of the finest and most extensive edifices of Asia.

At present the royal city itself has no walls, nor any external defence, like the other cities, or considerable places of this kingdom; it has only an enclosure formed by live hedges of bamboos, which in fact is a better protection from thieves, and even from a sudden assault from troops, than any walls they could build in this country.

The environs of the royal city, are the constant quarters of a numerous militia, that the King keeps ready for any event. The arsenal, and other magazines of warlike stores, are on the banks of the river.

On the other side of the Songkoy is the camp or Chinese city; formerly foreigners and even Europeans were admitted into the royal city; they are now totally excluded: the reason is, that the Chinese becoming very rich, and very numerous in Tonquin, being besides proud and persevering in their undertakings, they are fearful they might become powerful enough to excite revolt, as they have done at Batavia, the Manillas, Siam, and other parts of the east, where commerce has attracted them; they were even more to be feared in Tonquin than any where else, because the kingdom, having once  
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formed part of the empire of China; they would have more pretences, and perhaps greater means of exciting a revolution. They are however permitted to go all over the kingdom, where they carry on an immense trade, and are even received into the royal city, but may not settle there. All other foreigners are forbidden to enter, or even to approach it without express permission.

Next to the capital, Héan is the most considerable city in all Tonquin; it contains more than 10,000 houses, and besides occupies a vast extent, on account of the manner of building. The inhabitants are very rich; it is one of the chief markets of the kingdom; it is situated on the right bank of the river, four or five days' journey from its mouth.

Five or six leagues from the mouth of the river, is another city called Doméa, much less than Héan; but well known to strangers, because it is in a bay formed by the river opposite to it, that they anchor, and it is there only they are allowed to form establishments to carry on their commerce.

These cities, as well as almost all habitations, are surrounded with live hedges of bamboo. Wealthy individuals are known by the same enclosure round their houses and gardens, which added to the arequiers which they plant in alleys, form an agreeable coup d'œil, and represent all the towns and villages as so many parks ornamented with gardens and houses. In the low lands they are obliged to construct elevations, on which they build their houses, to avoid the waters during the times of the inundations.

The high roads of these provinces are maintained at the public expence; they are broad, high enough not to be inundated during the floods; but not being paved, and being much frequented, in the rainy seasons they form a kind of massive mud, which can only be got through by walking barefooted, which all the Tonquinese do, with the exception of the mandarins, and other distinguished persons, who alone possess horses or have a right to use them. Rich people, such as merchants, principal farmers, are carried in a kind of hammock, tied to the two ends of a pole, that two, four or more men carry on their shoulders.

The keeping of bye roads is at the expence of the inhabitants of the towns or villages, to which they serve as communication from one place to another. There are no bridges over the large rivers, the Chinese had built stone ones, when Tonquin was subject to them: the Kings have had them every where destroyed, to prevent easy communications to an enemy in time of war. There are some over the smaller rivers and canals, built of wood and covered with tiles. Most of them are made of poles of bamboo, one end of which rests on the side of the canal or river, and the other rests against a similar one from the opposite side; so as to form a rather elevated angle thus ; bridges of this kind are very steep to ascend, and still more difficult to descend; only the most active of the Tonquinese can pass them with ease. They are built by the bonzes, and are covered in with roofs of thin poles, overlaid with rushes or leaves.

In the inhabited mountainous country, in great part covered with woods, the houses are raised seven or eight feet above the ground and placed on posts: the floor is constructed with canes; under this floor serves as a stable for the cattle. A square of about four feet covered with clay, on which they light their fire, is their only fire-place or kitchen; there is neither chimney nor pipe to let out the smoke, which penetrates every where, and which their uncouth people seem to endure without any inconvenience: they even consider it as beneficial to preserve their buildings.

In the mountainous country the habitations are dispersed without any order, at considerable distances from each other; but they all depend on the chief place of their district, and are under magistrates acknowledged by the inhabitants, although the effects of the general police are less visible in this woody and mountainous country than in the flat provinces: some are even so ignorant and barbarous, that they may be compared to the savages of America.

Fishermen, and those belonging to the inland navigation of the kingdom, live on the rivers and canals, in cabins built on floats of cane: these kind of houses are fastened to the shore by lines forty or fifty feet long, which serve for cordage; they are very strong, and last a long time.

The cultivation of the lands is easy: the rice harvests, which is the chief food of the nation, never fail, and are almost always very plentiful.

The care of cultivating this grain, as necessary in the East as corn is in Europe, is the chief object with the Tonquinese, and keeps them constantly employed. It is made to shoot in the house in troughs placed for that purpose, it is then sown very thick, in beds well watered, which are afterwards beat down, and levelled as exactly as possible: as soon as it is dry, it springs up very quick; in five or six weeks it is fit to transplant, and it is put in fields prepared for it, where it is planted stem by stem. This work is done by women.

The rice grows, ripens, and is gathered in about three months, reckoning from the day it is transplanted. They generally have two crops in the year in the low lands, which, as they have water at will from the rivers and canals, are always kept well watered. The land is disposed in small ridges, in the furrows between which they can convey the water and keep it at the necessary height. Those who reap the rice are up to their knees in water.

In the mountainous land, where they have not the same command of water, they have but one crop in the year, in the fifth or sixth moon, which pretty nearly answers to our June.

The rice-plant grows to the height of three or four feet: its leaf is larger than that of wheat; it bears two broad stems, much divided, furnished with oblong flat grains; the stems are covered with a beard two or three inches long, forked at the end, and generally bristled at the bottom. In general the grain is white, enveloped in a first skin, brown or of a deep yellow, which must be taken off before the rice is used for food. There is different coloured rice, yellow, red, white and black; there is even a kind which has rather an agreeable smell: it is that which, by preference, is offered up to the idols. All these kinds are eaten; That from which arrack is distilled is never used for food but when the other kinds cannot be had, being very hard to digest.

It has been proved that if the Tonquinese were more industrious they might have a third crop from their lands, by sowing barley in the intervals between the rice on the ridges. The Chinese do this in their most fertile provinces. But this is not practised in Tonquin: they sow no corn, they have no vines, they have not even any meadows; but they gather grass enough for their cattle, in the intervals of the ridges where the rice grows, under the trees, by the sides of the roads, and the paths which separate the lands.

Let it be added, that the same fields which produce the rice furnish an astonishing abundance of fish of all kinds, and even very beautiful ones, brought by the great inundations, and which find a food that suits them makes them remain. When the waters retire, there remain fish enough in the pools and ditches to breed and replenish the

the fields of rice in the time of the floods. When they drain the lands to draw off the superabundant water to prepare them, each village lets out the fishing in their own district: what remains in low places and in the ditches is sufficient for their usual consumption.

There is a considerable district in the province of the South, which resembles a lake, and which never entirely dries up; when there is least water on it, that is about the fifth moon, they sow rice on it, which they have time to reap before the rainy season. When there is too much water to expect any crop, those who inhabit the borders of this lake, fish up a prodigious quantity of small crabs, which resemble crayfish. These crabs are much esteemed, and serve all the year as sauce to their fish, of which the people make their common food.

The most common fruits of Tonquin, are not inferior in quality, to those of other eastern countries: but the oranges are much superior, and of several kinds. The other fruits are bananas, pine-apples, guavas, papas, sapodillas. The lèchea, which the inhabitants call bèjay, grows on a high tree, whose leaves are like the laurel: the fruit appears in grapes on the branches, and each grain takes the form of a heart, the size of a small hen's egg. When ripe it is of a crimson red: its shell is thin, rough, and easily opens. The sight and taste are equally gratified by the excellence and beauty of this fruit: it does not keep more than forty days: it is ripe in April. About that time, the King's taste-officers put their seal on those trees, which promise the best bèjay, without enquiring whom they belong to, and the owners not only must not touch them, but are obliged to attend to the preservation of those fruits reserved and marked for the court.

The prune or date tree, called john, or dragon's egg, is very common in this country: the tree is large, its fruit is the size of a small plumb, of a pale olive, or dead leaf colour, and its taste delicious. This fruit being very heating, is considered as unwholesome, notwithstanding the pleasure they take in eating it.

The taca or mite, the largest fruit in the world\*, since some of them weigh above a hundred pounds; it grows larger in Tonquin than elsewhere; it grows from the very body of the tree, or its largest branches. There are two kinds of it, the one known by the name of barca is the best, of a solid consistence, and has the taste of a melon, but it is hard to digest: if eaten to excess it causes a pestilential disorder, which the natives call morxi. The other kind, called papa or girafal, is softish, of an insipid taste, and of a much inferior quality to the first; it is only in request for its nuts or chestnuts. The season of this fruit lasts from March to September.

They have many mulberry trees, but less esteemed for their fruit than as they serve for food to the worm that produces silk, which is here so common, that stuffs of it serve to clothe the very poorest sort of people.

There are many other fruit-trees, which it would be difficult to describe to Europeans merely by their names. They have neither apples, pears, apricots, nor peaches, nor have they any cabbages, artichokes, nor of our common plants and roots.

Sugar-canes grow spontaneously; but the Tonquinese do not understand refining sugar; nevertheless they use it in the common services of life, and make preserves of fruits and roots with it, which keep a long time, notwithstanding the prevailing humidity of their atmosphere.

They care little about flowers, and the culture of them is entirely neglected: among their bushes they have very fine roses; the most remarkable of which are white mingled with purple, of a grateful odour; there are others, which are yellow and red, but

\* The Durio of Siam. — TR.

void of fragrance, the stalks of which have no thorns. The lily is common, as in all the other countries of India: it is white like those of Europe, with a tall stem, but the flower is smaller. The Persian jafmin is common in all the hedges. The flowers they most value, is a kind of caper, white or red, of an excellent perfume, and lasts at least a fortnight after it is gathered. Women of quality use them to ornament their drefs.

Among domestic animals, oxen and buffalos only are used for labour: they never eat them, though their religion does not forbid the use of them, as in other parts of India.

Their horses are small, but spirited and stout, though only the Prince and some mandarins use them, and they are rather esteemed as an appendage of pomp, than of any real utility. They have no asses nor sheep; there are few goats, but they breed a great many pigs, the flesh of which is wholesome and well-flavoured. They have cats which are of no use, as they will not catch rats; the dogs carry on the war with those troublesome animals: the people eat cats, dogs, and rats. Poultry, such as fowls, ducks, and geese are in great abundance; they are to be met with every where, even in the woods, where they multiply exceedingly without any care. The inhabitants of Tonquin, as well as those of China, hatch ducks' eggs in ovens, and amazingly encrease the number by that means. The canals, rivers and fields are covered with different kinds of birds fit for the table; they are taken with nets or snares; for though hunting and fishing are allowed freely all over the kingdom, the use of fire arms is forbidden, under pain of death.

The forests of the provinces situated in the mountains contain stags, deer and wild boars: there are also peacocks, a species of partridge peculiar to the country, quails, and other birds. The tigers render the neighbourhood of the forests very dangerous; they are of different sizes, some of them eight or ten feet long, are of an amazing strength, catch up the largest buffalos, and carry them off with astonishing celerity.

The wild elephants are not less formidable: when they escape from the woods, into the fields, they overturn houses and kill the inhabitants. The forests are peopled with monkies of all sizes and species: some have dogs' heads, some are according, to the accounts of the inhabitants, six or seven feet high. Parrots are not less numerous, and both are very destructive to the rice and fruits, and the inhabitants take every possible means to destroy or at least drive them away.

### CHAP. III. — *Population of the Country: — Character and Difference of the Inhabitants: — Manners, Person and Corporcal Qualities: — Drefs.*

TONQUIN may be considered as the most populous country in the world, especially in the four provinces, which surround the royal city. The wooded country is less peopled, although well inhabited.

There are neither fortified places, nor walled cities in the whole kingdom. They reckon nine thousand towns, designated by the title Xà, and three thousand annexed to them called Trai: many villages or communities depend on these principal places.

The Tonquinese nation, although subject to the same empire and the same laws, is composed of different races of men, who only have an external resemblance, and whose dispositions are wholly different.

The people inhabiting the mountains live by hunting, and the productions of the ground they cultivate round their habitations, without having scarcely any connection with the inhabitants of the plains, and are looked upon by the rest of the Ton-

quineſe as a ſavage nation. They are a quiet people, and give the government no uneaſineſs, though it is known that if occaſion required, they could furniſh the beſt and braveſt ſoldiers in the nation.

Theſe mountains are alſo peopled by a nation entirely different from thoſe we have juſt mentioned: they are of Tartar or Chineſe origin, only inhabit the foreſts, often change their dwelling, eſpecially when they find the earth they cultivate does not anſwer to their labour, and begins to be exhausted. This ſingular nation is the moſt poliſhed of Tonquin, the moſt inſtructed in the ſcience of the Chineſe characters, and carry on a trade with the low lands, but little know yet which enriches them.

It may be ſuppoſed, that this people beſt underſtand how to derive any advantage from the metals contained in the mountains, and the valuable woods they bear, eſpecially cinnamon, which is very common; but which is forbidden to be cut or fold, except on the King's account, who reſerves the trade in it excluſively to himſelf.

The hunters of this nation are very expert with the bow; they have the ſecret of poiſoning their arrows, and of giving ſo exact a degree of activity to their poiſon, that they know how far the wild animals they wound can run before they die: therefore after they have hit their mark, they remain very quiet; aſſured of ſucceſs, they go to pick up their prey in the place they expect to find it, and are ſeldom miſtaken. This poiſon does not prevent their eating the animals that die by it without any inconvenience. Thieves dare not approach their habitations; the very tigers ſeem to dread them. Theſe talents paſs for diſtinguiſhed qualities with the reſt of the Tonquineſe, and cauſe them to be looked upon as men favoured by nature, and worthy of eſteem; they are even ſuppoſed to poſſeſs ſupernatural ſecrets. They never leave their mountains, except to pay their tributes at the royal city.

The greater part of the people of the low lands are rude and ſimple, who are generally governed by an exceſs of credulity or ſuperſtition.

It ſometimes happens that the great river which deſcends from the mountains of China, and runs through the kingdom, ſwelled by the melting of the ſnows and the rains which fall at the end of ſpring, cauſes ſuch terrible inundations, that the country ſeems threatened with ruin: whole provinces are covered with water, with an infinite loſs of proviſions to the inhabitants, who are obliged to take ſhelter in their boats, and gain the elevated country, where they ſeek the means of ſubſiſtence till the waters retire.

Both men and women among the Tonquineſe are of a middling ſtature, but well proportioned, the face broad, without being ſo flat as that of the Chineſe, the eyes and noſe ſmall, their hair long and black. The men have little beard, which they ſuffer to grow: the boys muſt ſhave the top of the head in the form of a creſcent. Few of them are deformed; the women are handſome. They are much the ſame colour as the Portugueſe and Spaniards.

Although the children of both ſexes have very white teeth, as ſoon as they attain the age of ſeventeen or eighteen, they black them like the Japaneſe: like the Chineſe they alſo let their nails grow: the longer they are, the handſomer they are eſteemed; but this cuſtom is confined to the higher claſſes. The women dye their nails red; there is even a certain degree of elegance in having the hands and feet tinted with a ſlight ſhade of that colour.

The common people neither wear ſtockings, ſhoes, nor drawers; the men's habit conſiſts of a piece of linen ſeveral ells in length, with which they gird their loins, and cover what modeſty directs them to conceal; and of a long habit with very wide ſleeves,

sleeves, which crosses, and ties with a band on the right side, and covers all the body. When at work or walking, they in general only wear the cloth round their loins.

The women are modestly clothed; they wear a long petticoat, and one or several habits, of the same form as those of the men, but shorter; they cover the bosom with a piece of linen or silk in the form of a heart: they have ear-rings and bracelets of gold or silver: they wear no necklaces: they generally go with legs and feet naked, like the men.

Rich or dignified people, wear very long and wide drawers, an under waistcoat with tight sleeves and short, of the same form as their habit, and a long robe over. In visiting, both rich and poor should have a longer and wider habit than in common, the sleeves of which reach the ground: it should be of linen, silk being too common in this country: they cover their heads with a hat made of two leaves of a tree, which are strong enough to shelter them from the sun and rain. A particular law in Tonquin forbids the public use of sandals and shoes to all except learned men, and those who have attained the rank of doctor; but in their houses they generally wear a kind of slipper divided into two parts, one for the great toe, and the other for the remainder of the toes, which, they say, originates in that the ancient Tonquinese had the great toe at a great distance from the others: these slippers have no heels.

Their habits are of different colours, the most common is white, that is the natural colour of the silk, or linen; black is for the most distinguished personages. The mandarins and their officers when officiating in their employments, or when they go to court, wear robes of a shining black, approaching to a dull violet colour.

As long hair is considered a beauty at Tonquin, it forms part of their dress of ceremony. Men and women generally tuck it up, and tie it in a knot behind; but when they appear before a superior, they let it down through respect: the women even conceal part of the face with it. The soldiers when at exercise, and artisans when at work, tuck it up under their bonnets, or tie it on the top of the head.

They do not clothe children till the age of six or seven; some give them a waistcoat, which only reaches the navel, but most of them are entirely naked.

CHAP. IV. — *Taxes*: — *Public Works*: — *Right of Inheritance*: — *Language*: — *Marriages*: — *Divorce*: — *Sumptuary Laws*: — *Custom of Adoption*: — *Debtors and Creditors*.

THE condition of the people is very wretched; they are obliged to pay heavy taxes, and are subject to hard labour. Every man from the age of eighteen or twenty pays head money, from three to six rix-dollars per annum; the price is proportioned to the wealth of the territory of the town or villiage, to which he belongs. This tax is collected in April and October, which are the rice harvests: it is generally taken in kind; therefore the quantity is not fixed, but is proportioned to the produce. A merchant settled in the capital, besides the taxes he pays for his trade, is not the less liable to the capitulation in the place from whence he originates, and to all other services by the same reason. There are only royal exemptions; the King's domestics, ministers of state, public officers; the literati, from the rank of *singdo*, the first step that gives rank in the state, and which answers to bachelor in our universities; officers, soldiers, and some who purchase this privilege; and that only for their own life; which is only obtained by interest.

In the villages, whose territory is barren, or very poor, the inhabitants who are not able to pay the tax in rice or money, are employed to cut grafs for the elephants, and  
state

state horses. However distant they may be, they are obliged to send it at their own expense to the capital.

Beside this tax, every Tonquinese, not exempt, is subject to the *vecquan*, or service of the monarch, that is to say, they are obliged, either by themselves or by those they hire, to labour at the public works, the chief of which are the walls of the King's palace, the high roads, the buildings for the magistrates, the arsenals, bridges, &c.

Artisans of all professions must employ six months in the year at the *vecquan*, without any hope of recompense for their labour: the most they can expect, from a mild and humane public officer, is their food. The rest of the year is absolutely their own; time little enough to maintain a numerous family.

Property is in general respected, even by the King; by which some Tonquinese rise above the common misery, when they have courage and industry enough to endeavour to make their fortune by trade.

The Chinese having for a long time been masters of Tonquin, have introduced their laws, language, characters, or manner of writing, and religion. The customs of Tonquin are still very like those of China, with the exception of some few points which distinguish them. The Chinese language is still their literary one: but the Tonquinese have formed a kind of jargon of it, which is unintelligible to the Chinese; they can merely read and understand it, when set down in their characters. In this kingdom as in all other countries of the world, there are provincial dialects, unintelligible to all but those accustomed to them, especially in the province which joins Cochin-China. The pronunciation of this Chinese language is not the same in Tonquin, Cochin-China, Japan, and the islands of Liéou-chiéou\*, as in China: nevertheless all these different people, by seeing the same word written in Chinese characters, give it the same signification, although their pronunciation does not in the least agree.

The laws of Tonquin, which secure property, regulates the distribution of it in families. The eldest son takes the greatest part: the law allows some share to the daughters; which is but trifling, when there are many brothers.

The Tonquinese cannot marry without the consent of their father and mother, or the nearest of kin, who represent the heads of the family. There are degrees of affinity prohibited by law. They may never take a woman in a direct line, however removed from the original stock, even if it were to the twentieth degree. Those of the same name, or race, can never marry: but there is no degree prohibited in the collateral line, they may even marry two sisters.

The girls generally marry at the age of sixteen. All the ceremony on the side of the man consists in demanding her for wife, and making some presents to the father. If the request is accepted, they come to an open explanation of the wealth of the two families. The husband sends the girl every thing he intends for her use. The day of marriage, the relations and friends of the contracting parties being solemnly assembled, the bride is carried with all she has received from her husband to the house prepared for their future residence. Neither magistrates nor priests are required; the consent of the parents is sufficient: the parties themselves write, or cause to be written, the act by which they mutually engage: they sign it, or put the measure of their finger on it, which they trace on the paper.

\* The islands of Liéou-chiéou, are thirty-six in number, between 25 deg. and 28 deg. north lat. They form a considerable kingdom, very populous, and tributary to China: the people have the same customs and language as the Chinese. The island of Liéou-Chiéou, the largest, and the residence of the King, gives it name to the kingdom. This country is little, but seems worthy of being more so.

The marriage is entirely free, at least for the husband, who may sell his wife, which is not uncommon; or he may put her away, observing certain ceremonies: but the wife cannot quit her husband without his consent.

Polygamy is tolerated in Tonquin, and is even common: the first wife, that is, her that the husband married first, or whose parents are most respectable or rich, holds the chief rank among them, commands over them, and alone bears the title of wife. That the marriage may be deemed valid, they must inform the chiefs of the community they belong to, of it, and pay a tax fixed by law. In like manner, to annul a marriage and put away the wife, the husband breaks a piece of money in two, one half of which he gives his wife, who goes and informs the chiefs of the district: she is then free, or else the husband gives her a certificate signed with his hand and seal, in which he acknowledges that he gives up his rights over her, and that he gives her liberty to dispose of herself. The husband is obliged to return her all she brought him in marriage, even the presents he had given her, to share all the furniture, and the house where she lived, as well as the children she has had, if she wishes it; for she may leave them all to the husband. After the death of the husband, the concubines, or wives of the second order, have no share in his effects, and if they have had no children, they are turned out of the house. This custom extends even to the King's wives.

The children of the same father, though by different women, inherit alike: only the eldest has one-tenth more than his brothers: he takes the place of father to them, on the death of their own, even to his eldest sisters, when he attains manhood, and they cannot dispose of themselves without his consent. During their minority, the uncles govern the minors and their property. In default of males, the girls inherit in equal proportions, which is not the case in China, where they cannot succeed to immovables nor landed property.

Adultery is punished with banishment to the confines of the kingdom: it may be punished with death, but that is very rare. The ancient laws permit a man who surprises his wife in the act of adultery, to kill her and her gallant, provided it is done with his own hand: if he carries his complaint before the magistrates, the woman is condemned to be trod to death by an elephant. The seducer is put to death in some other manner.

Girls convicted of having forfeited their honour, are obliged to pay a fine, more or less, according to the custom of the place. Among the inhabitants of the mountains, who are looked upon as savages, the girls live in the most unrestrained manner: but if they become pregnant, and are reported to the mandarin, this accident in the family is enough to ruin the father and mother, by the fines they are obliged to pay, for their negligence in not watching their daughter's conduct. If there is not enough to pay, the girl and her accomplice may be sold for slaves.

The laws forbid the use of wine; but are little attended to in this point, except in the royal city, where they are always under the eyes of the mandarins, and where it is customary to get a written permission from them to use it at weddings and funerals.

Children pay the utmost respect to their parents, living or dead. In no case can a son engage in a process against his father or mother, nor marry without their consent. The time of mourning for father or mother is twenty-seven months: during that time the children cannot marry, unless within the three first days immediately succeeding the death: if they let those pass, they must wait the end of mourning. The  
respect

respect for parents, or those who represent them, is so well established and observed, that the school-masters appointed in all the towns and villages, have the greatest authority over their pupils. If they were to be accused, even after they had left them, of failing in respect to them, they would be severely punished.

The Tonquinese have not the barbarous custom that the Chinese have of drowning the children they cannot support: some who are ashamed to discover their misery, expose them: but it is seldom they perish, because many take a pleasure in receiving them, and bringing them up. Those who are professedly poor sell them. This act of humanity, on the part of the rich and independent, arises from the desire, natural among this nation, of having a numerous and opulent family, from whence originates the custom of procuring strange children, and even adopting of them, with a kind of solemnity, indifferently of both sexes. At the death of their adopted father, these children share equally in the succession with the real children; they go into mourning, as they would for their own father, though he may be still alive.

The method of adoption is very simple: either the adopted has been found by his adopted father, who notifies to the magistrate that he receives it among the number of his children; or he who aspires to that favour, being of an age to make his intentions known, proposes them, or gets them proposed to the father of a family; if satisfied with his answer, he presents himself before him, with two bottles of arrack, which his patron receives. Some explanations, or proposed conditions, conclude the ceremony.

Usury is very common, and very baneful in Tonquin, where in general they take yearly one-third of the sum lent, as interest. When the interest equals the principal, the usury ought to cease: but the creditors get new notes or bonds executed; and it often happens that families that were comfortable are ruined, by a debt in its origin very trifling. The abuse of the laws of the country gives the creditor an astonishing power over the debtor: they become masters in their houses, take away their moveables, their wives, and children, whom they ill treat, put them to a kind of painful torture, hoping by that means to force them to give up all they possess: they finish by selling them, to obtain the price of their labour, till the debt is paid; for, strictly speaking, there is no slavery in Tonquin. The adopted children, those the creditors seize, or whom their parents have sold, become free at the expiration of the term fixed for their service. Their engagements are only temporary; therefore it is forbidden under pain of death, to sell their children to the Chinese, who reduce them to perpetual slavery: notwithstanding this prohibition, many are privately sold, as well in their own country as to foreigners.

CHAP. V. — *Visits: — Customs of Society, Manner of dividing Time and Distances. — Festivals and Superstitions of the New Year: — Shows: — Singing-Houses: — Cock-fighting.*

MOST of their ceremonial customs are of Chinese origin. The women in general are allowed full liberty of going abroad when they please, but those of the mandarins and other persons of distinction are shut up, much the same as they are in China. Both are said to be extremely easy, and to give themselves to strangers on moderate terms, and form temporary marriages with them. They always choose their husband according to their liking, which the Chinese are not allowed to do, who marry without any previous acquaintance with their future husband.

Visits are only paid in the morning. The nobles even go to court very early, where they transact the business of their offices till eight o'clock, when they return home.

The Princes, great mandarins, and persons of their rank, never go out but on elephants, in rich palanquins, followed by numerous officers, soldiers and servants. The rank or dignity determines the number of the retinue. Those of an inferior degree go on horse-back, and are never attended by more than ten persons, though seldom by less, as the scort forms a great part of their pomp, and announces their dignity and power.

Their manner of receiving strangers, relations, or friends, is the same as among the Chinese. Women are not admitted to their conversations, nor do they eat with the men. They however appear, and receive and return those attentions and compliments it is judged proper to pay them. There is no furniture in the rooms where they receive company; after the usual ceremonies of salutes, and bows, which are always regulated according to the rank of the person treated with, they set down on estrades covered with mats, which are round the room; they sit on them cross-legged, as is customary all over the East. Mats are their only furniture, carpets and cushions are unknown to them: their beds are also mats, with a kind of pillow made of rushes or reeds, which serve for bolster and support.

The Tonquinese like most of the orientals have no taste for curiosities, which supposes a genius cultivated by the fine arts, and careful education; but are very luxurious in every thing which they are habituated to. They carry sensuality to its height.

In conversation and in visits they avoid all dull subjects, and every one strives to give what he says that air of gaiety which seems their natural character. For the same reason they never visit sick people; their compliments when they meet, are not 'how do you do,' but, 'where have you been,' and, 'what have you done.' If they perceive any one is unwell, they do not ask the question, but how many cups of rice they have eaten at each meal, if their appetite is good, or not. An inferior always appears bareheaded before his superiors; and those who receive any orders from the King, either verbal or written, must neither hear it nor read it without first taking off their robe and bonnet.

They have neither clocks to mark and divide the time, nor distances or leagues to measure the roads; every thing is by estimation. They merely divide the day into three parts, morning, noon, and evening, and guess pretty nearly at the half of the morning and afternoon. The night is divided into five watches, which reckon and are observed the same throughout the kingdom.

The mandarins use Moorish clocks, which are copper balls placed in a basin of water, each ball has a hole by which the water enters it, when full it falls to the bottom; which marks the hour or watch. They then strike on a copper-plate, suspended by a knob from the center: they thus mark the watch that is past, and that which is beginning; at the same time they beat the drum with rods: this noise is repeated at distances, and continues all night.

They reckon distances by day's or half day's journey: nearer distances are judged by the eye, without any actual measurement. In a country so intersected with canals, rivers, and marshes, one is obliged to make many circuits, which retard the passage from one place to another, let the distance be ever so short.

Each town has a guard, which the inhabitants keep by turns: by this means, the King's orders are carried in a short time all over the kingdom. These kinds of guards

and messengers cost the state nothing : they even, in some respects, prevent the incursions of robbers, of whom the country is full, because it is forbidden to travel in the night time : if any unforeseen occurrence oblige them to it, they must carry a torch with them, and make themselves known, or else they are taken up.

The Tonquinese year is composed of lunar months, full or not full. To agree with the sun, they have, from time to time, intermediate months, and years of thirteen months. These years are regulated by the King's mathematicians, who are very ignorant : they foretel eclipses by conjectures, and when they are mistaken, or announce them falsely, they are beat on the knees with a straw hammer ; a punishment more disgraceful than painful. To avoid this, they often omit eclipses in their calendars. Before the Europeans traded in this kingdom, these mathematicians imagined that at the time of eclipses, a dragon was devouring the moon ; and it was ordered to make a great noise with pots and pans, to frighten this wild beast, while the mandarins were obliged to kneel down, and supplicate the dragon not to eat the moon.

The commencement of the year is regulated by the mathematicians, and is not always the same. Some reckon the new year, from the twenty fifth day of the last moon, because then the great seal of state is shut up for a whole month, during which time the operation of the laws is suspended ; all the courts of judicature are vacated ; debtors cannot be seized ; petty crimes, which are but few in this country, and theft, go unpunished : even the punishment for the greatest crimes is put off to another time, with the precaution of arresting the criminal and shaving his head, that he may be easily known if he should escape from prison. These customs are very ancient among them, and established, that every one forgetting all his cares, may devote himself to the pleasures that accompany the first days of each year.

These festivals last thirty days, which are passed in rejoicings, visits, and continual feasts. They make reciprocal presents : and this time is very lucrative to the mandarins, school-masters, bonzes, &c. who receive presents from all parts.

These days of rejoicing commence by an act which shews how superstitious these people are. Nobody stirs out of his house the first day, for fear of meeting with some unlucky omen for the rest of the year : they even keep their doors fastened for the better security. The second day, they pay visits, and render their respects to their superiors : the public festivals begin at the same time ; but they are often disgraced by secret crimes, which spring from a barbarous and cruel superstition. There is an abominable custom among the Tonquinese of putting some one to death on the first days of the year ; to accomplish this, they poison the fruits and poultry that are brought to market. The thieves lay in ambush to assassinate some passenger : the one and the other conceive that these homicides will bring them good luck ; and on account of the circumstance of the time, it is seldom that these acts are enquired into or punished, although there are frequent examples of the perpetration of them.

The most esteemed amusements among the Tonquinese at these times, are singing and dancing. This is generally in the evening and often continues all night. The mandarins have halls appropriated to these amusements, which are mostly open to the public. In the villages there are singing-houses, as they call the public halls, where the inhabitants assemble on the days of festival ; and where they enjoy an entertainment which does not possess much parade. The actors are generally engaged for one night, and are four or five in number. Their dress is fantastical, their songs or recitals are almost always in favour of their Kings or great men, are interspersed with some verses of love stories, or relative to some adventure that interests the district.

There

There are interludes of dances, always performed by women. Their instruments are trumpets, copper kettle-drums, hautboys, guitars, and different kinds of violins; the women are very clever at rope dancing. Another kind of dance, is a great favourite with them: a woman has a bason on her head full of small lighted lamps, she should be very active, come, go, jump, every kind of motion, regulated to music, and all this without spilling any of the oil. The actors receive a rix-dollar for each representation, but the spectators generally contribute something.

Cock fighting is also a great amusement at Tonquin, particularly at court. The King breeds them for this purpose, and in general they are victorious, though the courtiers always bet against them: a mode of making their court that impoverishes them, but to which they must conform to be well looked upon by the sovereign. The game cocks are shut up separately in cages, the sticks of which are strong and thick, through which they can see each other, which makes them so spirited and enraged, that they fight with surprising fury. There are officers commissioned to take charge of them, and regulate the battles: those who have the care of the King's cocks pay the utmost attention to them, and are severely punished if suspected of any negligence in the breeding or feeding of them. A King of Achem had the hand of one of his principal lords cut off to punish him, as he said, for the little care he had taken in feeding his cocks, which were weak, and had been beaten in a battle fought in the presence of the cruel despot.

In general the Tonquinese men are mean and lazy; the best among them would only exert themselves to gratify their gluttony, if they were not forced to labour; only the passions always baneful to society can rouse them from their lethargy. It is otherwise with the women, if we except their decided inclination for the men; they are more amiable, more laborious, and often possessed of industry and courage.

#### CHAP. VI. — *Of the Food, Wines, &c. of the Tonquinese, Diseases, Medicine, and Surgery.*

BOILED rice is to the Tonquinese what bread is to us: but being prepared without salt or any other seasoning, it can be but very insipid, for which reason they eat many salt and high-seasoned things, such as balachan, of which there are several kinds, and which serves for anchovies: salt-fish; a kind of salt, composed of common salt, and a small grain, roasted and pulverized, which has an excellent flavour, and water from salted fish. Although in general all the fish of Tonquin is good, there are differences in the species, as among poultry, and sea and river birds. These provisions are abundant, but it is seldom that the common people can procure them: their general food is rice, vegetables, and the commonest small fish.

They prepare balachan, and salted water thus; They use large wooden vats, or small tubs, which they partly fill with fish, shrimps or small crabs, which they pound, according to the kind of balachan they would make: they put in a large quantity of salt and water, in equal parts; they let the whole ferment for a month or six weeks, stirring it every day. At the end of that time, if it is salted water they would make, they draw off the water which is of a deep red: if they would make balachan, they do not separate the water from the settlement, they put the whole into earthen pots, which are carried and sold all over the kingdom, and these articles are equally esteemed by the rich and poor.

It may be said that in this country they eat all sorts of animals, and productions of the earth; even the known poison of some animals does not secure them from the tooth of the Tonquinese.

They

They esteem it a treat to eat raw fish and beef, and the blood of animals warm from the veins. Pork, which is very common, supplies the place of butcher's meat. It is a great delicacy to eat small fish, which are served up alive in cups, in which they swim about. Dogs, cats, field rats, the flesh of horses and elephants, silk-worms, the eggs of certain ants, large white worms, found in old trees, a kind of small bee, calves born dead, are esteemed excellent food, and they are all eaten with their skins. The Tonquinese despise the flesh of flayed animals: they lose nothing, nor of the fish, except the excrements: they make good ragouts of their entrails, and even reduce the softer bones to a paste, of which they make little balls.

In the dry season the country is infested with clouds of insects, which resemble may-bugs: the people gather up as many as they can, roast them, reduce them to powder, and use them to give a high flavour to their food: hens' eggs are only eaten medicinally: those which are addled are reserved for the table of the King, or great lords: but a great consumption takes place, of the eggs of ducks, geese, and other birds. They neither eat butter nor milk, and hold cheese in a kind of abhorrence: they use but little oil in their cookery: they make very little of it, although the olive tree thrives well there: they use hogs' lard to dress the food of the rich, the greater part are contented with the salted water which enters into all their fauces.

Besides the many vegetables and roots which abound in this country, there are many trees, of which they eat the young leaves, the tender branches, and the heart: thus the pith of the bamboo is in place of fine large asparagus, some of which are very thick, and five or six feet long: they dry them, and boil them as they want them: the pith of the areka tree is of an excellent flavour. A very common food is cakes made of flour of beans, prepared with strong herbs and balachan: there are different ways of serving them up, they are cut in pieces, or fried, or dried by the fire and smoked, with hog's lard, which is the best way: it is said to be wholesome: it is very cheap, the pound of twenty ounces only costs a halfpenny. They also make a kind of wafer or fritter, with diluted clay, fugar, and some other seasonings: this must be very unwholesome, but the women are very fond of it.

Small birds' nests are in as much request here as in China, which not only form part of the most exquisite fare, but are supposed to strengthen the stomach, and to excite the two sexes to the propagation of their species.

In the flat country where there are no woods, they use straw for cooking: it is collected into large heaps, and kept sheltered from the rains and inundations. It is perhaps this want of wood which obliges the people to eat certain food, which is difficult to dress, raw.

Their general drink is the tea of the country, not that fine pleasant tea which is brought from China into Europe: that kind does not grow in Tonquin: it is another kind of coarse tea, which they call chiabang, which has a sharp taste, but which very much quenches the thirst: they use also many other kinds of leaves, barks, even wood, a piece of which may be boiled in different waters for seven or eight days, and preserve its quality, this drink dries up the stomach, being too astringent, and too much hastens digestion: it is so sharp that it gives the itch, if often used: a very common disease in Tonquin, as well as ring-worms. The great use the tea of China more for fashion than for its flavour.

From rice they extract a liquor much esteemed throughout the East, and known in Europe by the name of arrack; it is either obtained by fermentation as in China, or by distillation.

The Chinese wine drawn from rice by fermentation is of several kinds. That called mandarin wine is very good, of a yellow colour: it is left to ferment a long time in earthen vats; they put some wholesome simples into it, and even, as it is said, a lamb just yeaned, which they reduce to a kind of liquid paste. When this wine is drawn off, they put it into bottles that hold about a pint, and it may be kept for ages without losing any of its quality. It sells very dear at Tonquin, where it is brought from China: it is very strong, of no very pleasant taste, and pleases the Tartars more than it does the Chinese. The Tonquinese only use it at feasts, and as a debauch.

All the things above mentioned are sold every where at regular markets, held every five days.

As the common people are very gluttonous, they only think of cramming their stomachs: they will not answer any question while eating; they seem to fear that the time it would take them to speak, would take from their pleasure, and their share of the food: they eat prodigiously, but do not drink in proportion, not even at their feasts, and seldom go to excess in strong liquors. It is not so at court, and among the military; the greatest drinker there passes for the bravest man.

The great and rich take three meals a-day, without including a slight collation in the course of the afternoon. The common people have no regular hours, they eat when their labour will allow them, and they have wherewithal.

In all climates there are diseases peculiar to every country; as there are some to which they are strangers, or so rare that they are scarcely known. The apoplexy, pleurisy, the plague, such as is known in Europe, are never experienced in Tonquin. The most common diseases are fevers, dysenteries, yellow-jaundice, and the small-pox; there are some peculiar to the climate, from the excess of heat, and their food which acts more on some habits than on others.

Leprosy is so common, that in many places there are pieces of land assigned where those attacked by it must reside: they are shut out from society: it is even lawful to kill them, if they enter cities or towns. This disorder is dreadful\*, it eats away the extremities of the hands and feet in such a manner, that after a certain time those afflicted with it entirely lose their fingers and toes: they yet may live long in this state, and transmit the disease to their children, for they are obliged to allow them to marry: their blood becomes so hot, so sharp, that the want of the commerce of sex would drive them mad if it was not freely permitted them.

The bad wind is another disorder unknown to us. The wind, or sudden impression of a cold air, charged with local exhalations, suddenly congeals the blood, and instantly kills many; others are only benumbed in some of their limbs: most often the mouth is deformed, and turned as in a paralytic stroke. When the effect is slight, it may be cured by rubbing: they have specific remedies, if they are administered in time.

Women in labour are subject to a revolution in the blood, which stifles them in a moment, or renders them infirm for life; those thus attacked generally become barren. Children are liable to dangerous obstructions, which shut up all natural evacuations, and kill a great many. The usual remedy for this is a cataplasm, composed

\* This disorder is well known in the West India islands, under the name of yaws; it is there almost entirely confined to the negroes, who are in general put in a hut at a distance from any habitation, where they are left to nature, to recover or perish. If a white person is known to have it, even if he recovers, he is disgraced, and held in contempt for ever, from a supposition that he must have made too free with the most wretched class of the blacks.—Tr.

of a drug called coakroch and roasted onions, applied to the navel, and which gives speedy relief.

Although their medical men are numerous, they cannot be said to possess much ability, and are ignorant of the construction of the human frame, for they never even dream of anatomy. They however gather some information from Chinese books, in which they learn to prepare drugs, herbs and roots. They have old books on medicine, in which all the parts of the body are represented, which shews that formerly they had some idea of anatomy: but their present practice shews, they never study these figures, not even in cases where they might be of service. The Chinese doctors are much more esteemed, and generally make their fortunes in Tonquin, with which they retire to their own country. Surgery is even inferior to medicine with them: they know nothing of curing dislocations, or fractures, on these occasions they only use certain herbs, of which they make cataplasms, which sometimes have wonderful success. They have another which consists in reducing the raw bones of a fowl to powder, of which they make a paste, and apply it to the part affected, and which passes for a sovereign remedy. They seldom bleed, and their method is not like ours: they bleed on the forehead, with a fish's bone, which is applied to a vein: they strike it with the finger, and it enters: it is in the same shape as the fleam of our farriers.

The chief and most difficult operation in most diseases is fire: the manner they apply it deserves notice. They use the leaf of a tree well dried, which they beat in a mortar, and afterwards slightly moisten with diluted Indian-ink; they divide it into pieces the size of a farthing, which they apply to different parts of the body; they then set fire to them with lighted paper. Cupping is very frequent. Glysters are never used: they seldom use purgatives. The doctors pretend to know specific simples for each particular disorder.

The waters in Tonquin are in general unwholesome, and in the rainy and hot seasons cause, if not epidemic disorders, at least great inconveniencies; and no where so much as in the mountainous and woody country. The natural inhabitants of these provinces however do not seem to be so much affected by them as strangers, or those from the level country, who seldom escape their ill qualities. The natives are attacked by schirrhus, and have one leg larger than another. These infirmities may also be attributed to the quality of the air in these forests, which the exhalations that it is loaded with renders heavy. Strangers who visit those districts, find themselves seized with a drowsiness they find it difficult to shake off.

The summer heats almost always bring with them epidemic diseases which kill multitudes; whole towns are suddenly depopulated; though more fatal to the men than the women. The rains, added to the heat of the air, prevent the men from their usual exertions; this inaction becomes fatal to them. The women on the contrary, who are nearly always occupied with the same domestic labours, and consequently always in action, are not so liable to them.

Towards the month of September the diseases cease, the air changes, and becomes more healthy, as a dry air succeeds to humidity. Winter in this country is the most wholesome and pleasant time; it may be compared, to the finest European spring.

Notwithstanding the diseases incident to this country, and the intemperature of summer, there are many more vigorous old people to be seen and subject to fewer inconveniences of their age, than in the greatest part of Europe; but more among the people, than among those of a higher rank.

CHAP. VII. — *Funeral Ceremonies of the different Ranks : — Funeral Preparations : — Piety towards the Dead.*

THE Tonquinese are guided in their funeral ceremonies by a kind of ritual, which they originally derived from China, and which they observe to the letter. The principle of their conduct, in these circumstances, is the maxim of Confucius, so celebrated among them : “ they should pay the same respect to the dead, as to the living,” or, “ we should esteem the absent as well as the present.”

They believe that children in the womb are only animated by the souls of infants that died before they are arrived at the age of reason : but that the souls of men become so many genii capable of good or evil ; but who would be always wandering and subject to all kinds of wants, if the assistance of their families did not help them to subsist ; or if, according to their own dispositions, they did not procure themselves all they wanted, by the mischief they occasioned or the good they did. They do not say what become of these souls when their families cease to provide for them, nor for how long they are to pay them these attentions.

However they observe with the greatest nicety, the day, hour and moment that a person expires ; and at the moment they think to be their last, they put a handkerchief over their face, which after the last sigh they fold up, saying that the soul is attached to it. If the person dies on the same day that their father or nearest relation was born, they consider it as an ill omen for their heirs and posterity : in this case the body is not interred before the diviners and ministers of their religion have been consulted, in order to choose a favourable day for that ceremony, to avert whatever might be evil in the time of their death.

Several months, and even years, sometimes occur, before they receive a favourable answer, and until they do, the coffin is shut up in a part of the house, set apart for that purpose, or in a hut built for the occasion ; it is placed on four posts planted to sustain it.

These ceremonies, however, only exist among the great and rich, who are more attached to life than the common people, who could not be at the expence of so long a delay, and therefore bury the body twelve or fifteen days after death.

They make a distinction of sex in the manner of burying the bodies. The men are clothed in seven of their best habits ; the women in nine ; they put pieces of gold and silver, and pearl-seed in their mouths, to keep them from want in a new life. The coffin is decked within with silk stuffs, more or less costly ; the body is placed in it, the face upwards, the head placed on a kind of paste, so as to keep it immoveable. The rest of the coffin is entirely filled with the finest rice. It is afterwards closed. They use no nails to put it together, but caulk it with a kind of tenacious cement, and cover it with varnish.

With these precautions, the air having no action on the corpse, it is not surprizing that they can keep them for several years in the house, without any disagreeable smell from corruption. All the time it remains there, the eldest son should lie at the foot of the coffin, offer up to it sacrifices of whole animals and incense. This is an indispensable duty, from which no one can be exempt, without a crime.

When the day of interment arrives, the relations and friends assemble in mourning, that is, in a robe of coarse white cotton linen. The chief mourner is girt with a cord, the head surrounded with a band of straw, instead of a bonnet : they have all sticks in their hands, on which they lean, like people ready to sink beneath the weight of their grief,

grief. The women and girls have their head and face covered with a piece of linnen which conceals them from sight. The body of the deceased is carried by twenty or thirty people, with gravity, slowness, and the greatest care, that it may not lean more to one side than another; that it may preserve the most perfect equilibrium, a cup full of water is put on the bier; if not a drop is spilt they look on it as a good omen, and the bearers are rewarded.

The whole assembly precede, or follow the body; genuflexions, prostrations, cries and groans, are regulated by a master of the ceremonies, at whose signal every thing is executed in the greatest order. Men and women are heard at the same time: some call on the dead as husband, some as father, benefactor, friend, and relation; every one praises him according to the title he is claimed by; this funeral concert finishes by the same signal, and the procession continues its way in silence. From time to time they stop, and go through the same ceremonies. During the march the eldest son lies down and lets the body pass over him, which is esteemed the greatest mark of filial respect.

The whole is preceded by different instruments of music; they carry banners loaded with different inscriptions in praise of the deceased; one of the chief articles of the procession is the handkerchief in which they believe they have received the soul, which is carefully carried to the place of burial, and is afterwards brought back to the house, where it is placed on a tablet, destined for that sole use. These tablets are one foot and a half in height, and six inches wide, rounded on the top, the names and surnames of the deceased, whose soul is supposed to be preserved there, are written on it.

In this ceremony, those who are rich, present all kinds of animals, and even palaces with their furniture: the whole being of gilt paper; a certain proportion of them is burnt from time to time. Besides these offerings, there are many tables loaded with real provisions, in such quantity that it is requisite to have ladders to reach them; these are given up to the people that follow the procession. When the body is deposited in the sepulchre, the assembly returns to the house, and the ceremony concludes with a great feast, in which they drink in honour of the deceased, often to intoxication.

A long time before their death, they are anxious in choosing the place where they will be buried; and this is no inconsiderable matter with them, because they consider the choice may influence the happiness or misfortune of their descendants. This place is not, as in China, fixed on mountains; but every one has in his village or native place his place of burial in the midst of some cultivated field; on this they erect a hut, round which the ground is dug up every year, to prevent the grass or weeds from growing. However these attentions do not continue from generation to generation, because in the long run, the dead would leave no space for the living to reside on, nor land to draw their subsistence from. The respect paid to sepulchres, which it is forbidden to violate under pain of death, has its bounds. Some of the great, anxious to perpetuate their memory, build vaults, in which they have their bodies deposited; some even build temples for this purpose, and assign revenues to ministers to attend them; but these are but very few. This great respect paid to tombs seldom lasts more than three years, that is the time prescribed for mourning, when they take up the body, and the bones are placed in a small coffin, which is interred elsewhere. If it should happen that the flesh has been preserved all that time, they imagine that the deceased was a bad man, who has tormented the living, and has only preserved himself in that fresh state at their expence. If the flesh is entirely consumed,

and nothing remains but the dry bones, they augur well from it, both as to the memory of the deceased, and the honour of his family.

CHAP. VIII. — *Religious Customs. — Sect of Bout, or of Idols. — Sect of Magicians. — Sect of the Learned. — Peculiar Superstitions. — Sages or Philosophers.*

IF by the term religion be understood those superstitious practices, which are the object of veneration and attachment of the ignorant multitude, there is no where more than in Tonquin; but as the objects themselves are continually changing, and what has been the subject of public worship at one time, is quite forgotten, and even despised soon, and as there is no stability in what the people call their religion, it may be said, strictly speaking, that they have none, and that they only pass from one superstition to another, which is in favour for a time, by the interest some priest, magician or bonze may take in it, provided he stands well with the people, and has address enough to impose on them.

Nevertheless the foundation of the religious laws and superstitions of Tonquin come from China, and as in that empire, there are three kinds of religions or predominating superstitions; that of Bout or the idolatry of Fo; that of Lanzo, or the magicians; and the sect of the literati, which is the same with that of Confucius in China.

The religion of the state, and of the people, is the worship of idols, the most ancient and best known origin of which, relates to Fo, or Thànphat. The Chova, or general of the forces of the kingdom, in whose person resides all the power of the sceptre, piques himself on supporting it; while the Dova, or him who has the title of King or Emperor without power, is the head of the religion of the literati, or the worship they render heaven, or the supreme being.

In each borough or Xa, there should be a temple of idols. Their edifices are more or less considerable, according to the riches of the country: in general they are much neglected, and resemble a kind of shed open on all sides, in which are some idols, either hanging up, or placed on tables without any ornament. Each of these temples has its guardian, who enjoys the lands and revenue attached to the house of the idol he serves; every individual is obliged to give him every month a certain quantity of rice, and a small sum of money.

The principal temples are built with more expence, some of them have towers, and kinds of steeples: these being better founded, are sufficient to maintain different communities of bonzes, who live together, and wear a habit like the inhabitants of the country, the colour being of a grey white. They are obliged to shave their heads, and to maintain their chastity; they are forbid to eat any thing that has had life, to drink wine, or any intoxicating liquor; they abstain from onions, and from all plants or roots of a strong scent: at certain hours they repeat in common, prayers in a language they scarcely understand: their chief or superior should be a graduated literati. They perform none of the functions of priesthood; their employment consists in attending the pagodas, or temples of idols, and administering medicine to the people. The greater part subsist on alms. There are also societies of nuns, who live retired in their cloisters, which they never leave, except to perform on some instrument at funerals; they have not the reputation of being the chastest women in the country.

The character of all these bonzes is that of being very humane; they are neither intolerant, nor persecutors; they have no aversion to the Christian religion, and do not approve of troubling or punishing those who embrace it. They pretend that Fo  
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and Jesus Christ were brothers; the former the eldest, and the latter the youngest, who, through ambition, wishing to rise above his elder brother, was by his orders nailed to the cross; that notwithstanding the disgrace of his death, it is right to honour him, but without prejudice to the worship that ought to be paid to his elder brother Fo. Such is the idea of the divine author of the Christian religion.

The worship of all these idols consists in sacrifices, wrestling, comedies and feasts. On the day of ceremony, prizes are proposed for wrestling: those who enter the lists strip off their habits, and gird their loins with a whole piece of linen, which they bind so tight that they afford no hold to their adversary. The two champions employ every stratagem to surprize and throw each other: they entwine their arms and legs, they clasp the body, raise one another from the ground, bend half over, and him they already think vanquished recommences with fresh vigour; every part of the body labours, and uses the utmost exertions, but they never strike one another. Their combats have more of art than violence in them, and are therefore the more interesting to a people by no means sanguinary. Most of these wrestlers have no other means of gaining a living.

To supply the necessary expences for building and repairing these temples, maintaining the ministers and guardians, and the charges of the sacrifices, a capitation is imposed, which the people are obliged to pay, under heavy penalties. To make this burthen more supportable to the people, they are entertained with pretended miracles, cures performed by the power of these gods, and their frequently appearing; but they are more feared than beloved, because in general they believe that they do more mischief than good, and that they have more evils to dread from them than favours to expect.

Without prejudice to the worship of Fo, generally established, every city or town makes choice of a tutelar divinity or patron: there are ancient and modern ones, and they change them whenever they think proper. They have also domestic gods, after the example of the Chinese territorial gods, who preside over the boundaries of estates; spirits who preside over mountains, fire-places, doors, &c.

In regard to the sect of Lanzo, or the magicians, they have no kind of established worship; all who profess it are its public ministers, as aspire to be so. It seems to have no other origin, than the interest of those who exercise it, and the credulous superstition of those who hope to derive advantage from it, or some particular knowledge. It may therefore be less considered as forming a part of religion, properly so called, than as an effect of blind superstition.

It has nevertheless acquired the consideration of the great, and the respect of the vulgar. Its chiefs are consulted on important occasions, and their answers pass for holy inspirations.

This sect acknowledges for its founder, one Lao-kun, a native of China, whom they say was eighty years in his mother's womb, and at length tore his own way into the world. The head of this sect resides in China: every three years, he is obliged to come and pay his homage to the reigning Emperor, who generally advances a few steps to receive him, an honour bestowed on no other grandee of his empire. The Chinese say that the philosopher Lao-kun, was born about fifty-two years before Confucius; his doctrine is a mixture of that of Fo, and some absurd superstitions added to it: it has for a long time been neglected in China, but under the dynasty of the Tangs, which lasted from 618 of our era to 907, these superstitions were in such esteem, that the ministers of them were called Tien-lee, (celestial doctors).

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The sect of the literati, or Confucius, is with reason considered as the noblest and most rational of all those known in the East: it is composed of the greatest and most illustrious persons of the state, the magistrates or mandareens of different orders, and all the learned men. The doctrine it prescribes is contained in the books of Confucius, who is looked upon in Tonquin as the most enlightened man that ever appeared, and whose precepts they make an honour of following, as well as the rules of conduct he has laid down, and the ceremonies he established; and no place of honour and authority is obtained in this country without being versed in his writings. This is in a few words the idea they have of his origin, person and doctrine.

The Tonquinese give him the name of Ong-khou. He lived more than 550 years before the Christian era. It does not appear that in his time the worship of idols was established in China, as no mention is made of them in his writings. Although morality was not then at that perfection to which he afterwards brought it, there had been, long before him, sages, whose maxims he collected, explained, and formed from them a moral code, adding what suited the circumstances of the time. He established the practice of it, teaching it publicly, and forming disciples, who seconded him in the project he had formed of reforming the manners, and bringing them to their primitive purity. His doctrine appeared too severe in his time, and brought on him persecutions which he endured with courage, never losing sight of the restoration of morals. He died in these sentiments, and left to his disciples the care of perfecting the work he had begun.

The different religious sects established in Tonquin cause no division in families, and have never excited the least disturbance in the state. Every one in the same family is of what sect he pleases. It is even common to find persons attached to them all, and following their different customs. The literati themselves, who profess to despise the idols, sometime assist at the ceremonies of the bonzes, and it is not uncommon to see the same person go to the temples of the idols, the halls of Confucius, and have recourse to diviners and magicians in times of sickness.

Besides these three principal sects, there is that of the fasters, or real partisans of the metempsychosis, who, though not bonzes, eat nothing that has had life; there are not however many of this sect in Tonquin, the Tonquinese having an aversion to even the appearance of fasting, which is why there are so few societies of bonzes among them.

They have also some sages, who may be compared to those eminent men, who once ornamented Greece: they profess to be attached to virtue, and to live like true philosophers; they say they love virtue for herself, and without any view to their own interests, nor any reward, present or future.

Among their religious customs may also be classed a number of superstitions prevalent at Tonquin, more especially among the people. For example, they give their children horrid names, that the evil Genii may be afraid of them, and not hurt them; they change these names when they think the children are strong enough not to any longer fear the evil spirits: they let six or seven tufts of their hair grow of different sizes in honour of their idols. At the commencement of the year they set up frightful figures at their doors, to frighten the devils and prevent their entering; for the same reason they even expose infamous ones. Always watching for good and bad days, they are in continual apprehension of making mistakes. At a general review of the troops, they discharge all the artillery and musketry, to put to flight all spirits evil-disposed to the happiness and tranquillity of the state. There are many other customs equally absurd, which may be estimated by those just mentioned.

CHAP. IX. — *Sciences. — Arts and Trades. — Fisheries.*

ALL the sciences of Tonquin, as well as in China, are studied in the works of Confucius and his commentators, or interpreters: they treat of different systems of morality, some of mathematics, physics and astronomy, the knowledge of the laws, and the history of the country.

Nothing can be more imperfect than their geographical and astronomical sciences: their attachment to their ancient customs prevents any great progress in those branches. Their history is confined to what has happened in their own country. The compilers of the public annals, who labour by the King's command, would be punished with death, if they introduced any facts relative to the history of foreign countries. But they are perfectly acquainted with the morals of Confucius, their own history, the laws and customs of the kingdom.

Knowledge is in great estimation in Tonquin; because it is the only road to honour; and the learned men are considered as the only nobles of the country. They must pass through different degrees to attain the height they aspire to, the offices and dignities of the kingdom, which are the recompence of literary merit.

The first degree is that of *singdo*, which answers to bachelor; the second is *hungcong*, or licentiate, the third *tuncy*, or doctor. The president of sciences is chosen from the most able doctors, under the name of *trangivin*. Every one in his province may be admitted to the first degree; it is even easily obtained, even by proxy; but there is more difficulty to procure the second; every one is personally obliged to satisfactorily comply with the required conditions: the third degree is only attainable by intrinsic merit, and the proof is most strict.

They can only be admitted as doctor, in the royal city, and in presence of the King, in a general assembly of all the candidates, which is only held once in three years. A single fault in the examination excludes the candidate; thus though those who present themselves for the doctor's degree generally amount to some thousands, seldom more than eight or ten are admitted. Such is the attention paid in choosing persons to fill the first dignities of the state, and who are considered as its support.

Corruption, partiality, and the passions, which are such strong parties in every concern in the kingdom, here give way to the love of order and justice. Nor is it to be wondered at, the penalty of death being pronounced against those examining mandarins, who should suffer themselves to be corrupted by bribes, or any other means, and more than one example proves that this severe law is put in execution.

All the fruit, for the trouble taken to attain the offices and dignities of the state, is confined to the person who enjoys it. The honours expire with him who has possessed them. The immediate heirs of the first persons in the state have no other distinction than being exempt from taxes and public charges; an advantage which does not descend to their children, who return to the common order, unless they raise themselves from it by their personal merit, as did their grandfathers. This custom tends to preserve equality among all the subjects of the state, where there is no other nobility than what distinguished and personal qualities bestow.

Every one is not allowed to study mathematics: who ever without an express licence should study them, would be suspected of conspiring against the state, because they believe that Heaven presides over kingdoms, and disposes of the fate of Kings, and that mathematics is the science of the secrets of heaven; therefore the King chooses his mathematicians from among the doctors of the first rank.

It is only since they have been visited by Europeans, that they have had any idea of foreign nations, and that they have believed that other continents and nations than those immediately bordering on the frontiers of their kingdom existed. They have no distinct notion of the distribution of the globe into sea and land, nor of the different parts of the world.

In mentioning the diseases of Tonquin and the method of treating them, we have shewn the state of medicine and surgery in that kingdom: but it may be further observed, that every one is at liberty to follow those professions, and form pupils, without having undergone any examination, and without being obliged to pay any tax. But some who wish to acquire reputation and practice, take out a kind of diploma, by undergoing an examination before officers appointed for that purpose. This examination chiefly consists in knowing if the candidate can distinguish the plants he employs for the cure of diseases, the one from the other, even when cut up, and mixed confusedly together. They also make them prove on themselves the virtues of their boasted remedies, doubtless to ascertain that there is nothing baneful in them. When a rich man is ill it is customary to propose a reward to whoever cures him; doctors and surgeons crowd around him; each in his turn gives him medicines, which are immediately paid for: and the reward is given to him, whose medicine has been found to have operated a considerable alteration in the patient: they often succeed. What is most surprizing is, that these multiplied medicines do not increase or fix the disorder: they cannot be dangerous, and their composition must be very simple. The doctor to whom they attribute the cure acquires great reputation; and yet those of the same profession who have been consulted with him entertain no jealousy.

There are a few painters in Tonquin, who are employed to decorate the temples and distinguished houses, but their art is still uncouth; yet several of them shew marks of genius, which under able masters might shine with lustre. Sculpture is confined to carving a few rude statues of idols, most of which are merely figures of invention, and intended to represent Genii, under frightful forms: it seems that the greatest perfection lies in making them as horrible and fantastic as possible. Engraving is unknown to them: but they possess the art of printing. There are few other arts or trades in Tonquin.

They do not know how to build ships: they have scarcely any idea of navigation, because they are forbidden to leave their country; but they excel in building all kinds of boats; most of them are decked, except those used for fishing: they have an astonishing neat light boat, which they keep in their houses, and during the inundations it serves them to pass from one place to another.

In Tonquin every trade is carried on that is absolutely necessary for the wants of life; and they carry on too much trade with China not to imitate them in many things; but they invent nothing, and have never thought of improving any one branch of their industry. Every trade is executed with the simplest tools, and yet with the greatest ease. A carpenter or joiner contains all his implements in a bamboo, except his axe, which is very narrow: there are blacksmiths, gold and silver smiths, and they also work in copper; they work amazingly cheap: there are potteries every where; they all know how to make gunpowder: almost all the women can fabricate linen and silk stuffs. There are some other professions, which will be mentioned when we treat of their internal commerce. What employs the greatest part of the people is fishing, a kind of necessary trade for their daily subsistence: their manner of fishing varies much. On the banks of those rivers where the tide flows, they erect light open hurdles: each boat places several: high water covers them, the fish which come up with the

tide find themselves stopped when it ebbs. The same thing is practised on the sea-shore, with this difference, that the palisades are stable, supported by large stakes, and form angles, at the point of which are placed close hurdles, which stop the fish. They take such numbers in this manner, that the fishermen give them away to the boats that may be then passing.

They catch fish with fire : they light large faggots of Indian cane, which they carry before them : the fish, frightened by the light, jump into the boat. They have another method very opposite to this, which is only practised at night, when the sky is clear, and the moon shines in full lustre : for this purpose they have long narrow boats, to each side of which they fasten a board two feet wide, the length of the boat, covered with a shining white varnish : it is placed with a gentle slope to the surface of the water, and turned towards the moon, the light of which encreases the lustre of the varnish, and makes it appear whiter ; the fish which play on the water, jump on the side of the board next to them, and fall into the boat, where the fisherman is concealed and takes them. Some fish with stilts twelve or fourteen feet high, drawing a net after them ; if they lose their balance, they fall into the water, and are often drowned ; though they are excellent divers, even in the most rapid streams, where they catch the fish with the hand, pursuing them even to their farthest haunts. Others trust themselves on the sea with a single plank, which serves them for a boat ; they stand on it with one foot, the other they use as an oar, and they pursue the fish with amazing rapidity. Whole towns situated on the sea-coast, fish with one and the same net, which is generally made of silk ; eighty or hundred people have each their portion marked on it, they draw it exactly as we do a sein. Each individual has the fish taken in his part of the net, which he is obliged to keep in repair : in favourable seasons they take immense numbers this way.

They also fish at sea with hooks : their boats for this purpose are small and light, each furnished with some hundreds of hooks, which are only laid once in twenty-four hours, and that during the night : the finest fish are taken in this manner, and are either salted or dried, and sold in the most distant provinces.

At certain seasons, very large fish make their appearance in the seas of Tonquin, which they harpoon : several boats surround him, and when he is struck, they get out of his way to avoid his fury ; they follow him at a distance, by the trace of his blood, and when he floats on the water they throw a cord round him and drag him to land. They are of the cetaceous kind. The sea threw one on the shore of a monstrous size : the King hearing of it, sent some mandarins to pay his homage to it ; the part of its body which was out of the water they covered with mats, and it took a hundred, each two or three feet wide : it was believed that this fish contained the soul of some genii, eminent for his birth ; for some of the Tonquinese are superstitious enough, to salute large serpents or fish with the utmost respect, without daring to kill or take them. Others more sensible do not scruple to use them, as they find them very profitable, both for sale and use.

The coasts of Tonquin are at intervals visited by shoals of strange fish, which come in close and thick columns, somewhat like the herrings that visit our shores : but no remark has hitherto been made, as to the precise time that these fish of passage return.

CHAP. X. — *Interior and External Commerce : — Money : — Price of Gold and Silver.*

THE Chinese bring simples for the use of medicine to Tonquin, the country not producing sufficient, while in the vast extent of China, every thing of that kind is found in abundance. Besides the Chinese being, as we have said, esteemed the most skilful doctors of all this part of the East, they possess the entire confidence of those who are able to pay them, and who have most credit. A Tonquinese mandarin, seeing how much this one branch of commerce was prejudicial to his country, formed a code of practical medicine, in which he taught how to cure all diseases, with the herbs and drugs which were to be found in Tonquin only. His work was approved of by the court; but the custom of using Chinese remedies prevailed, and his receipts are only used, when there are no means of doing otherwise.

Besides drugs, the Chinese bring tea, that of the country being acrid, coarse, and unworthy of the name: porcelain, which only consists in a kind of cups and saucers: silk-stuffs; for though silk is more common in Tonquin than in China, they do not fabricate such rich and beautiful silks: different kinds of linens: sugar in powder, and candid: wheat and barley flour; if they bring it in grain, they take care to dry it, so as to kill the germ, and prevent its being sown; for it would grow very well in the elevated parts of Tonquin, if they knew how to cultivate it: iron and copper kitchen utensils: iron, that of Tonquin being brittle, because it is badly made, and very little fit for fine works: spices, such as pepper, cloves, nutmegs, cinnamon, and different dried preserves: hemp and flax; these articles being so scarce in Tonquin, that they are obliged to make their nets of silk: wax and cotton: glass ware, iron ware, small looking glasses, telescopes, white glass bottles, glass or paste beads; for the Chinese imitate glass with a paste that has all the appearance of it.

The Chinese also practise several arts and trades at Tonquin, in which they will not instruct the natives, that they may not be able to do without them. It is they that explore and work the mines, as well as melt the gold, silver, and copper they obtain from them: they print the finest books, and engrave the plates. Cunning and avaricious, they employ every artifice to keep up their credit in Tonquin: they colleague together, and all at once stop bringing any merchandize that may be in demand, and only bring a supply when they are sure they may increase the price, according to the demand for it.

The Chinese in Tonquin retain their national dress, and all their customs: they arrive by sea and land, but most are from the provinces of Fokien and Canton: some also come from the island of Haynam and Batavia. These, besides the general merchandize above-mentioned, bring great quantities of tanned ox hides, or buffalo hides, which are in great demand, leather being very scarce, as they eat almost all animals with their skin, and what they do make being of very bad quality: woollen-stuffs and cloths, which are in much esteem: painted linens of India: broad linen and cotton cloths. All the merchandises of Europe are in great demand; cutlery, clocks, soaps, ointments, engravings or prints, sell immediately. In trading with this country, things of general use, low price, and easy sale, are preferable to valuable goods, which would fall to the share of the mandarins, or wives or officers of the King, by whom they would find it difficult to get paid, even after they had set their own price on them.

As soon as a vessel arrives off the mouth of the river, intelligence is sent to court, from whence a detachment of troops is sent to watch it, but as it is some time before  
this

this detachment arrives, they profit by the interval to land goods, and to conceal from the soldiers some of the most valuable.

The Chinese vessels are allowed to go up as far as the camp of the governors of provinces, or to the chief cities and towns; the greater part even ascend to the capital of the province of the South, one of the largest and best peopled cities in the kingdom. The English vessels have no longer that advantage; they are obliged to remain five or six leagues from the mouth of the river in the open sea. From their settlement at Tonquin till 1730, or thereabouts, they as well as the Chinese ascended as high as the capital of the province of the South; but an English captain having smuggled some copper, the King gave orders to seize his ship. The captain being informed of it, weighed anchor immediately to drop down the river: armed galleys were sent to attack him; the river was barricadoed by a multitude of boats full of soldiers; even stakes were driven with a view of stopping of him, but his men soon cut them down, a few cannon shot destroyed some of their galleys, and killed several on board others, so that they could only follow him at a distance, as far as the sea, where he more boldly insulted them, and then set sail.

This contempt of the King's orders caused an interruption of the English trade for ten or twelve years, and it was not resumed till about 1742, by their submitting to the laws of the country, which forbid strangers from selling or landing goods, before they have obtained permission, and paid certain fees.

They have no other money than what is of copper of a round form, without any impression, but merely four characters which mention the name of the King. This money has a square hole in the center, for the convenience of stringing them together. They are divided by sixty, which make a mass; ten masses make a quan, or about the value of half a crown of our money. A quan weighs four or five pounds; it may therefore be judged how troublesome a large sum must be. This money is badly struck; and loses its value when the character becomes defaced: which causes a real and inevitable loss to the merchants: nor has it any fixed value; it increases or diminishes, at the pleasure of the court. They receive it also from China, which passes as current as that coined in the country.

From this it may be seen, that gold and silver are not used as money in Tonquin; but it enters into their trade, and metals are sold or exchanged by weight; they are only used in large purchases, or as presents to the King or mandarins. The few pieces of coined gold or silver which circulate in trade, are brought from Japan, by the Chinese, Dutch, and English. Not that Tonquin does not possess mines of gold, the rivers of the country bring it down with their sand. Some are employed in finding it in a kind of ditches, into which they purposely turn the course of the water, and find gold at the depth of five or six feet in the sands: They find still more in the clefts of the rocks, and the streams of springs which issue from them, which indicates mines not yet discovered: there are even districts where gold should be very plentiful, since they there breed ducks, merely for the profit of the gold they extract from their excrements. There are, besides, mines that are open, but which are only worked by the Chinese; and as no one in Tonquin is acquainted with their process, they only account for what they think proper; nevertheless the natives of the country themselves dig and work mines of copper, iron, and lead, but they are not sufficiently acquainted with the metallurgy to separate the precious metals that may be mixed with them. The gold and silver which come from their mines, are melted into small ingots or bars, each weighing ten ounces, equal to twelve of ours.

The ounce of silver is estimated in the country at the value of four and two-pence, thus the bar is worth two pound one and eight pence. Gold is worth from one pound to one pound five per ounce. This gold, as well as the silver, is of high repute, at least in the market, where it increases or diminishes in price according to the demand for it.

As they make considerable presents of these bars to the King and mandarins, who know nothing of the intrinsic value of metals, and only judge of the present by its bulk, and the price by its appearance, there are goldsmiths who make bars for that purpose, so as to contain one-third of alloy; for which reason the merchants prefer giving gold or silver bars in barter, than copper money, in the value of which they cannot impose. It is, besides, more convenient for them to carry a bar of gold of ten ounces, than the same value in copper coin, which would weigh fifteen hundred pounds.

They seldom use weights and measures in Tonquin in buying and selling; or if they do, they are far from exact, being just as the parties agree. They generally sell by hand, and valuation. Linen and stuffs are sold by the cubit, which is very arbitrary; silk and cotton have a weight peculiar to themselves and this country only; gold and silver alone, which is sold in bars, has a fixed and equal value throughout the kingdom.

Strangers receive in Tonquin raw or wrought silk, such as gauzes, grograms, or strong stuffs: linen made from the bark of trees, which are handsome and fine; different work in mother of pearl; works in ratan; all kinds of small furniture and works in varnish; ebony, ivory, tortoise-shell, cinnamon, copper, cotton, and several other articles more or less valuable. The Chinese take a great many salted ducks' eggs, which they preserve with a paste composed of pounded brick and salt, with which they cover them. They only eat the yellow. The exportation of rice is prohibited. Notwithstanding prohibitions, trade is carried on pretty freely in Tonquin; the King only reserving to himself the sale of cinnamon and copper.

The articles of interior commerce are; the nuts or fruit of the areka, green or dry, which are the chief ingredients in betel, the use of which is as common in India, as tobacco in Europe, but may be considered more wholesome to those who chew it; the fruits of the country of all kinds; cotton in pods, or spun cotton; linen and that made from bark.

The temperature of the air admits of their rearing silk-worms all the year; those who chiefly depend on the profit derived from them, follow that method; however the real season to rear them is during six months, as long as the mulberry-tree throws out new and tender leaves, for the quality of the silk entirely depends on the feeding the worms. The mulberry-trees in this country are not high, like those cultivated in the southern provinces of France, and in a great part of Italy; they are only small shrubs, which every year are cut down to the ground during winter, and the plants of which must be renewed from time to time, if they would obtain fine silk; for it is known by experience, that the old plants, as well as the large trees, give but indifferent silk. The silk being used for almost every thing, even among the people, is considered as a necessary, and every one rears mulberry plants and silk-worms at least for their own use. They keep the worms extremely clean: they put them on close hurdles, on which they feed them several times day and night. They come into existence, grow, and spin their silk in the space of a month: when they are at maturity, they are exposed to the sun, or to the heat of a fire: they attach themselves to a piece of straw, on which they spin their silk: they are kept in close cabinets, or  
sheltered

sheltered by silk gauze or very fine linen from the muskitos, flies and ants; they must be equally protected from the fowls, rats and frogs, which are very fond of them.

Cinnamon would be a very advantageous article of commerce to a more enterprising nation: the forests abound with it: it is only cultivated in the King's gardens, and those of the temples: individuals are forbid to grow it, the King monopolizing the trade of it. The tree principally grows in the mountains on the frontiers of China; it much resembles the willow of Europe: they only take the first and second bark, the third is necessary to the preservation of the tree. This tree delights in dry and airy situations; wet, and plants that cling to them, kill the young plants: they might be obtained more easily from this country for transplanting than from the island of Ceylon.

Varnish. The tree which produces it does not rise above twelve or fifteen feet, its bark is whitish, its leaves resemble those of the wild cherry: it does not grow very thick, the largest and oldest seldom exceed eighteen or twenty inches in circumference. This vegetable syrup pretty much resembles turpentine, and is of a reddish colour. That from the young trees is the best: when they attain the age of twelve or fifteen years, and have acquired their full growth, the bark and leaves become of an ash colour, and their juice is coarse; they are then cut down and replaced by others. At all ages, they take care to stop the distillation in spring and autumn, because the varnish is then mixed with water, and cannot be used.

The proprietors of trees seldom give themselves the trouble to collect the varnish; they sell the produce to merchants; the price is generally about three halfpence per tree. These merchants hire people to collect it; one man is sufficient to manage fifty trees, because they are planted very close together. A merchant is satisfied when a thousand trees produce a pound of varnish in one night, which on the spot sells for about half a crown; the price encreases in proportion to the distance it is brought from.

Sugar would be a considerable branch of commerce in Tonquin, if the inhabitants knew how to prepare it, and especially to refine it. The cane grows naturally with them, and as they have an immensity of rich moist land, it would be very easy for them to cultivate it, and sell a vast quantity of sugar to foreigners: but they content themselves with bruising the canes, stripped of their leaves and outer bark, under a mill, turned by an ox, boiling the juice twice, and obtaining from it a kind of thick syrup which they call honey of sugar, and for which they have a quick sale in the interior of the country, where it is used in all sorts of preserves, fruits, &c.

Bamboo, or Indian cane, is of so much use, and so necessary in Tonquin, that though it grows almost every where naturally it becomes a considerable object of trade in this country. It furnishes many of the comforts of life; besides the kind of food it contains, they obtain from it the substance of paper; houses are built of and covered with it. Whole bamboos serve for pillows; when split, it is cut into lathes, which are used for boards and coverings; when the wood is full grown it is capable even when split, of supporting the greatest burthens. Many household utensils are made of it, and also boats; divided into fine shreds, it can be worked into handsome baskets and boxes of different sizes, of the neatest work.

The consumption of paper being considerable in Tonquin, it constitutes one of the chief articles of the trade of the country. They not only use it at funerals, they also decorate their houses, and cover the walls, and ornament the cielings with it, and renew it every year. Literature takes a great deal, because it can only be written on

one side. It is made from many trees and plants of the country, but chiefly from the bamboo and cotton, next to which are the mulberry tree and elm.

Though the Tonquinese consume a vast quantity of salt, the water of the sea which washes their shores, is not salt enough to allow the salt to crystallize by the mere heat of the sun; the many very large rivers that empty themselves into it, within a very confined space, prevents that effect. But as salt is one of the first necessaries, many people are employed in making a sufficient quantity for the consumption of the kingdom, and though it costs much care and trouble, it is very cheap. There are whole townships employed in this work, and which follow no other.

It may be seen from what has been said, that a country so rich in itself as Tonquin might supply a considerable trade with Europe. It borders on the richest provinces of China; and it might be possible by that means to obtain a part of the productions of that vast empire, the depôt of which might be in the chief commercial cities of Tonquin; and in return the productions of Europe might obtain a wider market: but to effect that the government must allow more freedom to commerce, and that the extortions of the mandarins should not be authorized, that free establishments be allowed foreigners who might require to reside in the interior of the country to carry on their connections, which would be as much advantage to the court, as to the people in general. But the administration has not yet opened its eyes to these sources of public prosperity: they keep in a false dread of revolutions, and invasions from foreign forces, that they fear the pretence of commerce might favour. That is what prevents all communications with foreigners, and that they will scarcely allow them to remain any time on their frontiers, or in their sea-ports; the Chinese only, as we have shewn, are received in great numbers.

#### CHAP. XI. — *Government of Tonquin:—Revolutions:—Division of the Power between two Sovereigns.*

THOUGH Tonquin was formerly part of the empire of China, and there are still remains of cities and towns observable that the sovereigns had built; yet the Tonquinese have always been considered as quite a distinct people from the Chinese, who, even in the remotest times, called them barbarians: in fact, they very much resemble the East Indians, by the form of their features, their food, and manner of dressing: by the custom of staining their teeth black, and going barefooted; they have also a remarkable conformity with the other Indians in the right great toe, which stick out far from the other toes.

It must not be expected to find any thing certain in regard to the ancient history of Tonquin, and the manner in which it was governed before it became a province of China: it is probable the natives of the country were then unacquainted with writing, for in this respect we find no instructive record: what modern historians have said of it, should only be considered as fables, founded on popular tradition, too absurd to be believed.

However this country has for many ages used the Chinese character in writing, and adopted part of the laws and customs of that empire, which are still observed; which at least proves that there has been a close connection between these two neighbouring people; though it is not known whether the effect of voluntary intercourse or of conquest. If the Chinese chronicles are believed, the boundaries of that vast empire once extended to the kingdom of Siam: in this supposition Tonquin certainly formed part of it: its situation exposed it to the first efforts of the conquerors, and it must,

in that time, have been incorporated with the rest of the empire. But it was not for long. Scarce had the Chinese armies retired, than the Tartars descended from the mountains, and rendered themselves masters of Tonquin. They were commanded by a chief named Ding, who, assisted by some vagabonds, took the title of King, and arrogated its prerogatives. But his government was so insupportable, that the natives rose against him, and came to open revolt, in which he was massacred.

In all probability this revolution was fermented by the Chinese, and followed by civil wars between the different parties which arose in the kingdom, and exhausted the nation to such a degree, that they resolved to choose a chief who supported and restored it. The sovereign power was conferred on a lord named Ledayhang, with the title of King.

It was under his reign that the Chinese entered Tonquin in force: he vigorously opposed their enterprize, and died fighting. His successor, worthy of him, vanquished the Chinese in six or seven pitched battles, and re-established peace and plenty in his dominion: it was he who in the course of a long and quiet reign, built that vast and magnificent marble palace, the ruins of which now only remain.

His posterity reigned quietly for five or six generations, and became extinct in the person of a daughter of the last prince of the blood, heiress to the kingdom. She married a powerful lord of the family of Tran, who was vanquished by another lord of the family of Ho. The conqueror, after putting to death the princess and the King her husband, seized the sceptre and mounted the throne. He did not long enjoy his success; his outrages irritated his new subjects, who called in the Chinese to their assistance; they vanquished the tyrant, and killed him in battle. The fruit of this victory to the Tonquinese was the loss of their liberty: the Chinese finding themselves the strongest, once more took possession of a country, of which they had before been masters.

The form of government was changed; Tonquin was no longer ruled by a Prince of its own nation, but by viceroys sent by the Emperor of China, who established the Chinese laws, customs and sciences. These establishments which seemed intended to entirely occupy the people, by subjecting them to an uniform life, were followed by a long state of tranquillity, which gave them time to assume a consistence which they may be said to preserve at this day; since the people of Tonquin make it a kind of boast to observe in every thing the customs and laws of China; but they did not obliterate the remembrance of their former liberty, and the desire of regaining it.

Some viceroys abused their power, and practised such vexations that the whole nation threw off the yoke; they took up arms under a general as prudent as brave, named Li. The Chinese were cut to pieces; and the viceroy perished in the action.

Fortune continuing favourable to the Tonquinese, they drove the Chinese beyond their frontiers, and even seized a great part of the province of Canton; but their general perceiving that their very success exhausted them, made offers of peace, which the civil wars then raging in China, obliged the Emperor to accept. He withdrew his troops on conditions, which for five or six hundred years have been faithfully observed.

They obliged them every three years to send an extraordinary embassy to China, with presents in form of tribute. These presents consisted, as expressly mentioned in the treaty, of a certain number of small gold statues, representing criminals demanding pardon, and by that the Tonquinese acknowledged themselves as such, in regard to the Chinese, for having massacred a viceroy of that nation. This custom

no longer exists; instead of statues the ambassador presents a certain quantity of gold books. The Kings of Tonquin also receive their seal from the Emperor of China, as a mark of dependence, and a confirmation of their coming to the throne: a custom which does not prevent the Kings of Tonquin from being absolute masters in their own states.

Their ambassadors are received in China with as much pomp as magnificence, less through attention or attachment to the Kings of Tonquin, than to give a high idea of their power, by exalting the grandeur of their vassals. When the Emperor of China sends an ambassador to Tonquin, this ambassador supports the pride of his nation, by the pomp and number of his retinue, and the state he maintains, even with the King, neither treating with him nor his ministers, except in the house in which he has been received at Kacho, and paying no visit. It is at this price that peace has been preserved between the two states, since the great revolution which drove the Chinese out of Tonquin.

The General Li was the principal chief and instrument, and the Tonquinese were fully sensible of his important services: they acknowledged him as King, and his descendants succeeded him without interruption for more than two centuries. In the midst of this prosperity, when the family of Li thought itself firmly established on the throne, and reckoned on the entire affection of the people, an adventurer named Mack, an artful and ambitious man, born in the village of Batsha, situated at the mouth of the river, after, in his youth, having followed the profession of a fisherman, and rising by degrees to the dignity of grand mandarin, now saw only the throne that could gratify his ambition, and he effectively got possession of it, less by force than by address. The Princes of the dynasty of Li, living in effeminacy and inaction, paid no attention to his bold proceedings till it was impossible to stop their progress. The usurper, soon after seizing the sceptre, made haste to fortify Batsha, and other places, which enabled him to resist his powerful enemies, the more formidable, as the greater part of the nation with grief saw him fill the throne of their ancient Kings. The most formidable of these enemies was Hoaving, governor or grand mandarin of the province of Tenchoa: he had married his daughter to an adventurer named Tring, of an extraordinary strength and courage, who for some time had been chief of a band of robbers, a situation that has nothing dishonourable in it in the East Indies, since it is not punished by death, but on the contrary often leads to a brilliant fortune. Hoaving gave the command of his troops to his son-in-law, and before he died, named him tutor to his only son, then about fourteen or fifteen years of age.

Tring, master of all his brother's forces, and seconded by the greatest part of the nation, made open war on the usurper Mack, and vanquished him. After his defeat, he retired to the country of Kaobang, a frontier of China, where he set up a kind of independent sovereignty, which he left to his posterity. They have enjoyed it nearly two hundred years, under the condition of an annual tribute to Tonquin. The last Prince of this race was stripped of his states by the King of Tonquin, about one hundred and fifty years ago: it is not known if he left any inheritors of his rights.

The success of Tring did not so far blind him as to lead him to openly usurp the royal power. After making himself master of the capital of the kingdom, and demolishing the fortifications erected by his enemy, he caused it to be published, that the heir of the house of Ho-li might appear; that he had only taken up arms to replace him on the throne of his ancestors: on this assurance, a young Prince of this family appeared, who had been wandering disguised in the forests. He immediately acknowledged

ledged him for his sovereign ; but reserved to himself and his descendants the dignity of general of all the forces of the kingdom, under the title of chova.

The young Hoaving impatiently endured that all his father's power had been employed only to establish the fortune of his brother-in-law, and to call a Prince to the throne, whose rights he considered as annihilated by the revolution in which the Prince his father had fallen : he refused to pay homage to the new King, or to acknowledge Tring as general of the crown : civil war was lighted up in every part of the kingdom : the people were overwhelmed with the greatest misfortunes, especially in the province of Tenchoa, where Hoaving had established the center of his operations. But finding, at length, that he was too weak much longer to resist Tring, he retired into Cochinchina, which was then a province of Tonquin, where he caused himself to be proclaimed by his troops general of the kingdom, with the same rights as his brother-in-law Tring, with whom he made war as long as he lived. The descendants of Tring and Hoaving, inherited the hatred as well as the titles and pretensions of the two brothers-in-law, and ever since then, for near two hundred and fifty years, there have been two lieutenant-generals of the kingdom, one residing at Kacho, and the other in Cochinchina. Both acknowledged the supreme authority of the King of Tonquin, but did not cease to treat each other as enemies, never ceasing the war, till the general established in Cochinchina, finding himself strong enough not to fear any thing from the Tonquinese general, who was besides occupied in another war, assumed the title of King, and declared himself independant of Tonquin. In this revolution, the new kingdom of Cochinchina became much extended, several petty sovereigns became tributary to it, which placed it in a state to have nothing to fear from the King of Tonquin, nor the grand general, although his declared enemies. This kingdom equally freed itself from all dependence on China, and has no share in the solemn embassy that the Tonquinese send there every three years.

It is said that at the time of these different revolutions, and notwithstanding the pretensions and enterprizes of the two generals, the western part of Tonquin was governed by a sovereign, whose sway extended nearly to the gate of the royal city. This country was then very populous, but its last Prince having married his own sister, was accused before the King of Tonquin, who only wanting a pretence to destroy this power, declared war against him. Not being able to subdue him by open force, he pretended to accept some proposals that were offered him by that Prince, and had him assassinated in an interview, appointed to treat of peace. His states ruined by a long war, which had continued for fifty or sixty years, were re-united to Tonquin. It is thought that the Princes who reigned in this country were of the family of Ho-li, and that they still have a considerable party, who only wait a fit opportunity to shake off the yoke, and regain their rights, usurped by force. It is said they hold secret meetings, and are forming magazines of arms in the forests, which may probably in the end occasion some revolution, and entirely change the present form of government.

There is but one King in Tonquin, known by the name of dova : he has the title as well as the distinguishing ornaments : in his name all the laws are promulgated, he is supposed to order every thing : but in reality, he has nothing to do with the government. This custom is founded on the conduct that Tring, the first general of the state, invariably pursued towards the King he re-established on the throne : he only appeared as the first subject, and confidential minister of the monarch, but beneath this veil of respect and devotion, he attached all the prerogatives of sovereign

power to his place, by the King himself, who made them hereditary in his family, which still enjoys them.

This image of royal majesty, lives shut up in his palace, only having a small detachment of troops under his command, which serve him as spies. Custom only allows him to appear abroad two or three times in the year, for some ceremonies, less appertaining to the state than to religion, and which are the remains of Chinese institutions, such as blessing the earth, which the Prince solemnly performs, after fastings, and general prayers, during which he tills the earth, like the Emperor of China, to honour agriculture. This is what they call the sacrifice of heaven, or the canja.

The remains of the ancient power of the dova, have always given umbrage to the general: he has sometimes tried to perform the canja; but the mandarins, and even the troops who are solely under his orders, refused to put on the habits of ceremony, which they assume on this occasion, and finding all classes ready to rise against him, he had the confusion of being obliged to let the sacrifice recommence by the dova, to the great satisfaction of the nation.

Another solemn ceremony, called the theckyda, takes place every year, with the greatest pomp, and should be performed by the King, at the head of all the troops. Its intention is to purge the states of Tonquin of all evil spirits. The generals have better succeeded in arrogating to themselves the right of performing this ceremony. As the troops perform the principal functions, and the nation conceives itself less interested in, and as it is a kind of military expedition against aerial spirits, the generals have insensibly retained it. They have been fearful that the King might act artfully, and obtain a party among the troops, and might one day take occasion of this ceremony to get rid of the general, and re-unite his power to the sceptre he is supposed to bear.

Commissions should also be sealed with the King's seal, without which they would not be esteemed valid. It is to him only that the Emperor of China allows the title of King, in no way acknowledging the authority of the general: he also twice every month, on the first and fifteenth day of the moon, receives the visits of some mandarins, and a Prince of the blood, that the general sends to pay their court; they appear before him in blue robes, with bonnets of cotton, fabricated in the manufactures of the country.

With the exception of these ceremonies, the King or Emperor of Tonquin, for that is the title given him by Europeans, to distinguish him from the chova, to whom they give that of King, is absolutely unknown to his people: he lives in total seclusion, impenetrable to the eyes of the nation.

The dova has his separate quarter, within the enclosure of the chova's palace, which occupies a part of the royal city. If he happens to go out, the people are not permitted even to look at him. Notice is given the day before, to all the inhabitants of the city and country, to keep from the way the Prince is to go: the women must remain in the interior of their houses: they must not shew themselves under pain of death: and this severe sentence is executed on the spot, if any one should disobey the order, even through ignorance. Thus the King is invisible to all but his troops, and the officers who surround him.

There is no established order in the succession to the throne. The dova, or emperor himself, is often ignorant which of his sons will succeed him, though he should name him, and even though he should have but one son, he would not be certain of leaving him the crown and title of King; because the chova or general alone disposes

of it, and being obliged to give it a Prince of the imperial blood, he chuses him he supposes he can most rely upon. The eldest son of the King has never an exclusive right to the throne: in Tonquin, as in China, it has always been the custom to chuse the most worthy among the Princes of the blood royal: likewise the election, or assumption of the throne must be confirmed by the sovereign tribunal: without this precaution, the Prince elect would not be sure of his situation, especially in a nation obstinately attached to its customs.

However confined the power of the King of Tonquin may be, his education is never neglected. He is exactly instructed in all the laws of his country, and the rites observed in it. His youth is passed with masters, who make him go through all the exercises of learning and religion; but from that time he is immersed in effeminacy and idleness; his studies finished, he passes the rest of his life in uninterrupted pleasures. He is amused with concerts, shews and dances, he has women allowed him at an early age to keep him in dissipation; his table is served seven different times, both day and night, and the etiquette is, to place on it a hundred and twenty different dishes.

The dignity of general of the forces of the kingdom is become hereditary in the family of Tring. The general who commanded, or rather reigned, about thirty years ago, was the seventh descendant from Tring. This form of government, the model of which the Tonquinese seem to have taken from Japan, is so well established, and has hitherto appeared to be so well relished by the nation, that all the royal prerogatives belong to the chova, or general.

It is the general who makes war or peace, who confirms or abrogates the laws, who pardons or condemns criminals, who creates or deposes civil and military officers, who imposes taxes, and who collects all the revenues of the crown, and disposes of them at pleasure.

The eldest son of the chova almost always succeeds him. However ambition sometimes creates violent dissensions among the brothers, and has caused dreadful civil wars, which has given rise to the proverb, that the death of a thousand doves is not so dangerous to Tonquin as that of one chova. Therefore the brothers and uncles of the reigning chova are at his disposal, and he generally keeps them in the utmost subjection. He even often puts them to death on the slightest suspicion. The first descendants of Tring acted with more generosity and confidence; they shared the cares of public affairs with their brothers and uncles; they bestowed the most honourable titles on them, and entrusted them with the most important employments. But since the end of the last century, and during the reign of a chova well versed in all the arts of oriental policy, distrustful, suspicious, and of an ill state of health, which still increased his fears, the custom of keeping all those at a distance from public affairs, all those who by their birth might pretend to sovereign power, has prevailed.

Only the presumptive heir of the general, who is called chura, or young general, has any share in governing, and is often associated with his father. This presumptive heir to the first dignity in Tonquin, has a distinct court from his father, and almost as brilliant, with his mandarins and officers with the same titles, but who every where give way to those of the reigning chova; at his death, those of the chura take their place, except some old ministers, whose wisdom and experience retain them in the employments.

The present race of chova is subject to fits of madness, which at intervals deprive them of the use of the senses: this malady seems to have been hereditary in this family, since the time of him who came to the dignity of chova in 1682, and whose

father himself had been attacked with fits of melancholy, which rendered even his nearest relations hateful to him. In one of the fits of madness, he put to death the Prince chekening, his second brother, whose valour, justice and liberality had rendered him the idol of the nation, who had given him the surname of the Lightning of Tonquin, after a glorious war, which he had conducted against Cochin-China, and which he had terminated by an advantageous peace. The gratitude and attachment of the nation only encreased the jealousy and hatred of the chova; he recalled his brother to the capital. This hero, who might have defied him at the head of a victorious army, did not hesitate to obey his orders, although he foresaw the fate that awaited him. He was thrown into a dark dungeon, where he languished for a long time, till the regret the nation shewed at being deprived of the support and example of so great a man, awakened the envenomed rage of the chova, who caused him to be poisoned: on receiving the poison, which was to deprive him of life, he turned towards the palace, he testified his resignation by all the marks of respect practised in Tonquin, and swallowed the fatal liquor: he expired a few hours afterwards, with all the appearance of the utmost tranquillity of soul.

The chova's court is always pompous and brilliant; every thing is in the utmost order: his numerous guard occupies the courts of the palace; a number of eunuchs, spread through the apartments, receive the petitions of the mandarins, and bring them the Prince's orders: the petitions of the chiefs are presented kneeling. The sight of this Prince's court is the most striking picture of oriental despotism; all the most powerful lords of the kingdom are there assembled, who only seek to obtain their master's smiles by their respect and profound submission. These kind of assemblies possess an air of majesty, which would even impose on Europeans, except for the servile law, which obliges even the grandees to be barefooted during the whole of the audience, but it is the custom of the court, and has nothing humiliating in it for those who practise it. The sovereign treats them with affability, and it may be said that his government is very mild, in comparison to that of many other eastern courts. The greatest punishments they have to dread are fines or banishment; there is only the crime of treason, true or supposed, which exposes them to the forfeit of their lives.

They begin to assemble at the chova's at day-break, that is about six o'clock, and the audience finishes about ten. There only remains with the chova, the captain of his guards and his domestic officers, the greater part of which are eunuchs, at least those who enter the women's apartments. They are very numerous, some of them very young, and so proud and overbearing that they are detested by the whole nation. They however possess much of the chova's confidence in the affairs of government, as well as in his domestic concerns, and after seven or eight years' service in the palace they arrive at public employment, and rise by degrees to the first dignities in the kingdom; while the learned men, even the most celebrated, often remain in obscurity. But it is almost always the interest of the chova which elevates these eunuchs, and not their talents, nor the personal esteem he has for them: when they die, the wealth they had accumulated by all kinds of meanness and injustice reverts to the sovereign, who only allows their relations what he thinks proper. These eunuchs, though absolutely mutilated, have still a numerous seraglio, and as their condition is a certain method of advancing in office, persons of distinguished rank, in the maturity of their age, and fathers of many children, have become eunuchs, in order to approach the person of the Prince, gain his confidence, and by that means arrive at the first dignities in the kingdom. Very few die in consequence of this painful operation. Nevertheless

theles among this kind, so vile and degraded, are found some of brilliant talents, either for administration, or the command of armies: but it has been observed that those eunuchs had lost their virility when young and by accident, which in Tonquin is regarded as the presage of merit and greatness. These accidents happen in this country by the bites of dogs, and more especially pigs, which being very common, and kept in their houses, often mutilate the children, who go naked till the age of seven.

Ong-ja-tu-lea, governor of the province of Hienquang, admiral, and minister for foreign affairs in the last century, was a eunuch of this kind: an incorruptible judge, a brave foldier, as prudent as successful he was looked upon by the whole nation, as the honour and the source of happiness of Tonquin. The then reigning chova having occasion for an able minister, to relieve him in the cares and fatigue of government, to which his weak state of health prevented him paying proper attention, believed himself inspired in a dream to raise the first man who should present himself before him the next morning to that eminent station, and by the same force of imagination, he believed that he had seen the likeness of him he was to meet. Waking full of this idea, he was surpris'd to find exactly in the first man whose affairs brought him to the palace a perfect resemblance with him that his imagination had traced on his mind. He took him near his person with as much confidence as if he had known him for a long time, and in a long discourse he had with him found he possessed so much wit and understanding, that he did not hesitate to invest him with an authority almost equal to his own: the offices and dignities he bestowed on him only served to justify his choice. But was it that these excessive favours, and a power almost unlimited, made the favourite forget what he owed his master? or the jealousy of the chova, who had so cruelly put his brother to death, was the cause of the wretched end of Ong-ja-tu-lea, still illustrious in Tonquin, by the singularity of his good fortune, and cruel death? however it might be, under pretence of a conspiracy against the state, whether true or false, the unfortunate minister was condemned to death, the most horrible of all executions: he was torn to pieces by four horses; his limbs were cut in pieces, burnt, and his ashes thrown into the river.

At the commencement of every year, the mandarins and military officers renew their oath of fidelity to the chova: these afterwards receive the same oath from their wives, their children, domestics, and all their dependants.

The residence of the chova is always at Kacho, in an immense palace, enclosed with walls, in the centre of the city; it is surrounded by a great number of small houses, for lodging the soldiers; the interior buildings have two stories, with openings or porticos to give free passage to the air. The gates are lofty and majestic. The apartments of the Prince, and those of his wives are decorated with all the magnificence and luxury of the country, that is to say, that they are enriched with much gilding, and the most beautiful varnish: they contain all the riches and rarities, collected during a long succession of years by powerful and absolute sovereigns.

In the first court are the stables of the most beautiful horses, and largest elephants: behind the palace are gardens divided into alleys and parterres, with large sheets of water, and every thing that can serve to amuse a Prince who seldom quits his residence.

The seraglio is filled with women of all ranks, who offer themselves to reside there, or are chosen for their talents and abilities to contribute to the pleasure of the Prince: there are particularly a great many comedians. The chova who reigned at the beginning of the present century, was the son of a woman of that class. These wives, or

concubines, are at least four hundred in number : but the chova grants his favours to very few. She that brings him the first son receives distinguished honours. The other concubines who have children by him, take the name of duèba, or excellent woman. All the male children, with the exception of the eldest, who has the title of chura, are called ducong, or excellent man, and the daughters batua, or princesses. The rest of the women who do not approach the general's bed, and who are only in the seraglio to make up number, have but indifferent entertainment while the chova lives : as soon as he dies they are turned out of the palace, and they are only allowed to marry among the very dregs of the people.

If the general solemnly marries according to the laws of the country, which seldom happens, except in the last years of his life, and when he no longer expects to have any children, the woman he marries is always of royal extraction, and enjoys all the honours of her rank ; she is entitled mother of the kingdom. The Prince in some manner buys her, by the tribute he pays to the province of Than-hoa, or Tenchoa, of which she is generally a native.

While their father lives, the children of the chova want nothing as to opulence and distinction. After his death, his successor only gives his brothers and sisters such revenue as he thinks proper, which diminishes in proportion as they are distant from the throne. In the fifth or sixth degree, they receive nothing. As all these Princes marry, and have children, they must eventually be reduced to great poverty ; the most part only live by rapine, and fall by degrees into a state the more contemptible, as they cannot obtain any office nor military employment. They have been seen as porters in the public market, and affecting to use hooks stained of a colour which announces their origin.

It is true that when the general comes to the sovereign command, he takes precautions that his brothers should not leave a numerous posterity. If they give him any cause of distrust, he knows how to get rid of them, under pretences that are always approved of : others are kept under a restraint that a good deal resembles slavery ; born with the finest understandings, some have preserved their lives, by pretending to be idiots : in this case they are lodged in a kind of prison, where they have merely the comforts of life. They entertain a kind of respect for this condition ; it seems to announce the legitimacy of the descent from the royal family, in which madness is an hereditary disorder.

The dova, or legitimate King of Tonquin, being only an ideal personage, without any real power, it is sufficient to have slightly mentioned him, to have given a sufficient idea of him : however about thirty five years since the family of the Doya was near recovering his authority. The then reigning chova, who had no children, had given his whole confidence to an ambitious eunuch, who absolutely governed in his name, and who formed the horrid project of seizing the sovereign authority, by assassinating his master, which he did secretly. It was easy for him for sometime to conceal his crime in a palace where every one obeyed his orders, and where the monarch is generally invisible to all but some of his favourites. The eunuch continued to give his orders in the name of the chova, saying he was ill, and that till he was perfectly recovered he would not see any one. The brothers and nephews of the chova who all equally pretended to the right to succeed him, suspected his tragical end, and by enquiries proved the crime against the eunuch. Many parties were formed in the kingdom, who took arms on different sides, each drawing over to his cause the towns and villages over which he had most authority ; the whole country was ravaged by the war ; the lands remained uncultivated, the plague was added to the horrors of war  
and

and famine; one-half of the inhabitants of the kingdom perished in the course of eight years that this civil war lasted. The legitimate sovereign at length awoke from his stupor; he quitted the palace in which he was born, and in which he had been shut up till that moment: he endeavoured to reduce the different rebel parties under his authority: many joined him without much success, because those who aimed at the sovereign authority, and the right of replacing the chova, as soon as they found they had the worst in the enterprises, retired to inaccessible places in the mountains and forests, from whence they issued when the occasion was favourable. At length the King in 1748, having got possession of the arsenal of the province of Tan-hoa, where he found arms and stores, subdued the rebels and disarmed them. The ancient form of government was re-established, that is to say, the chova returned to his palace, and himself chose a chova, or general of the troops, depositary of the sovereign power, who only appears to execute his orders; but who, sooner or later, will imperceptibly re-assume the absolute and independant power which his predecessors enjoyed.

#### CHAP. XII. — *Of the Forces of the Kingdom.*

TONQUIN has no fortified places: she is proud in having no other ramparts than her troops: her forces would indeed be formidable if the courage of the soldiers equalled their number. They reckon a hundred and forty thousand men, eight or ten thousand of which are cavalry: they have also three hundred and fifty elephants: but this multitude is for the most part only commanded by eunuchs, who in general, are not brave, a very requisite quality in an officer, and have seldom any knowledge in the military art: they all buy their situations.

The officers are, the ensign, who commands ten men; the captain, a hundred; and the colonel, five hundred. There are no general officers who have larger divisions except in time of war. Since the revolution in Cochin-China, when the chova made himself independent, and assumed the title of King, a body of ten thousand men is kept on the frontiers, commanded by a general officer, who has the care of preserving the kingdom on that side, and watching the motions of the troops of a sovereign, whom they regard as an enemy. Each governor of a province has seven hundred men and an elephant under his orders: these detachments are intended to maintain the police, and execute the orders of the chova.

The rest of the military force is assembled in the royal city, or the adjoining camp, and cannot be composed of less than a hundred thousand men. It is in this army that the chova places all his confidence: by this means he is sure to keep the nation in respect and obedience, without having occasion for fortified places, which might as well act against him, by the infidelity of the commandants, as contribute to his defence.

Thus though Tonquin is a country open on all sides, it has little to fear from its neighbours. All that surround it are too weak to attack it; the kingdom of Laos is tributary to it. Cochin-China in its actual state dare not undertake to make conquests; the inclinations and policy of the Emperors of China do not lead them to conquer, and they would lose more by declaring war against Tonquin than by maintaining peace with her: besides they know by experience, that they have never been able to keep that kingdom under their dominion, even after having been absolute masters of it for a long time. Tonquin is equally safe towards the sea, which is not any where approachable by an enemys fleet. The mouths of the river's are so narrow, that it is only with extreme precaution that large vessels can enter them: the bay of Tonquin, though

very large, defends the coasts where they might land by the shoals which surround them for more than two leagues in the sea. It is said that there is a narrow but very deep river, by which vessels might with the assistance of good pilots, ascend even to the royal city; but this route is yet unknown, and would never be attempted by Indian navigators.

Every year in the fifth moon there is a general review of the troops, under the inspection of the chova, who himself manoeuvres: this review is accompanied with three discharges of heavy artillery and musketry: it is enough for a soldier to possess some little learning or some trade to be excused appearing: the elephants are exercised as well as the men; when once trained, they are obedient to command, and perform their evolutions with wonderful precision.

Their arms are muskets with match-locks: they have as yet no knowledge of our spring locks; bows and arrows, the sabre, pike, demi-pike and shield: the soldiers, as well as the officers, only wear their arms when exercising, or when on some expedition; except then, they are kept in the arsenal. The troops intended to guard the provinces, have the same annual review, in presence of the mandarins or governors: each of them having a camp near his residence, in imitation of that of the royal city: all these troops have no regular uniform: every soldier knows his chief and his division which is sufficient for him: he is dressed like the people, except that his habit is not so long. Those who do the duty of the King's house, are clothed in blue or red stuffs, and especially in European cloth, when they can supply them with it: it is a distinction set apart for them.

There are no soldiers in the east more expert in the use of their arms than those of Tonquin: they exercise on land and on board of galleys with musketry and cannon: those who shoot best and hit the mark are rewarded, and those who miss several times successively are punished. They have a singular proof of bravery, of which the King is judge, unless he appoints one of his chief officers: it consists in receiving a certain number of blows with a wooden sabre on the head and body: the champion must bear them firmly, without trying to avoid them: if he sinks under the blows, he does not for that lose the reward proposed for his constancy: the bravest is he who, in this exercise, does not even shrink: after having been the receiver, he becomes the aggressor in his turn. It is said that a King of Tonquin, in order to prove how far the courage of his bravest soldiers could go, and the contempt of death, had a deep ditch dug, stuck full of swords and pikes, and proposed as a reward to him who should be brave enough to throw himself into it a considerable employ. Only one soldier appeared rash enough to throw himself into the ditch; the swords which were only supported by a slight thread, gave way under the weight of his body, and did him no injury: he confessed afterwards, that what had determined him was, that he considered that the promised recompence would be useless, if he was to be killed by the weapons opposed to him.

Whatever pains they may take to exercise these soldiers, they are none the braver, nor more attached to their profession; they only follow it because they are obliged to do so. The army is composed of men that each village in the kingdom is to furnish, in proportion to its size and number of inhabitants: there are some where the most part are soldiers from father to son. Bravery itself, in those who meet with an opportunity to distinguish themselves, makes no alteration in their fortune; at least the examples are so rare that they afford no emulation to the soldier: money or interest lead some to rank; and those means, which are shut to the greater part, are what discourage them. Thus, when they are obliged to march an army against an enemy, all their expedition

confist, in general, in a great shew of baggage and military noise. Formerly they often shewed themselves in force on the frontiers of Cochinchina, when there was a second chova, always in arms against him of Tonquin; but their enterprizes were confined to contemplating the walls of a few towns, and encamping on the banks of rivers. If the extraordinary exertion, or unwholesomeness of the air, caused diseases in the camp, which carried off only a hundred men, they immediately cried out that the war was murderous and cruel: officers and soldiers fled back to their country. They only evinced constancy and courage when they were fighting for their liberty against the Chinese. The civil wars which have happened since, have rather been terminated by the address of the generals, and the chova himself, than by force of arms: they are not very delicate as to the means of succeeding in this way; perfidy and treason with them are as lawful and honourable as bravery, provided they can accomplish their object.

The soldiers, whether those in the royal camp, or those in the camps of the mandarins, or those dispersed in the villages, on condition of assembling at the time of exercise, receive a certain quantity of rice per day: their pay, besides that, is not more than twelve or fifteen shillings a year, of our money; but they are exempt from all taxes; and if they were not doomed to remain for ever in the same state, their lot would not be below that of the greater part of the people. Their most valuable qualification is their height; the tallest are reserved for the chova's guard.

In a country where navigation is only encouraged in the interior of the kingdom, that is on rivers and canals; where that of the sea is confined to fishermen, there can be no marine of any consequence. It is composed of only two or three hundred galleys, of different sizes, more fit for the navigation of rivers than the sea; they have neither masts nor sails, only oars; the rowers are unsheltered, and exposed to musquetry and all offensive weapons; wherefore these galleys are more used at shows, and in reviews, than in military expeditions; they carry a four-pounder in the prow. Besides this fleet, the court maintains four or five hundred light sailing boats, very fit for the transport of troops and stores; but too weak for fighting. All these vessels, great and small, are kept in vast magazines; from whence they are easily launched into the water, when it is requisite.

In the King's palace, in the environs of the royal city, and in the provinces, are different arsenals, filled with arms and warlike stores: the most considerable is said to be in Thang-hoa, of which province the reigning princes are natives. It is said, that in this province there is a vast plain, surrounded by mountains, and so fortified by nature, that it is every where inaccessible, except at one very small entrance. It is there that the chief collection of stores, cannon, and arms of all kinds, are kept: they also say it is there that the chova keeps his most valuable treasures: he considers this spot as a place of safety, to which he might retire, in the event of an unforeseen revolution: he has even made a very short road, through the forests, from the royal city to it, and which is forbidden to all except those sent there by the King: this way is only a day's journey, while the common route takes up several days. They pretend that the fearful and suspicious prince who reigned in 1685 had a subterranean passage made from his palace to this retreat.

#### CHAP. XIII.—*Revenue and Wealth of the King of Tonquin.*

THE King of Tonquin is one of the richest Princes of the East: he has the most valuable treasures, and very considerable fixed revenues, which consist in the produce

of his domains, different duties, and the sale of all the offices. The grain gathered on the lands belonging to the King is put into his magazines: there is one of an immense extent in the province of the South; it is said to cover nearly a square league; the produce of thirty or forty harvests are kept in it, for rice, of all the productions of that kind, keeps the longest without spoiling. These magazines are never opened but in times of great scarcity, when the people are in danger of dying of hunger, or when it is necessary to make depots of provisions on the frontiers, in time of war.

The duties, or taxes, consist in a real tax, and the capitation. The real tax is of new invention, and has only been laid on lands within these fifty or sixty years: if in the declaration of their lands the people were not to conceal a great part, they could not pay it without being ruined. The capitation is of long standing: it was formerly very trifling; but as it was represented to the King that it was impossible to know the exact number of his subjects, it has been much increased. This tax is collected with such severity, that those who contribute to it would be obliged to quit their country, if they were to pay exactly what they are estimated at; but, as the system of finance is by no means so perfect as in most states in Europe, and the numbering a populous nation appears to them to be impracticable, the tax is laid on each village, or community, in the aggregate, and division is afterwards made on individuals by the principal inhabitants in each place. The males only pay from the time they are twenty: soldiers, guardians of the temples, and bonzes, are exempt; as also all girls, women, and old men above sixty.

These taxes are collected in the current money of the country, in produce, and all kinds of merchandize, in bars of gold and silver. The purposes to which they are applied, after the collection, could only be conceived by ministers of an oriental despot, who only looks upon his subjects as so many slaves invariably destined to gratify his whims, and whose happiness is of no concern to him. If there is any regularity in the application of the produce and sums accruing from taxes, it is only for the benefit of the King, without any advantage to the nation.

The first division of the revenue of the kingdom is between the King and those in his service; his wives, children, eunuchs, mandarins of the household, and his troops.

The portion which belongs to the King is carried into his palace, and distributed into different depots. The gold and silver is thrown into rooms lined from top to bottom with the hardest wood, and which have but one opening: the other metals are kept in subterranean places, constructed under the King's apartments. Thus whatever comes from the people never returns to them. As in time the largest magazines would not be sufficient to contain these treasures, they have, in different provinces, dug reservoirs lined with boards on all sides, into which they throw the copper money: an exact register is kept of the quantity put in from time to time, and they are then covered with water, high enough to prevent its being taken away.

As for the linens, of raw silk, or worked into stuffs, which are paid as taxes, there are prodigious magazines of them in the palace, where they are suffered to rot, rather than bestow them on the people. It is the same with the wood that the provinces are obliged to furnish, to maintain the palaces; as the quantity sent in is always more than necessary for the work to be done, the greater part is left to rot.

Thus all the expences of the King and his household, those of the dova, or reigning emperor, who is considered as forming part of the chova's establishment, the officers and troops, are defrayed without touching his treasures: there is even part of the taxes set apart solely to augment them.

Thus

Thus it is not surprising that, in a country so rich in itself, the people should in general be poor and miserable, even to wanting the necessaries of life. If some individual becomes rich, it can only be by the greatest industry, and always at the expence of those wretches, of whose labour he makes his profit.

Still the King's treasures do not, by a good deal, take up all the produce of the taxes. As they entirely belong to him, he distributes certain portions of them to his officers, wives, and children. He grants the revenues of several towns; and while they enjoy them they are considered as the lords of them, and represent the King in collecting the taxes. These temporary lords are tyrants whose exactions are more burthenfome to the people than those of the public officers, unless, which is very rare, any one among them happens to be possessed of sentiments of humanity; besides, it is dangerous to conciliate the affections of the people by benefactions, however disinterested they may be: they would immediately be suspected of intentions repugnant to the tranquillity of the state, and the interests of the reigning despot.

Independent of taxes, the King has many other means of drawing considerable sums from his subjects, and which he does not neglect: such are the sale of offices, and honorary mandarins that he creates from time to time, and which the richest of the eunuchs, and other subjects are obliged to purchase: money raised for the repairs of the roads, which the people are obliged to do, by allotted work: customs established on rivers; for there are none on coming into the cities, nor on the highways; each boat pays seven-pence halfpenny on going from one province to another; and this tax has no other end than to benefit some favourite of the Prince. In every province there is a custom-house, where they receive the tenth of all merchandises brought into it. All these revenues must bring immense riches to the King; but they are not calculated: it is forbidden, under very severe punishment, to pry into the secrets of the state. It is not even permitted the financiers, appointed to receive the public money, to know any thing on that head beyond what they ought to pay in personally; nor to compare their receipts with those of other collectors: every one must keep within his own sphere, without any communication.

#### CHAP. XIV. — *Civil and Criminal Laws, and the Justiciary of Tonquin.*

INDEPENDENT of general laws, which are established on the same principles in Tonquin as in China, there are peculiar customs in this kingdom; and each place has its own, which are often in contradiction to the received laws, but which only exist among individuals, and in very confined territories: for if the circumstances are carried before the chief tribunals of the province, they pay no respect to local customs, they decide according to the laws admitted throughout the kingdom.

The jurisdiction of cities is established the same as in China, and depends upon the rank they hold in civil order. Each province has its capital; then comes the city of the first class, named Fou; that of the second class, or Cheu; the third, or Huien; titles which are added after the distinguishing name of the cities.

It should be observed that the name of mandarin has been bestowed on different magistrates by the Europeans, and is derived from the Portuguese word *mandar*, which signifies to order or command. The word mandarin does not exist in the Chinese or Tonquinese languages: in both a magistrate is called quan. The importance of the place decides the dignity of the quans; as with us, the lord mayor of London is of higher rank and estimation than the same office of any other city, and so in gradation throughout the kingdom.

The

The jurisdiction of tribunals is only established for civil causes: there is then city and jurisdiction; mandarin, or quan, of the first, second, and third class, who are under the jurisdiction of one another: the third under the second, and the second amenable to the first. Besides, in every province there is the tribunal for outrages; that in which every native has a right to impeach the mandarin, who he may conceive has acted unjustly towards him. This is the first tribunal in the province, and is immediately subservient to the sovereign tribunal of Kacho. The governor has also his particular tribunal, composed of two judges, that is, of himself and a mandarin of letters, who shares with him the cares of civil administration, and who sees to the observance of the laws. The cognizance of criminal affairs appertains solely to the governor: he punishes all slight faults on the spot; those which deserve death, the sentence should be sent to the chova, who confirms or suspends the execution.

Each tribunal has several judges, who each preside in their turns: it has its public officers, or kind of serjeant, who goes to summons the parties to appear in judgment. Every one accused, justly or not, is obliged to pay down a certain sum proportioned to the dignity of the tribunal before which he is to be tried: this sum is not returned to him, even though the accusation is proved to be unjust; but the accuser is made to indemnify him, and the sum deposited goes instead of fees to the judge.

Next to the tribunals of the third class are the subaltern judges. Each borough with the dignity of Xa, with right of justice over a district, the limits of which are marked, should be furnished with a tablet exposed to public view, on which is written in Tonquinese characters the King's edict, which grants it that privilege. This edict is renewed upon the accession of every new chova, which produces immense sums to the crown.

Every xa is divided into villages; each village into quarters, and if the place is considerable, there are other subdivisions, and each has its chief. The Xa has three, who convoke assemblies by the sound of a drum, which is always kept with the first chief: they preside at the meetings, and execute the police.

It is to the first that all the orders of mandarins, and even those from court, are nominally addressed: without this formality they would be considered subreptitious. In absence of the first, the second or third takes his place. They have the right to impose fines, and even to beat with rods for certain crimes. It is they who, in conjunction with the learned men in the assemblies, proportion the taxes among individuals.

These chiefs are chosen by plurality of votes; they remain in place for ten years: the first is exempt for life from all public burthens; the others have one half of their taxes remitted them during a certain number of years, and from all charge during their stay in office. It may be said, that these places are in some measure purchased, since those who are elevated to them are obliged to give feasts to all their jurisdiction; the expences of which would fall very heavy on them, if they did not know how to remunerate themselves by the extortions they practise on their clients.

Three villages generally compose a xa, and three xas a tong, the chief of which is elected by a plurality of voices of the xas; then in each tong is a superior chief, without any authority, whom they call quan, or honorary mandarin. All their chiefs receive their confirmation from the mandarin of the province of the third rank. This disposition being the same all over the kingdom, order is every where uniform. Each xa may be considered as a kind of popular republic, or a government in which women have no part, nor young men under twenty: at that age they have a vote, and right of suffrage in the assemblies.

Above all the tribunals is the sovereign council, established in the capital, to which appeals lie from all sentences in the provinces, passed by mandarins, even those of the first rank. Things judged there might be supposed to be ended, if it went with the King himself, or what we call the privy council; as there is no sentence which is not subject to revision, the processes that powerful mandarins have interest to prolong are never finished.

The affairs or quarrels of the great are decided in the capital by different tribunals, the rank and names of which answer to their different functions. One judges state crimes; another, murders; another, difficulties arising concerning landed property; another, those concerning houses, hereditary rights, &c. &c. Besides the Chinese laws, which form the code of right of the country, there are many edicts and peculiar constitutions, old and new: authentic decisions digested in several books, the authority of which almost always carries it over the laws of China. Many of these peculiar to Tonquin breathe more justice, humanity and benevolence than those of China: such is that which forbids the exposing or strangling of children, let them be ever so deformed: while in China this barbarous custom is not only tolerated but even prescribed by an ancient law.

But it is in vain that these laws appear dictated by justice, and formed to secure the happiness of the nation. Such corruption has crept into all the tribunals, that there is no crime which cannot be compromised for money, nor any process of which any decision required may not be purchased: thus the judges always decide in favour of the richest, or most powerful: the exceptions are so rare, that they may be counted for nothing.

It is not to be wondered at, if, from what has been said, a just idea has been formed of the national character; all the civil and military offices are venal. Those of the learned are only for a time. It is not more than a century since the inhabitants of Tonquin lived in happy abundance; the laws were strictly observed, taxes were light, and the corruption of the tribunals was not publicly tolerated; but a chova who reigned sixty or eighty years since, in some measure changed the form of government: he prodigiously increased the taxes, burthened the people with extraordinary labours, erected mountains in the plains, or cut away mountains, without any useful end, but merely to satisfy his whims: he increased that crowd of eunuchs which reduced the nation to poverty by their boundless power; made many burthensome establishments, which still remain, with the exception of some works which are not fixed, because they depend on the caprice of the sovereign.

Notwithstanding all these abuses, it cannot be said that the despotism of Tonquin is absolute, and the government wholly arbitrary; although on account of the taxes, and the labours they are obliged to perform, the subjects are under a kind of actual servitude. Still they are not born slaves; they possess their own property; inheritance passes from father to son, and even to collaterals: thus property is respected, and the Prince has in reality no power over the lives of his subjects, unless they incur the penalty of death by transgressing the laws. But the stain of despotism is impressed on the whole nation in general, because there is no law which does not give way to the will of the Prince, who is surrounded by a crowd of ministers still more fatal to the people, on account of their avidity, injustice and extortions: they buy their places very dear, and that for them authorises all their abuses. Hence, the fears, distrust, the want of emulation, which stifle talents and industry, and enervate the mind, repress courage, and are the cause that the nation in general are solely occupied in procuring their daily sustenance, without carrying their views farther.

Criminal affairs are adjudged in the last case by the King only ; and, as in general the Tonquinese character is not sanguinary, sentence of death is seldom passed on criminals. All executions take place in the royal city, and are so few that they do not reckon more than twenty or thirty in a year in the whole kingdom. The general punishment is to lose the head, which is looked upon as the utmost infamy. Only princes and nobles are allowed to be strangled. Traitors, and those who attempt the King's life, are torn with pincers, and drawn by four horses. The punishment for female criminals is to be tied to a loose stake, and in that situation delivered to an elephant, who seizes them with his trunk, throws them into the air, then catches them on his tusks, and finishes by trampling of them under his feet : adultery is punished in this manner. The place of executioner is not dishonourable : it is an office executed from father to son, by a family originally from Cochinchina. The other corporeal punishments, which are inflicted on the sentence of the mandarins, are exile, perpetual imprisonment, or, what is the same thing, taking care of the elephants : those thus sentenced are virtually dead, as they lose their votes in the assemblies, in the places of their origin or residence, and are not subject to public charges : as those are very burthenome, many criminals, especially among the lower class of the people, are not sorry to be exiled.

Another kind of punishment is to receive blows on the thighs, with rods as thick as the thumb ; or to receive a certain number of blows with a wooden hammer on the knees : not to break the bones, they are enveloped with circles of bamboo. The manner of giving the torture is painful, but not dangerous nor horrid : they press a gun-barrel against the ankle-bone, and strike it with a bamboo stick. These punishments have only the pain and disgrace of the moment attached to them : those who suffer them lose none of their rights of society. Thieves are punished in this manner ; that crime never being punished with death, unless accompanied with murder. They think the life of a man of more value than all the wealth he can steal.

The punishment most dreaded is to be mutilated of a finger, or an ear, because they cannot hide their disgrace : generally, for the fourth offence, proved by the fingers or ears they have lost, they are condemned to lose the head, to rid society of a troublesome and incorrigible member.

The law of retaliation, strictly observed in Tonquin, maintains a kind of equity in all actions which come before a court ; the accuser, if he cannot convict the accused, undergoes the punishment that would have been incurred by him he had calumniated.

The prisons of Tonquin are more to be dreaded than their punishments : it is really a place of continual suffering. They have only the damp earth for flooring, which serves as bed to the wretches confined : men and women are mixed together, and lie in the dark, mud and ordure ; and it often happens that the living are thus lying with half-rotten dead bodies. At night their feet are confined in a kind of stocks screwed with a padlock. The King allows nothing for the feeding of the prisoners, and their guards are avaricious enough to take from them what the charity of the public allows them, or what their friends send them. Those who are the best treated are those who are rich enough to soften these barbarians by presents. It is with reason that gaolers are regarded in Tonquin as the most odious and cruel of mankind, and as so many inhuman executioners. This vile employment is, however, very much sought after : it is only obtained by the interest of the mandarins, who reward their servants with this place, in which they enrich themselves with the misery of criminals, and by their cruelty.

THE kingdom of Achem is scarcely known, because being out of the route of travellers, they must go out of their way to get to it. It is one of the richest countries of Asia. It stands in need of none of the productions of its neighbours, to whom it furnishes abundance of metals. There are mines of gold, silver, steel, lead and iron. As the people pay no subsidy, the King reserves to himself the produce of his mines; and attentive to the happiness of his subjects, he only employs slaves to work them. It is the only country in Asia, in which humanity is not crushed beneath the weight of despotism.

An animal different from our common worms produces their silk, of which they make dresses, very glossy, but of a bad quality. The most precious production of this country is the lacker gum, which is the most esteemed of all that of the East. They distinguish two sorts. The red is used to paint linens, and varnish furniture and cabinets, and to make wax. Silver is the current money of the kingdom.

The inhabitants are of a very regular height, but the women have the nose rather flat. Both sexes go nearly naked, and only cover their natural parts. They cover their heads with a blue bonnet, from which hang hog's teeth. Their bracelets which are their most esteemed ornaments, are of coral, or yellow amber, and sometimes of tortoise-shell, or of shells.

Poverty, and the tyranny of extortioners, are unknown to them. Every individual, quiet possessor of his property, has several wives, each of which has her particular employment in the house; and elephants for domestic uses. Though the country produces many quadrupeds, the flesh of the dog is preferred. [A great plenty of vines also grow there, but they only use the fruit to extract a kind of brandy from it. They make their salt from the substance that covers the surface of stagnant waters: they also extract it from the leaves of a tree, called Adam's fig-tree. They burn them, and from their ashes results a very pungent salt, which they possess the secret of softening by boiling it, and afterwards straining it several times through linen.

Their gunpowder is of the best quality; and it is to this people that the orientals attribute the glory of that destructive invention, which appears the more extraordinary, as this country has remained five hundred years without being engaged in war. This secret passed to the Pegonans, who communicated it to the Chinese, who claimed the honour of the discovery, because they doubtless were the first who made use of it in war.

The kingdom of Tipra produces nothing that can tempt the curiosity of the traveller, nor the avarice of the trader. There is a gold mine of indifferent quality: it is exchanged in China for silver. Much silk is also collected there, but the kind is coarse, and only used for the commonest purposes. This people has a great propensity for strong liquors. Instead of figures they calculate with stones, which might be taken for small agats. They seldom travel in foreign countries: they have no commercial relation with other nations, who only know them by name.

The kingdom of Aracan has such an extent of boundary, that it seems to invite all commercial nations. The air is pure; the plague and other contagious disorders are unknown. The plains, rich and fertile, produce all the necessaries of life. Numerous flocks range the delightful vallies, which supply nourishment to all kinds of domestic and wild

wild animals. Horses are very scarce. Buffaloes are employed to till the earth; their horns are their weapons; any thing red enrages them; those they intend to attack they suffer to pass quietly, and afterwards fall on them behind with their murderous horns. These animals, naturally indocile, are obedient only to the blacks who have the care of keeping them: they flock around them, on the sounding of a horn which calls them. The winter, so called, as being the season of the rains and tempests, begins in April and ends in October. They have else no season but summer, in which they reap an abundant harvest of vegetables, grain and fruits: but they grow neither wheat nor rye.

The capital gives a vast idea of this kingdom. Its extent is several leagues; the number of its inhabitants equals that of the first cities in Europe, and they reckon six hundred pagodas in it. The riches of the King's palace bespeaks the plenty of gold. The golden hall is so called because it is covered with that precious metal from top to bottom; a hundred ingots of gold, each weighing forty pounds is suspended from the ceiling, which itself is of massive gold. There are also seven golden idols as large as life. They are hollow within, but are about two inches thick; but what enhances their value, is, the rubies, emeralds, sapphires and diamonds, which decorate the forehead, arms and waist, of these vain images. In this apartment is also a square seat of gold, supporting a cabinet of the same metal, still more enriched with jewels.

The sovereign possesses two rubies as large as the little finger, and at the base the size of a hen's egg. The rubies have been the cause of bloody wars between the neighbouring Kings, because superstition has created a belief, that whoever possesses them will be the arbitrator of the destiny of the others. The King only wears them at his coronation.

This people contented with the productions of their soil, cannot conceive how any one can risk his life to acquire reputed wealth: they only arm for war, and never for commerce, which is only carried on by strangers, who flock thither from all parts of the world. The Mahometans especially have a considerable trade in elephants, which they carry to the coast of Coromandel, to Golconda and Persia, from whence they bring linens, silks, and spices. The most abundant productions of the country are timber for building, lead, tin, and elephants' teeth. It may not be superfluous to give some account of the manners and character of a people with whom it would be easy to establish an advantageous commerce.

The inhabitants of Astracan have the forehead broad and flat. This is rather a whim of fancy, than a natural defect. It is by applying a plate of lead to the forehead of children, that they deface the works of nature. Their nostrils are large and open; their ears hanging reach even to their shoulders. Their dress consists in a cotton shirt which covers the arms breast and belly; a training robe, and so many etceteras, that when they put them all on, they resemble a ball of cotton rather than men: the hair is tucked up behind, after the manner of Dutch women. The women's heads have no other dress than their hair: it is arranged in buckles, without being fastened, and looks very well.

The meats would not provoke the appetite of an European. They eat rats, mice, snakes, and all the most disgusting animals. Fish does not suit their palate till it is spoiled. They quench their thirst with pure water, or with a liquor that runs from a kind of palm tree, from which they extract it, by making an incision in the trunk.

Virginity is not an esteemed virtue with them. Husbands prefer running the risk of fathering the children of others, rather than marry a novice. It is generally

Dutch sailors who are liberally paid for this infamous prostitution. The King shut up in his palace, vegetates in listless indolence with the Queen and his concubines. Every year each of the twelve governors, chooses in his district twelve girls of the same age, whom they expose to the burning rays of the sun, to create perspiration. They are afterwards dried with a fine cloth which is sent to court, that they may determine by the smell, which is most worthy to enter the seraglio. Those who are rejected, fall to the lot of the courtiers, who receive them as a mark of the greatest favour. It is said that the monarch has no other guard than his concubines, who are trained to the use of arms. He assumes the pompous title of "Emperor of Aracan, possessor of the white elephant and the two rubies, legitimate heir to Pegan and Bramas, lord of the twelve provinces of Bengal, and sovereign judge of Kings, who prostrate their head beneath his feet."

The pleasing arts are unknown among them, if one may judge by the little progress they have made in the necessary ones. Medicine especially is only one imposition, accredited by superstition. The priests, called Raulins, are called in to the sick. They blow on them, at the same time pronouncing some mysterious words. They offer up to the god of the four winds a sacrifice of fowls, hogs, and the fattest animals, which must be repeated four times, unless the patient dies or recovers before that time. The Raulins feast on the food thus offered to their gods.

When the disease is obstinate, their fruitful imposture inspires the wife, children, or some one of the relations, with a strange remedy, by which the Raulins profit. They raise an altar, on which they place an idol, in a room richly furnished, where the priests and relations assemble to partake of a grand feast. He who presides at this ceremony dances and jumps about till his strength fails him. They then tie a cord to the ceiling, which he lays hold of to support him, and to be able to spring with more strength, till he falls into a kind of swoon, which they take to be a divine delirium. Every one seems to envy his lot, because they believe he has a discourse with the idol. The priests who gravely preside at this extravagant ceremony, anoint the patient with oils and perfumes; and if he dies, they are never blamed: they give it out that his death is a bounty from the gods, who have taken him from the filth of this earth to eternal mansions.

The excess of their superstition is seen in their funerals: while the priests recite orisons, and perform their fumigation of incense, the friends and relations of the deceased beat on copper saucepans to frighten away the black cat; for if by misfortune it should touch the body, its soul, banished from its heavenly dwelling, where it would have gluttoned in luxury, would reassume its vile and mortal spoils. There is one order of priesthood which they believe partakes of divine privileges. The family of the defunct invites them to a great feast: and when they refuse to go to it, it is a presage that the soul of the deceased is precipitated into the depths of hell.

They hire weepers, who utter groans, which only the custom of hearing can prevent from appearing ridiculous; those who are not rich enough to procure the honour of the funeral pile, are exposed at the edge of the water, where the tide carries them away. Sometimes the carcases are devoured by birds of prey, who, finding plenty of food, are so numerous and strong, that they will attack oxen and buffaloes.

Sometimes they accelerate the death of their friends and relations, when they see them overwhelmed with a painful old age, or an incurable disease; and what among polished nations would be punished, is with them an act of piety, because they say it is cruel to suffer those to linger in misery on earth, whom happiness attends in heaven.

These people are plunged in the grossest idolatry. Their temples are built in the form of pyramids, which contain a confused multitude of images. They have domestic gods, the figure of which they mark on their arms and shoulders with a hot iron. The barking of dogs, the lowing of cattle, the roaring of wild beasts, the singing of birds, are looked upon as so many omens, which the priests interpret as they think fit. They celebrate a feast of the dead, in which their devotion is carried to the most cruel pitch of fanaticism. One of their idols is drawn on a clumsy chariot, accompanied by priests clothed in white satin. The fanatic devotees throw themselves under the wheels, and they esteem their blood the most acceptable offering they make their idol; others fix themselves on iron hooks fastened to the chariot. They are afterwards placed in the temples, bloody as they are, where they become objects of public worship. Every one is happy when a drop of blood falls on his cloaths. These pious madmen are esteemed martyrs.

There are three classes of priests. Their chief who resides in the island of Munay, has the direction of the public worship. His orders are seldom disobeyed. The respect he inspires approaches adoration. The King, absolute as he is, never disputes the precedency with him at ceremonies, and is never covered before him. All the priests condemn themselves to eternal celibacy; whoever transgresses in that point is immediately degraded, and thrown back among the profane. Though all obey the same chief, they do not all observe the same discipline. Some live retired in their private houses, at their own expence, without being any burthen on society. Retired from the tumult of the world, and despising the pleasures of life, they are forgotten by mankind, and only inhabit rocks in gloomy forests or deserts. When the wants of life oblige them to appear in public, they have an humble aspect, and downcast eyes; but their modesty seems to be an artifice to command admiration. Others, more happy and less solitary, inhabit magnificent palaces, where they indolently enjoy the wealth that the King and Princes profusely bestow on them, with a view of ingratiating themselves with heaven.

These idolatrous priests are intrusted with the education of youth, as if men solely destined to prayer and mortification were qualified to form magistrates, warriors, artists and ministers. There are also hermits, a kind of wild man, who are esteemed in proportion as they are fantastic. They, like the priests, are divided into three orders, who all renounce the strongest passions of our nature, with an idea of thereby pleasing the Creator, who wisely bestowed those very passions on us, to be enjoyed, but not abused, nor wholly neglected.

Though Europeans have had considerable intercourse with the kingdom of Ava, it may still be said to be a country as yet to be explored. The greater part of those who have given a description of it were either warriors or traders, less governed by a wish of making observations, than a desire of acquiring wealth. They, however, all agree that the soil is fertile in rice and fruits: it contains mines of lead, copper and silver, which the idleness of the inhabitants renders useless. In Ava, the capital of the kingdom, they carry on a considerable trade in musk; and the most valuable rubies and sapphires come from thence. The inhabitants perfectly succeed in working them. Commerce would flourish there if the different revolutions did not interrupt that tranquillity so necessary to industry.

The government is despotic; the King, who is only the minister and depository of the law, has usurped the right of forming, infringing, and changing them at discretion. Each province sends a deputy to court to act as their protector; he has the right to make known the wants of his fellow-citizens, and as the King is always well

informed, transgressors are easily accused and punished. Vanity has intitled him, King of Kings, to whom all owe obedience; the friend and relation of the gods of heaven and earth, who from love of him, preserve animals and regulate the seasons; brother to the sun, cousin to the moon and stars; absolute sovereign of the tides, King of the white elephant and four-and-twenty parasols.

This monarch is ever intoxicated with pride; when he rises from table, he has a trumpet sounded to announce to the other sovereigns of the world that they may go to dinner. Foreign ambassadors are as well as his own subjects obliged to fall prostrate before him, and even elephants are taught to lie down when he passes.

The soldiery are not paid from the public treasury. Each governor has in his province a proportion of land, the produce of which is assigned to maintain the military in time of peace, and when they take the field, they are furnished with arms, cloaths, and provisions. The officers are distinguished from the soldiers by the magnificence of his pipe, of which the number of joints shews his rank.

The kingdom of Jangoma is situated to the north of Siam. Its extent cannot be precisely determined, because it has often changed masters, and undergone frequent revolutions, which have altered its limits. This country is governed by priests, whose power should be confined by law, since the inhabitants assume the title of Franks, a distinction by no means applicable to a people disgraced and degraded by slavery. The nature of the soil and its inhabitants are but little known, and it is only from the relations of Chinese, and the traditions of the Siamese, that a slight idea may be formed of them. The more a people is unknown to Europeans, the more advantageous is the commerce that may be carried on with them, to whoever discovers its source.

The inhabitants are of large stature and well made: an education almost savage keeps up their natural vigour. The burning rays of the sun spares them the necessity of wearing many cloaths: they wear only a girdle of fine linen, which constitutes all their ornament; they always go bare-headed, and the use of shoes is unknown to them. The women, as gallant as the Peguans, are much handfomer, and their voluptuous monarchs fill their seraglios with them.

Though the soil produces whatever can supply the necessaries and luxuries of life, it refuses wheat. But in lieu of bread, they make rice-cakes, which constitute the common food of the inhabitants. Besides the necessaries of life, the country produces great quantities of musk, pepper, silk, gold, silver, copper and benjamin. It is true some travellers assert that they obtain the greater part of these riches from China; but it would be less expensive to a company established at Siam to get them from Jangoma than from the extremities of the East, and the more so, as this people, having no commercial relations, are ignorant of the advantages of their situation.

We know but little of their customs: but we find that with them the devil plays a conspicuous part. The sick promise him sacrifices, if he will deign to restore them to health, and when they have obtained that blessing, they celebrate their recovery by a great feast, to which all the friends and relations bring presents of fruits, to propitiate this evil being, whom they consider as the author of all disorders. They must be fully persuaded that the devil does not like music, since it is by the sound of instruments that they endeavour to drive him out of his house; and doubtless, from the same motive the priests are called in to sing by the bed-side of the sick man, who, cheered by their funeral voices, hopes a speedy relief to his pains.

What with other nations of the earth is a source of affliction, with them is the occasion of feastings and joy. Death excites no regret among them, or at least they

are ingenious in softening of it. The body is carried by sixteen men, on a throne made of reeds, to the place where it is to be burnt; the relations and friends accompany it, preceded by instruments: they bestow gifts on the priests, who like birds of prey, live on the spoils of the dead. When the body is reduced to ashes, they retire to the house he has just left. Two days are passed in dancing and feasting, and afterwards the widow, clad in all the mockery of woe, repairs with her friends and relations, to the place where the body was burnt; there, weeping and wailing, they collect the bones the flames had spared. Their mourning consists merely in cutting their hair.

Laos, which signifies thousands of elephants, has its name from the number of those animals, which fill the forests of that country. The climate is so temperate, and the air so pure, that it is said that men of a hundred, and even a hundred and twenty years old, retain the freshness and vigour of their prime. Bountiful nature spreads her stores over the plains and vallies, and even on the mountains. The canals, which receive the torrents precipitated from elevated places, distribute them with economy over the lands, and there are neither marshes, nor stagnant waters. The two banks of the river have different qualities: the eastern side is much more fertile, and produces larger and stronger animals, the trees are more lofty, and of an incorruptible quality. The best rice of India grows there. The lands where it has been sowed, after it is gathered in, becomes covered with a kind of froth, which hardened in the sun becomes solid salt. The best benjamin and lacker, from which they make Spanish wax, comes from thence: it is a kind of earth, with which the ants cover their dwellings and magazines.

Though their ivory is of an excellent quality, they prefer the horn of the rhinoceros. Superstition has attributed to it the virtue of fixing fortune. The great, as they become elevated, part with the one they possess, and purchase one of more efficacy. There is no treasure so carefully preserved. The flowers, which enamel the plains, support numerous swarms of bees, which furnish wax and honey. The mines of tin, iron and lead are very productive. Gold and silver rolls in the rivers, from whence they take it in wire nets. Musk, in which they trade considerably, is not a produce of the country, but they have a composition of ambergris, and a juice which they extract from the body of a cat, which spreads an agreeable odour. There are many wild animals in the forests. They cultivate the earth with buffaloes and oxen. The rivers breed such enormous fish, that two men can scarcely carry one. The poor people feed on salted herrings and rice. Though there is no salt water in the whole country, it produces beautiful rubies; but doubtless that scum which covers the earth after the rice harvest, supplies the want of it, in forming that precious stone in the bosom of the earth.

The Chinese, before the irruption of the Tartars, carried on a considerable commerce with this country; they brought velvets, silk stuffs, camblets, carpets, horse-hair, cottons, gold, silver, and porcelain, which they exchanged for ivory, opium, and medicinal herbs.

In the province of Laos, which gives its name to the kingdom, is a deep pit, from whence they obtain rubies, and particularly emeralds, one of which, in the possession of the King, is as large as a common orange. The trade that might be carried on in this country would furnish a certain advantage, because they are the most upright people in business, and the most faithful to their engagements of any in India. Not but what they are tempted to obtain whatever they see uncommon in the hands of a stranger; but they prefer obtaining it by importunity rather than by violence. The most flattering praise they can receive is to hear themselves extolled as keeping their promises inviolable. Theft or murder on their highways are seldom heard of: the police

police prevents all such disorders. The towns and villages in whose territory the traveller has been insulted, are obliged to make good his losses.

Their virtues however are not without a mixture of vices. Buried in eternal gluttony, they only work to supply the indispensable wants of nature. All fatigue disheartens them : enemies to perseverance they cannot fix long to one object, and they never see below the surface. Boundless in their inclination for women, they seem to live only to multiply their kind. Sorcery and magic are the sources of many crimes and superstitions ; but it is a disorder of the mind, which is most inveterate throughout the East, where nothing important is undertaken, without consulting and liberally paying those accredited impostors.

The purity of the air prolongs life, and though the country is not very extensive, they can raise five hundred thousand combatants, and it would be easy to form an army of centenaries, all healthy and vigorous. They are not so abstemious as in other countries of India ; they have four meals a day ; rice, fish, and buffalo's flesh is their common food : they seldom eat veal, beef, or poultry : they roast the birds in their feathers, which gives the flesh a disagreeable taste.

The magistrates and ministers generally take but one wife ; but that is less an effect of their moderation than of their avarice. They would wish it to be understood, that too much occupied by their public duties, they cannot bestow that time on their pleasures which they consecrate to business : but the great number of their concubines makes amends for confining themselves to one wife. Marriages are engagements for life, but divorces are so common, that they seem to be only transient and capricious unions. When a woman is convicted of adultery, the husband may inflict what punishment he pleases.

Their funerals are rather festivals than scenes of grief. The priests are paid and sumptuously feasted, who cry and sing funeral hymns, to instruct the dead in the road to heaven. They put sums of money, in proportion to his fortune, in his tomb. It may be presumed that the priests, who are the guardians of these tombs, cause those treasures to circulate in society, which imbecility would bury in the earth.

It may be observed that the commerce of this kingdom has experienced different revolutions : formerly its productions were brought to Siam : but since the irruption of the Bramas, they have passed to Pegu. The animosities that continual wars maintain between the two nations, has transferred the trade to Camboya, where the Laos have a ready and easy sale for their benjamin, lacker, and other articles.

This ignorant people boasts of having taught the Siamese the art of writing on the leaves of the palm-tree. The language and characters are the same : but the Laos cannot pronounce the letter L, and R. It is said that in their earliest times, their worship, more purified than that of other nations, was free from superstitions. They had no temples, and adored a God the creator, who watched over the welfare of the world, and whom they could only please by the practice of virtue, and not by sacrifices or ceremonies. They believed that after a certain revolution of ages, the universe would be renewed, and this system of the great periodical year has been adopted, by almost all the nations of antiquity. Their commerce with the Chinese changed these simple notions. They had priests who erected themselves to legislators, and who, that they might not be refuted, produced books written in foreign characters. Their doctrine not being understood appeared the more mysterious, and was respected. It was easy for those artful impostors to bestow on it a divine origin.

Their doctors are divided into three classes : one teaches how the universe and the gods were formed, but their system rests on fable and not on reasoning. The others, whom

whom they call illuminati conciliate, all embarrassing difficulties, and contradictory maxims.

The new doctrine established the eternity of the heavens and sixteen terrestrial worlds, in the highest of which they enjoyed pleasures unalloyed: these worlds decayed and were renewed, and they reckon eighteen thousand years from the creation of the present earth. They admit a hell; but the priests never mention the punishments that are there prepared for the wicked, that they may not shock timid and corrupt men. Polygamy is the reward they hold out to the rich in the other world; but as this doctrine is not favourable to the women, they believe that those who have lived well will be changed into men. This reward they also promise those who enrich them, and assure them they shall have as many wives as can be bought for the money they devote to alms.

The priests, subjected by law to continence, console themselves with the persuasion, that after their death they shall have the power to create as many women as they choose, and to dispose of them at their own pleasure. It is with the idea of glutting their lubricity, that they practise continence during their lives; and they consider that as a crime on earth, which will be a virtue in heaven. Their convents, which are schools of debauchery, are filled with men taken from the dregs of society; and proud of the dignity of the office, they exact a respect, that the head of the nation cannot refuse them without danger. Their cells are separated the one from the other; that of their superior is magnificently furnished; gold and silk display all that luxury can produce: seated on a brilliant throne, he receives the homage of his subalterns and prostrate devotees.

I shall not enter into a detail of the regimen, as I should be obliged to repeat what has been said of the Talapoins; but shall mention certain practices which seem to justify the opinion of those who pretend that christianity was in its infancy established among these people.

The fourteenth of every month, they are obliged to assemble to make a public confession of their faults. An humble avowal obtains absolution, and as the reparation is not painful relapses are frequent. They also make great use of holy water. They attribute to it great efficacy in curing the most obstinate diseases: the priests, who make it an article of trade, exchange it for precious liquors. Their altars are decked with flowers, and lighted with numerous flambeaus: they have also chaplets, which serve the ignorance of those who cannot read their hymns and prayers. The beads are sometimes diamonds or rubies.

They have also their Easter, and their jubilee; during these solemnities, they refrain from work, and this time of rest is profaned by debauch. Preachers mount the rostrum, from whence they inculcate pure and strict maxims, which find plenty of transgressors. The rich purchase dispensations: the avaricious priests only grant them for a time, and when that is expired they must renew their leave to transgress. None but the poor should despair of eternal felicity: all the rich pay their impostors liberally.

The kingdom of Camboya is only known to a few travellers, who, after having visited it for a short time, have given us very uncertain accounts of it. This country, defended by a chain of mountains, is watered by a large river which crosses it. Its vicinity to the line renders the air extremely hot, and to soften the burning heats they only inhabit the sides of rivers or lakes: the navigators suffer much from the troublesome-ness of gnats.

This country, one of the most fertile in India, produces wheat, and rich harvests of rice, vegetables of a superior quality, and very fine oil. Besides necessary productions, they have excellent sugar and indigo, which the inhabitants prepare with much industry. The fields are covered with trees, the branches of which bend under the load of fruit. Japan wood, sandal and eagle wood, abound in the plains and forests. All kinds of medicinal drugs, opium, and camphor, are among the most plentiful productions of the country. The mountains contain an exceeding transparent crystal. This fortunate land produces amethysts, hyacinths, rubies, topazes, chrysolites, agates, milk-stones, and blood-stones: raw silk and ivory are extremely cheap. An ox of five hundred weight only costs a crown, and you have one hundred and forty pounds of rice for four pence. Elephant and tiger hunting is permitted to every one, and in the forests are lions and most wild beasts, which only seem to delight in the deserts of Africa.

The coasts which are one hundred and forty leagues in extent, only afford five or six ports, where vessels may be in safety. The most celebrated is opposite to Siam; where the greatest trade is carried on in lacker, gum, and elephants' teeth. The port of Pontameas attracted numerous foreign vessels; but its trade has wholly fallen, since it was ravaged by the Siamese in one thousand seven hundred and seventeen. The other ports are little known.

The sea which separates this kingdom from that of Siam is strewed with an infinity of small islands, which makes the navigation dangerous. The two largest, though fertile, have been changed into deserts, because the pirates who infest this sea carried off from the inhabitants the produce of their labour and industry.

It would be easy to form an advantageous establishment in the island of Quadrol, where there are many sandy bays, in which nature has formed ports. There is also a cluster of eight islands, where the anchorage is safe. Pulocondor is the only one inhabited: the French call it the Isle of Orleans. It is only three leagues in length and one and a half broad: the port is commodious, and the anchorage easy. The sea abounds with all kinds of fish, and particularly turtles, the shells and oil of which are a considerable object of commerce. It is the country of monkeys and lizards; some are hideous and entirely covered with scales; their bite is death: others have the feet and hands armed with claws; their tail, seven or eight feet long, is triangular: their flesh is good to eat. There are also flying squirrels, and rats with ears like those of a man. Most of the trees are odoriferous; that which yields the gum, has its bark and leaves very much resembling the chestnut tree: there are many wild trees, which afford fruits beautiful to the eye, but of an insipid and often a dangerous taste. A botanist might there make an abundant harvest of plants unknown in other climates.

There is only one village, which sometimes reckons four hundred inhabitants, and which is often deserted, because they fix every where that they can supply their wants. It is to this island that the Cochin-Chinese banish the Christians. The English made themselves masters of it, and established a factory there in one thousand seven hundred and two. The governor had taken some Macassars into his pay, with a promise of discharging them at the end of three years. He broke his promise, and detained them to strengthen his infant colony: this infraction should have created distrust: he forgot that his example authorized them to betray him; in fact, these barbarians, although religious observers of treaties, thought themselves entitled to revenge, and in one night all the English were massacred.

The kingdom of Camboya is inhabited by Portuguese, Japanese, Cochlin-Chinese, and Malays; some of which are transient traders, and others have fixed their residence there. The Portuguese have no priests, and their religion is a medley of idolatry and Christianity. They live on a moderate pension allowed them by the King, and by hunting. The men are well made, and the women very handsome; but their want of modesty deprives them of all the advantages they might derive from their charms. This people never expose themselves to the dangers of the sea, to acquire riches; but they behold ships of all nations enter their ports, to purchase the super-abundant productions of their soil. They obtain there much gold, and linens as fine as those made in Holland: their needle-work is very much esteemed.

The religion is nearly the same as that of Siam. They admit many celestial dwellings for the souls freed from their bodies: in some they quaff delicious liquors, and feed on the most exquisite meats, and every pleasure awakens the senses and prevents desire; women, always young and beautiful, return the passions they inspire. There is another heaven reserved for the solitary Talapoins, who lived strangers on the earth; their happiness consists in a state of insensibility, which is a kind of annihilation, which appears to be a ravishing enjoyment to this lazy people. In the highest heaven reside the gods, and those distinguished men who, imitators of their virtues, share their happiness. They also admit of thirteen hells, into which the wicked are cast, according to the degree of their crimes.

Their clergy is numerous, and divided into several classes, the first of which usurps the precedence of the King himself; those of the second walk, his equals; and as they are persuaded they participate in the perfections of divinity, they pay them religious worship, though the greater part of them are born in the most abject state. They have a chief, who is styled King of the priests, and who, within a certain district, possesses all the authority and privileges of one.

There are two orders of nobility. From the first are taken the governors of cities and provinces, the ministers and judges: they are distinguished by their gold box; those of the second order only carry a silver one.

The king is absolutely despotic: he disposes at pleasure of the property of his subjects, or rather of his slaves. Children have no right to the inheritance of their father; and what the despot deigns to leave them is looked upon as a condescending bounty. A country ruled with an iron sceptre is never very populous: though this kingdom is very extensive, they can scarcely muster thirty thousand warriors. This little King is as proud and luxurious as the greatest monarchs of Asia; and the idea of an imaginary greatness sometimes makes him insolent to strangers.

The country of Campa has but little coast, yet many ports and commodious bays. Travellers have never penetrated into the interior of the country: they know no other city than Feneri, where the King had his residence, before the country was under the dominion of the Cochlin-Chinese, who flying from the tyranny of the Tartars, were received by a people of whom they are become the masters.

Their arms are the musket, pike, and sabre, which they use with much dexterity. They are gentle and affable, particularly to strangers. There is the utmost subordination among them, from the King to the lowest subject. The legislature is severe, and the slightest fault never goes unpunished. The common people must never have any silver, and whoever should be convicted of having kept any would be severely punished. Gold is an article of trade, and they only use copper money. All the employments are sold, and according to their price they bestow consequence: he who has ex-

hausted

hausted his fortune to purchase an employment soon repairs his losses by extortions, which remain unpunished, in order not to frighten those who would purchase these places.

Freedom of worship is tolerated by law; but the most part are disciples of Mahomet or Confucius: there are also idolators, some of whom adore reptiles and the vilest of animals; others only acknowledge the sun and moon, as the authors of nature. The Mahometans of this country have relaxed from the severity of the maxims prescribed by the alcoran: they eat pork without scruple; and, outraging the rights of hospitality, they unblushingly prostitute their wives to strangers. They only reserve their legitimate wife, whom they cannot repudiate, unless convicted of adultery.

The Chinese go there every year with tea, china, silk, and different articles, which they exchange for odoriferous woods, and gold, which is much finer than that of China.

There is no country has more commercial relations with Siam than Cochin-China, which signifies western China, a name given it by the Portuguese to distinguish it from Cochin. It is of easy access; the ports are numerous and commodious, and there are as many as four-and-twenty fathoms in the bays. The country is very populous, and full of cities and towns, which may be attributed to its fertility, for which it is indebted to constant and regular inundations, which, when they retire, leave a sediment which enriches the lands; and the heat of the sun gives the productions a quick maturity and delicious flavour. There is a tree they call incorruptible, because it never decays either in the ground or in the water: they make ships' anchors of it. The mountains where this tree grows produce eagle wood, the alvé, calamber, and all sorts of odoriferous woods: the air is filled with the fragrance of flowers and perfumes.

This country contains quarries of all kinds of marble, and many gold mines. The inhabitants have learnt the art of melting metals from the Chinese; but they have not taught them the method of casting iron in moulds, and making cannon and mortars.

The largest and strongest rhinoceros of India inhabits their mountains. The foot of the male is half a yard in diameter, and his teeth as much as five yards long.

The interior commerce is considerable. The fairs, which attract numerous merchants, are supplied with goods of every kind. The silk of the country is not of the first quality; but so plentiful, that it is used to make nets, cordage, and sails. The land tortoise furnishes them with oil. Pepper, sugar, honey, and wax, form a considerable branch of trade. The Chinese and Japanese had seized all the advantages of it. These strangers are not subject to the laws of the country: they have their own magistrates, and they decide all differences which arise among the traders of their own nation.

The portrait that travellers have drawn of the Cochin-Chinese has either been the work of hatred or flattery. The Dutch, who have been ill-treated by them, accuse them of infidelity in their engagements, of pride, and lying. Others, who have been better received by them, praise their affability to strangers, their candour in trade, and above all, their love of the rights of hospitality. Though these accounts combat each other, all modern travellers agree that their manners are as simple as their dress. Their mild and peaceable character prevents them from those excesses, which in a moment destroy the merit of several years of virtue. Their dishes are simple, and seasoned with cleanliness. Rice, vegetables, and fish are their only food. Their general drink is a kind of tea, different from that of China: they also mix a syrup, which they obtain

from the wood of the calambae, with their water, which gives it a very agreeable odour; but they prefer strong liquors to wine, which however they use in moderation; and they never indulge in excess, except at weddings and solemnities.

Although always dependant on their neighbours, they let their hair grow, as a mark of their liberty. The great are magnificent and pompous; they set off their dresses with pearls, which they prefer to diamonds. The women only appear veiled; but when they are saluted, they uncover the face. The doctors, clothed in black damask, wear a mitre on their heads: they never cut their nails nor beard, to shew they are less anxious to please than to instruct.

The houses have no other ornaments than paintings and sculpture gilt. Their marriages, funerals and festivals are the same as those of the Chinese, from whom they are descended.

The King and all the great officers of state, as well as the learned men, follow the doctrine of Confucius, transmitted to them by their ancestors. They have neither temples nor priests; and every one pays a particular worship to the great *Tien*. The people, plunged in the gloom of idolatry, abandon themselves to the grossest superstitions. They have their bonzes, who are divided into several classes: some of them live on the produce of the lands and ponds which are assigned them; others, subservient to a superior, live in common on the alms of the people; and that is a more certain source than the limited production of a field. To judge by the filthiness of their temples, the greater part of which are in ruins, it does not seem that the priests and their followers are very much attached to their religion.

Those who admit the dogma of metempsychosis make a scruple of killing the most noxious animal or vilest reptile; yet by a contradiction, common to error, they sacrifice hogs to the manes of their ancestors and gods. They believe that the souls that do not pass into other bodies, are changed into demons, sylphs, incubusses, and succubusses. Thus the fear inspired by these evil beings, gives rise to a thousand imaginary fables.

The axe of the law strikes all criminals indiscriminately. The King, a severe and incorruptible judge, pronounces their sentence of condemnation. Those who represent him in the provinces are more indulgent, because they are more easily corrupted. The woman convicted of adultery is trampled to death by an elephant: the first theft is punished by the loss of a finger: the second by that of an ear, and the third by death. False witnesses are punished according to the weight of the accusation. When the monarch pronounces his decisions, he is mounted on a superb elephant, and those who have petitions to present, must not come within eighty paces.

This Prince is very rich, because several of his neighbours buy his protection at an exorbitant price. Elephants, wax, and ivory which his own country supplies, and the tributes paid him by his proteges in scented woods and gold dust, open a new source of riches. Besides what he exacts from his tributary Princes, he has established a general capitation, and every man, from eighteen to sixty, pays about eightpence sterling. This tax is less degrading than eight months labour to which every subject and slave is liable. At the death of every possessor, he seizes their lands, and only leaves the children the money and furniture. His revenues are also increased by duties imposed on foreign merchandizes.

The constitution of the kingdom of Cochin-China is wholly military. Their arms are the musket, the bow, and dagger. Their exercise is performed in silence. The chief directs all their evolutions by the motion of his staff: and if he neglects his duty, he is reduced to the rank of a common soldier.

The

The court of the monarch displays all the pomp of Asia. The first dignities of the state are entrusted to eunuchs. The presumptive heir of the throne, has always the command of the naval force, and his private guard consists of five thousand men. His younger brother is generalissimo of the land forces, and has two thousand soldiers for a guard. There is always a standing army to prevent revolts.

Crimes against the Royal Majesty are cruelly punished. The criminal is tied to a stake, and every soldier cuts off a piece of his flesh, till he is made a perfect skeleton. The severity of punishments in a nation shews their inclination to crimes. The law proposes to frighten by the shew of vengeance, and it often only serves to heighten their ferocity.

The soldiers are cloathed in fatin, and the officers in gold or silver velvet.

There are military schools, in which children are educated at the public expence. They have silk robes, and other appurtenances which flatter their vanity, bestowed on them as rewards for distinguishing themselves. Those who neglect their lessons are cloathed in linen.

AN  
 ACCOUNT OF COCHIN-CHINA,  
 IN TWO PARTS.

THE FIRST TREATS OF THE TEMPORAL STATE OF THAT KINGDOM;  
 THE SECOND, OF WHAT CONCERNS THE SPIRITUAL.

WRITTEN IN ITALIAN

By the R. E. CHRISTOPHER BORRI, a Milanese, of the Society of Jesus,  
 Who was one of the first Missionaries in that Kingdom \*.

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TO THE READER.

THIS account is so short, it requires not much preface, or, to say the truth, any at all; a little time sufficing the curious to inform himself of the value and contents of it. Who the author was, appears by the title, and what the cause of his going into that kingdom, his profession and only business being to preach Christianity to the infidels: he lived five years among them, and learned their language to perfection; and therefore his relation is not like those of travellers, who just pass through a country; or merchants, that touch at ports upon the business of trade, and consequently deliver very fabulous accounts, either to make their travels the more surprising, or for want of knowing better, taking things upon hearsay, and not understanding their language to get certain information. This father, on the contrary, frequently conversing with all sorts of people, and having a settled residence there for years, had the opportunity of knowing what he wrote. He gives the description of the kingdom, a considerable part whereof he travelled over: he speaks of its produce, which he had the benefit of for sustenance and cloathing: he tells us the temper and seasons of the air, which he several times felt: he relates the inundations which he often saw: he gives an account of their sects, which he learned from their priests, or *omsais*, whom he converted to Christianity: he sets down the power and government of the kingdom, which he could be no stranger to, being familiar with several men in great authority: and, to conclude, he particularizes how far the Christian faith has been there propagated, which he well knows, as having been himself a labourer in the vineyard for the first five years; and after that, receiving it from those that succeeded him. In fine, the relation is curious, though short, and seems to carry all the air of truth imaginable, besides the general approbation it has always received in all parts, which is the greatest commendation that can be given it.

\* Churchill's Coll. vol. ii.

## PART I.

OF THE TEMPORAL STATE OF THE KINGDOM OF COCHIN-CHINA.

CHAP. I.—*Of the Name, Situation, and Extent of this Kingdom.*

COCHIN-CHINA, so called by the Portuguese, is by the natives called Anam, signifying a western country, because it lies west of China; for which same reason the Japanese in their language give it the name of Cochi, signifying the same as Anam, in the Cochi-Chinese language. But the Portuguese, having by means of the Japanese been admitted to trade in Anam, of the Japanese word Cochi, and this other word China, compounded the name Cochin-China, applying it to this kingdom, as if they called it Cochin of China, the better to distinguish it from Cochin the city in India, inhabited by the Portuguese: and the reason why, in the maps of the world, we generally find Cochin-China set down under the denomination of Cauchin-China, or Cauchina, or the like, is no other but the corruption of the right name, or that the authors of those maps would signify that this kingdom was the beginning of China.

This kingdom on the south borders upon that of Chiampá, in eleven degrees of north latitude, on the north somewhat inclining eastward with Tunchim; on the east is the Chinese sea, and on the west north-west the kingdom of Lais.

As to its extent I shall here speak only of Cochin-China, which is part of the great kingdom of Tunchim, usurped by a King who was grandfather to him now reigning in Cochin-China, who rebelled against the great King of Tunchim: for as yet the Portuguese have traded only in this province, and here only the fathers of the society have been conversant in order to introduce Christianity: yet at the end of this account, I shall discourse concerning some particulars of Tunchim, where our fathers got footing since my return into Europe.

Cochin-China extends above a hundred leagues along the sea, reckoning from the kingdom of Chiampá, in the aforesaid eleven degrees of north latitude, to the gulf of Ainam, in the latitude of seventeen degrees or thereabout, where the King of Tunchim's dominions begin. The breadth is not much, being about twenty miles, all the country plain, shut up on the one side by the sea, and on the other by a ridge of mountains inhabited by the Kemois, which signifies a savage people; for though they are Cochin-Chinese, yet they no way acknowledge or submit to the King, keeping in the fastnesses of the uncouth mountains, bordering on the kingdom of Lais.

Cochin-China is divided into five provinces; the first, bordering on Tunchim, where this King resides, is called Sinuvá; the second Cachiam, here the Prince, the King's son, resides and governs; the third Quamguya; the fourth Quignin, by the Portuguese called Pullucambi; and the fifth, confining on Chiampá, is Renran.

CHAP. II. — *Of the Climate and Nature of the Country of Cochin-China.*

THOUGH this kingdom, as has been said, lies between eleven and seventeen degrees of north latitude; hence it follows of course, that the country is rather hot than cold, and yet it is not so hot as India, though it be in the same latitude, and within the torrid zone. The cause of the difference is, because in India there is no distinction of the four seasons of the year, so that the summer lasts there nine months without intermission, without seeing so much as a cloud either day or night, and therefore the air is continually, as it were, inflamed with the great reflection of the sun beams. The other three months are called winter, not because there is any want of heat, but because at that time it generally rains day and night; and though to appearance such continual rains should naturally cool the air, yet they falling in the three months of May, June, and July, when the sun is in its greatest elevation, and in the zenith of India, and no winds blowing but what are hot, the air continues so inflamed, that sometimes the heat is more intense than in summer, when for the most part there are pleasant winds blowing from the sea, which cool the ground, wherewith, if Almighty God did not relieve those countries, they would be uninhabitable.

But Cochin-China enjoying the distinction of the four seasons, though not in so perfect a manner as Europe, is much more temperate; for though its summer, which comprehends the three months of May, June and July, be violently hot, because it lies within the torrid zone, and because the sun is then in its zenith, yet in September, October, and November, the autumn season, the heat ceases, and the air becomes very temperate by the continual rains, which at this time usually fall upon the mountains of the Kemois, whence the waters running down in abundance so flood the kingdom, that meeting with the sea they seem to be all of a piece. The inundations during these three months, for the most part happen once a fortnight, and last three days at a time. They serve not only to cool the air, but to fertilise the earth, making it fruitful and abundant in all things, but particularly in rice, which is the most common and universal food of the kingdom. During the other three winter months, which are December, January and February, there are cold northerly winds, bringing cool rains, and so sufficiently distinguishing the winter from other seasons. To conclude, in March, April, and May, the effects of spring appear, all things being green and blossoming.

Now since we have spoke of these inundations, I will not conclude this chapter without first observing some curiosities that occur from them.

The first one is, that all men in general wish for them, not only that they may cool the air, but much more for the fertilizing of the earth; for which reason, as soon as they appear, all the people are so pleased and joyful, that they express it by visiting, feasting, and presenting one another, all of them crying, and often repeating, "daden lut, daden lut;" that is the inundation is come, it is here; and this is done by persons of all degrees, even to the King himself.

And as the inundations often come so unexpectedly, that very often when they do not think of it at night, they find themselves the next morning surrounded with water, so that they cannot go out of their houses, throughout the whole kingdom, as has been said; hence it is that abundance of cattle are drowned, for want of time to retire to the mountains, or higher grounds. For this reason there is a pleasant sort of law throughout the kingdom, which is, that if any oxen, goats, swine, or other beasts are drowned, the owner loses them, and they belong to him that first takes them,

them, which causes much sport and jollity; because when the lut happens they all go out in boats to seek the drowned cattle; upon which they afterwards feast and treat one another.

Nor are the younger sort without their pastime; for there being in those fields of rice an infinite number of rats, their nests filling with water, they are forced to swim out and get upon the trees to save themselves; and it is pleasant to see the boughs loaded with rats, like fruit hanging on them. Then do the boys run out in their boats, striving to outdo one another in shaking the trees, that the rats may fall and be drowned; which childish pastime is wonderfully beneficial to the country, delivering it from those mischievous creatures, that otherwise by degrees would devour all the harvest.

In short, the lut causes another considerable advantage, which is, that it affords every body the opportunity of furnishing his house with all necessaries; because the country being all navigable during these three days, commodities are very easily conveyed from one city to another, and therefore then are held the greatest fairs and markets, and with a greater concourse of people than at any other time in the year. Then also it is that they lay in provision of wood to burn and build, bringing it from the mountains in boats, which by this means come into the streets and into the very houses, built for this purpose upon high pillars, that water may have free passage, the people still living during that time in the upper floors; to which it would be surprising if the lut should ever rise, they being built according to the situation of the place, to such a height as they know by long experience is sufficiently above the waters.

### CHAP. III. — *Of the Fruitfulness of the Country.*

IT is an easy matter to conceive the fertility of Cochin-China, by the advantages accruing from the lut; yet we will mention some other particulars relating to it. The lut leaves the land so fruitful, that rice is gathered three times a year in such great plenty and abundance, that there is nobody will work for gain, all persons having enough to live on plentifully.

There are great quantities of fruit of several sorts all the year round; and they are the same with those in India, Cochin-China being within the same climate. But to come to particulars; the oranges there are bigger than ours in Europe, and very full; the rind of them is thin, tender, and so well tasted, that it is eaten with the juice, which has a pleasant relish like lemons in Italy.

There is a sort of fruit which the Portuguese call bananas, and others Indian figs; though, in my judgment, the name of a fig is neither proper to those in India, nor in Cochin-China, because neither the tree nor fruit has any resemblance with our figs; the tree being like that we call Indian wheat, but higher, and the leaves so long and broad, that two of them would serve to wrap a man in quite round, and from head to feet. Hence some have taken occasion to say, that this was the tree in paradise, with the leaves whereof Adam covered himself. This tree at the top produces a cluster of twenty, thirty, or forty of these bananas together; and each of them is in shape, length, and thickness of an indifferent citron in Italy. Before the fruit is ripe the rind is green, but afterwards yellow as the citrons are. There is no need of a knife to pare this fruit, for the rind comes off as we shell beans. This fruit has a most fragrant smell; the pith or flesh of it is yellow and firm, like that of a bergamot pear when full ripe, that melts in the mouth: by this it appears to be no way like our fig, except in the taste and sweetness. There is another sort of them which is only eaten roasted, and with wine; the stem dies every year, when it has produced the fruit, and leaves a  
young

young sprout at the foot, which grows up against the next year. That which in Italy they call an Indian fig, is nothing like the plant or fruit of this banana we now speak of; nor in this which we have in Italy called an Indian fig in those parts. This fruit is common throughout all India. There is another sort in Cochin-China, that is not found in China nor India: it is as big as the largest citrons we have in Italy; so that one of them is enough to satisfy a man. These are nourishing, very white within, and full of black round seeds, which chewed together with the white substance, are of a delicious taste, and a good medicine against the flux.

There is another fruit in Cochin-China, which I have not seen in any other country of India, and this they call can; the outward form and nature of the rind is like our pomegranate; but within it contains a substance almost liquid, which is taken out and eaten with a spoon, the taste is aromatic, and the colour like that of a ripe medlar.

They have another peculiar to the country that grows and is like our cherries, but tastes like raisins, and is called gnoo.

There are also melons, but not so good as ours in Europe, nor are they eaten without sugar or honey. The water-melons are large and delicate.

There is a fruit called giacca, which is common to the other parts of India, but much larger in Cochin-China: it grows on a tree as high as the walnut or chestnut, and has much longer prickles than the jubebe. It is as big as a very large pompion in Italy, so that one of them is a man's load: the outer rind is like that of a pine-apple, but soft and tender within. This fruit is full of certain yellow round kernels, like a small piece of coin that is round and flat; and in the middle of every one of them is a stone that is thrown away. There are two sorts of this fruit; one in Portuguese is called giacca barca; the stone of this is thrown away, and the pulp is stiff: they do not take out the stone of the other, nor is the pulp hard but soft as glue; both these in taste somewhat resemble that delicious fruit called the durion, whereof we shall speak next.

This durion is one of the most delicious fruits in the world, and only found in Malacca, Borneo, and the adjacent islands. The tree differs little from the giacca last mentioned, and the fruit itself is like it without, and that resembles the pine-apple, even in the hardness of the rind. The meat within is very white about the bone, to which it sticks like glue, and tastes very like our mangiare bianco (a dainty among the Italians). This meat and liquor is divided into ten or twelve little apartments, in each of which the flesh and moisture is about its stone, which is as big as a large chestnut. And it is to be observed, that when they break open the shell of this fruit there comes from it an ill scent, like that of a rotten onion, all the substance within remaining of a most sweet and inexpressible flavour; respecting which I will relate what happened in my presence: a prelate arrived at Malacca, and one there opened a durion before him to give him a taste; the prelate was so offended at the nauseous smell that came from it when broke, that he would not taste it by any means. Being afterwards set down to dinner, they gave the rest of the company mangiare bianco, but on this prelate's plate they laid the white substance of this fruit, which is so like the mangiare bianco, that he could not distinguish the difference by the sight. The prelate tasted it, and thought it so much more delicious than usual, that he asked what cook dressed it so rarely? Then he that had invited him to dinner, smiling, told him it was no other cook but God himself, who had produced that fruit, which was the very durion he would not taste. The prelate was so astonished that he thought he could never eat enough; and they are so dear, that even at Malacca, where they grow, they sometimes cost a crown a piece.

Cochin-China abounds in another sort of fruit, by the Portuguese called ananas; which, though it be common to all India and Brazil, yet because I have not found it

well described by those that have written of it, I would not pass it by. This fruit does not grow on a tree, nor from a seed, but on a stalk, like our artichokes, and the stem and leaves are much like those of the thistle or artichoke. The fruit is like a cylinder, a span long, and so thick that it requires both hands to grasp it. The pulp within is close and like a radish, the rind somewhat hard, scaly like a fish. When ripe it is yellow both within and without, is pared with a knife, and eaten raw, the taste of it a sharp sweet, and as soft as a full ripe bergamot pear.

There is besides in Cochin-China a fruit peculiar to that country, which the Portuguese call areca. The trunk of it is as straight as a palm-tree, hollow within, and produces leaves like those of the palm, only at the top among these leaves there grow some small boughs, which bear the fruit, in shape and bigness like a walnut, green without just as the nut is; within it is white and hard like a chesnut, and has no taste at all. This fruit is not eaten alone, but is wrapped up in leaves of betle, well known in India, which are like our ivy-leaves in Europe, and the plant itself clings to trees like the ivy. These leaves are cut in pieces, and in them they wrap a bit of areca, each of them making four or five morsels; and with the areca they put some lime, which is not there made of stone as in Europe, but of oyster-shells; and as among us there are cooks and caterers, &c. so in Cochin-China there is one in every family whose business is to wrap up these morsels of areca in betle, and these persons being commonly women, are called betleres. They fill their boxes with these morsels, and chew them all day, not only when they are at home but when they are walking or talking, at all times and in all places, never swallowing but spitting them out when they are well chewed, retaining nothing but the relish and virtue of it, which wonderfully comforts the stomach. These morsels are so much in use, that when a person goes to make a visit he carries a box full of them, and presently offers some to the party visited, who puts it into his mouth; and before the visitor departs, he that is visited sends to his betler woman for a box of the same, and presents it to the visitor to return his kindness; and these morsels must be still making. There is so much of this areca used, that the greatest revenues of that country come from the fields of it, as among us of olive-gardens, and the like.

Tobacco is also used there, but not so much as betle. The country also abounds in all sorts of pompions, and sugar-canes. The European fruits are not yet come thither; but I believe grapes and figs would take very well. Our herbs, as lettuce, endive, colworts, and the like, come up well in Cochin-China, as they do throughout all India: but they all grow into leaves, without producing any seed, so that it must still be supplied out of Europe.

There is also great plenty of flesh, by reason of the great multitude not only of tame cattle, as cows, goats, swine, buffaloes, and the like; but of wild, such as deer, much bigger than those of Europe, wild boars, &c.; and of hens, both tame and wild, of which sort the fields are full, turtles, pigeons, ducks, geese, and cranes, which are savoury enough; and, in short, other sorts, which we have not in Europe.

Their fishery is very great, and fish so delicious that, though I have travelled so many countries, I do not think I have met with any to be compared to that of Cochin-China. And the country, as was said before, lying all along upon the sea, there are so many boats go out a-fishing, and they bring in so much fish to all parts of the kingdom, that it is really very remarkable to see the long rows of people continually carrying fish from the shore to the mountains; which is duly done every day for four hours before sun-rising. And though generally among the Cochin-Chinese fish is more valued than flesh, yet the chief reason why they apply themselves so much to fishing is to furnish

themselves with a kind of sauce, which they call *balachiam*, which is made of salt-fish macerated and steeped in water. This is a sharp liquor, not unlike mustard, whereof every body lays in such store, that they fill barrels and tubs of it, as many in Europe lay in their stocks of wine. This of itself is no food, but serves to sharpen the appetite to the rice, which they cannot eat without it. For this reason, though rice be the general and most common sustenance in Cochin-China, there must be vast quantities of *balachiam*, without which it is not eaten, and consequently there is continual fishing. There is no less plenty of shell-fish, oysters, and other product of the sea, especially of one sort, which they call *cameron*. (I suppose this to be the Portuguese word *camerano*, signifying shrimps or prawns.)

Besides all this, Providence has furnished them with a sort of food so rare and delicate that, in my opinion, it may be compared to the manna wherewith the chosen people of God were fed in the desert. This is so peculiar to Cochin-China, that it is no where else to be found: and I will give an account of what I know of it by experience, and not by hear-say, having seen and eaten of it several times.

In this country there is found a small bird like a swallow, which fastens its nest to the rocks the sea-waves break against. This little creature with its beak takes up some of the foam of the sea, and mixing it with a certain moisture it draws from its own stomach, makes a sort of slime, or bituminous substance, which serves to build its nest, which, when dry and hardened, remains transparent, and of a colour between green and yellow. The country-people gather these nests, and being softened in water, they serve to season meat, whether fish, flesh, herbs, or any sort whatsoever; and give every thing so different a relish, and so proper to it, as if they had been seasoned with pepper, cinnamon, cloves and the richest spice; this nest alone being enough to season all sorts of provisions without salt, oil, bacon or any other addition; and, therefore, I said I thought it like manna, which had in it the taste of all the most delicious meats, except that this is the work of a small bird, and that was made by God's angels. Such great store of them is found, that I myself saw ten small boats laden with nests taken among the rocks, at not above a mile's distance. But they being so precious a commodity, the King only deals in them, they being all kept for him; and his greatest vent is to the King of China, who values them at a high rate.

They eat no sort of white meats, looking upon it as a sin to milk the cows or other creatures: and the reason they give for this nicety is, that milk was by nature appointed for sustenance of the young ones: as if the owner of the young ones could not dispose of their sustenance. They eat some things which we loath and count venomous, as camelcons, which are here somewhat bigger than those that are sometimes brought dried up into Italy out of other countries. I saw a friend buy some tied together in a cluster, and lay them upon the live coals, which having burnt the string, they walked about gently as they used to do till they felt the heat of the fire; they being of a violent cold nature resisted awhile, but were at last broiled: my friend took them up, and scraping off the burnt skin with a knife, the flesh remained extraordinary white; then he bruised and boiled them in a certain sort of sauce like butter, and then eat them as a great dainty, inviting me to partake with him: but I had enough with the sight of it.

Cochin-China abounds in all other things necessary for the support of human life; and in the first place for cloathing: there is such a plenty of silk, that the peasants and mechanics generally wear it; so that I was often pleased to see men and women at their labour, carrying stone, earth, lime or the like, without the least fear of tearing or spoiling the rich clothes they had on. Nor will it be wondered at, when it is mentioned

that the mulberry trees, whose leaves feed the silk worms, grow in vast plains, as hemp does amongst us, and run up as fast; so that in a few months the worms appear upon them, and feed in the open air, spinning their thread at the proper time, and winding their bottoms in such plenty, that the Cochin-Chinese have not only enough for their own use, but they furnish Japan, and send it into the kingdom of Lais, whence it afterwards spreads as far as Tibet. This silk is not so fine and soft, but stronger and more substantial than that of China.

The structures the Cochin-Chinese use of wood, are nothing inferior to those of any other part of the world; for without falsifying, this country has the best timber in the universe, in the opinion of all that have been there to this time. Among the variety and multitude of their trees, there are two that most usually serve for building, and are so incorruptible, that they do not decay in the least, either under ground or under water; and they are so solid and heavy, that they do not swim upon the water, and a log of them serves instead of an anchor to a ship. One of them is black, but not so as ebony; the other is red, and both of them when the bark is taken off are so smooth and sleek that they scarce need any planing. These trees are called tin, and it would not be deviating much from the truth to say they were that incorruptible wood which Solomon made use of for building the temple: for we know the scripture gives them a name much like this, calling them ligna thyina. The mountains of Cochin-China are all full of these trees, all straight, of such a prodigious height, that they seem to touch the clouds, and so thick that two men cannot fathom them. Of this timber the Cochin-Chinese build their houses, every man being free to cut down as many as he pleases.

The whole fabric of their houses rests upon high, solid, and well settled pillars, between which they place boards to remove at pleasure; either to exchange them for cane lattices, which they weave neatly, to let in the air in hot weather; or to leave a free passage for the water and boats, at the time of the inundation, as we observed above. They have also a thousand curious inventions, and ingenious contrivances to set off their houses with carving, and other works on wood, which are a very great ornament.

Since we have begun to talk of trees, before we proceed upon any other matter, I will here mention something of a sort of wood, accounted the richest commodity that can be carried out of Cochin-China to other parts; which is the most famous wood called aquila, or eagle-wood, and calamba; which are the same thing as to the tree, but differ in their value and virtue. Of these trees, which are thick and high enough, the Kemois mountains are very full; if the wood be cut off a young tree, it proves aquila or eagle-wood, and of this there is great abundance, every one cutting as much as he can: but when the wood is of an old tree, that proves calamba; which were very hard to be found, had not nature itself provided for it, causing these same trees to grow on the tops of inaccessible mountains, where growing old without being exposed to destruction, some boughs of them now and then drop down, breaking off, either for want of moisture, or through age, and are therefore found rotten and worm-eaten, infinitely exceeding the common aquila or eagle-wood, in virtue and sweet scent; and this is the so highly valued and famous calamba. The aquila is sold by any body, but the calamba belongs only to the King, because of the high value of its perfume and virtue. And to say the truth, it is so sweet where they gather it, that some pieces being presented to me, by way of experiment, I buried them above a yard and a half under ground, and yet they discovered themselves by their fragrancy. The calamba where taken, is worth five ducats a pound; but in the port of Cochin-

China, where the trade is, it bears a much greater price, and is not sold under sixteen ducats a pound. In Japan it is worth two hundred ducats a pound; but if there be a piece big enough for a man to lay his head on like a pillow, the Japanese will give at the rate of three or four hundred ducats a pound: the reason of which is, because they instead of a soft down pillow, when they sleep, lay their head on some hard thing, and generally it is a piece of wood, which every one according to his ability, endeavours to have of as great value as he can; and a piece of calamba is looked upon as a pillow fit for none but a King, or some great lord. Yet the aquila, though of less price and esteem than the calamba, is so considerable, that one ship's load of it enriches any merchant for ever, and the best advantage the King can allow the governor of Malacca, is to grant him one voyage of aquila; because Brahmans and Banians of India burning their dead with this sweet wood, the consumption of it is continually very great.

To conclude, Cochin-China abounds in rich mines of the most precious metals, especially gold; and to reduce to a few words what might be said more at large of the plenty of this country, I will conclude with that which the European merchants trading thither commonly say of it; which is, that in some measure the wealth of Cochin-China is greater than that of China itself; and we all know how rich that country is in all respects.

I ought in this place to say something of the beasts, whereof we before observed there was a great variety and numbers in Cochin-China; but that I may not dilate too much, I will only treat of the elephants and abadas, or rhinoceroses, chiefly found here; of which many curious things may be said, which perhaps very many have not heard off.

#### CHAP. IV. — *Of the Elephants and Abadas, or Rhinoceroses.*

THERE are abundance of elephants in the woods of Cochin-China, which they make no use of, because they know not how to take or tame them: therefore they bring them tame and well taught from Cambogia, a neighbouring kingdom. These are twice as big as those of India, the round print of their feet they leave behind them being not less than half a yard diameter; the two teeth sticking out of the mouth, whereof ivory is made, are very often four yards and a half long; that is those of the males, for those of the females are much shorter; by which it is easy to compute, how much those elephants of Cochin-China are bigger than those shewn about in Europe, whose teeth are not above three quarters of a yard long. The elephants live many years; and I asking how old one might be, the driver of it told me, it was sixty years old before it came from Cambogia, and had lived forty in Cochin-China: and having myself several times travelled upon elephants in that kingdom I can relate many things that will seem strange, but yet are very true.

An elephant generally carries thirteen or fourteen persons, who are thus disposed of: as we lay a saddle on a horse, so they clap a certain machine upon the elephant, which is like a coach, wherein there are four seats; it is fastened with chains under the elephant's belly, as a horse's saddle is girt. The coach has two doors on the sides; where six persons sit, three on a side, and another behind where there are two more; and lastly the nayre, who supplies the place of a coachman, sits over the elephant's head and guides him. Nor have I travelled in this manner by land only, but very often by sea too, crossing arms of it above a mile over; and it is wonderful to any body that knew it not before, to see such a vast great lump of flesh swimming under  
such

such a weight, so that it looked like a boat rowing. True it is, the beast groaned under the toil, occasioned by the unreasonable bulk of his own body, and the difficulty of breathing; and therefore to ease itself in that pain, it sucked in water with the trunk, and spouted it out so high, that it looked like some great whale gliding along the ocean.

For the same reason of its mighty corpulency, it finds much difficulty in stooping down; and this being absolutely necessary for the convenience of passengers to get up to or down from the coach, he does it not but when commanded by the nayre; and if when he is kneeling, any one stops but never so little, upon ceremony, or any other account, he rises up, not having patience to continue in that posture, it is so painful.

Nor is it less wonderful to behold, how at the nayre's command he makes, as it were, a ladder of his limbs for the greater convenience of those that are to get up into the coach: the first step is his foot, which is high enough; for the second he turns out the first joint above the same foot, distant enough from the other; for the third he bends his knee; for the fourth his hip-bone, sticking out to that purpose; and from whence he that gets up, lays hold of a chain fastened to the coach itself, where he seats himself.

By this it plainly appears how much they are mistaken who say and write that the elephant can neither kneel nor bow down; and that the only way to take him, is to cut the tree he leans against to sleep; for that falling together with the false support, and not being able to rise, he becomes a certain prey to him that lies in wait; which is all a fable, though it be true he lies not down to sleep, that being an uneasy posture to him as has been said, but sleeps always standing, with a continual agitation of his head.

Upon occasion of war or battle, they take off the roof of the coach, whence, as it were from a tower, the soldiers fight with muskets, arrows, and sometimes a small piece of cannon, the elephant being strong enough to carry it, his strength being answerable to all the rest: and I have seen one myself, that would carry vast weights upon his trunk, and another that lifted up a great piece of cannon with it, and another who by himself launched ten galliots one after another, taking hold of them very dexterously with his teeth, and shoving them into the sea. I have seen others pull up large trees with as much ease as we do a cabbage or a lettuce: with the same ease they throw down houses, levelling whole streets when they are commanded, either to do harm to an enemy in war, or to stop the fury of the flames upon occasion of any fire.

The length of the trunk is proportionable to the height of the rest of his body, so that he can take up any thing with it off the ground without stooping. It is made of abundance of small sinews knit together, which makes it so pliable, that he can take up the least thing, and yet so strong and firm as we have shewn.

All the body is covered with a rough ash coloured skin. An elephant's usual day's journey is twelve leagues, and his motion has the same effect upon those that are not used to it, as that of a ship at sea.

I shall say nothing more wonderful concerning the elephant's docility, or aptness to learn, than what is generally reported; by which it will appear there was reason to say, "no beast was more sensible than the elephant;" for it does such things as seem to be the acts of prudence and understanding. In the first place, though the nayre makes use of a certain instrument of iron a yard long, which has a hook at one end wherewith he strikes and punches him, that he may be watchful, and mind what he

he bids him to do, yet for the most part he governs him only by words; by which it appears he understand the language very well; and some of them understands three or four that are very different, according to the several countries they have lived in. Thus he that I travelled on, seemed to understand the language of Cambogia, whence he came, and that of Cochin-China where he was. And who would not admire to hear the nayre discourse with his elephant, tell him the way and road he is to take, what place he is to pass by, what inn they are to lie at, what they shall there find to eat, and in short, give him an exact account of all that is to be done during the journey; and to see the elephant perform what he expects from him, as regularly as any man of good sense could do; inasmuch that when the elephant seems to have understood what place he was to go to, he takes the shortest cut to it, without minding the beaten road, rivers, woods, or mountains, but goes on, not doubting to overcome all difficulties, as in effect he does; for if any rivers be in the way, he either fords or swims them; if woods, he breaks the bows of the trees, pulls them up whole, or cuts them with a sharp iron like a scythe, which for this purpose is fastened to the fore part of the top of the coach, wherewith upon occasion having first laid old of the boughs, he cuts them with his trunk, and makes himself way, cutting through the thickest forest, where it is easily known to have been an elephant that made the way; and all this he does with great ease and expedition in obedience to the nayre.

One only thing that disturbs this creature, and puts it to great pain is, when a thorn or such like runs into the sole of his foot, which is extraordinary soft and tender, and therefore he treads very cautiously, when he goes through places where there may be danger of such an accident. I once went a journey with seven or eight elephants in company, and heard the nayres every one warn his own beast, to look out carefully where he set his feet; for they were to pass over a sandy place about a mile in length, where thorns grew up among the sand; upon this intimation all the elephants held down their heads, and looking out as it were, for some small thing that is lost, they walked that mile very cautiously, step by step, till being told there was no more to fear, they lifted up their heads, going on as they had done at first. Being come at night to the inn, the nayres sent the elephants to the wood to feed, without taking the coach off their backs; and I asking why they did not take it down, they answered, that the elephants fed on the boughs of the trees, and therefore they left the coach on their backs that they might cut them with that iron we mentioned was before it. The next day being come where there was no wood, every nayre carried a large bundle of green boughs for his elephant. I took particular satisfaction in observing one, who, more nimbly than the rest, laying hold of those boughs with his trunk, barked them with his teeth, and then eat them up as quick, and with as good a gust as we would a fig, or any other sort of fruit. Discoursing the next day with my fellow travellers, who were about twenty, I told him how much I was pleased to see that elephant eat the boughs so cleverly. Then the nayre, by order of the elephant's master, called him by his name, which was Gnin, he being at some distance, but presently lifted up his head to give ear to what was said to him; "Recollect," said the nayre, "that father, the passenger that looked upon you yesterday when you was eating; take such a bough as one of them was, and come before him as you did yesterday." No sooner had the nayre spoke the words, but the elephant came before me with a bough in his trunk, singling me out among all the company, shewed it me, barked, and eat it, then inclining himself very low, he went away, as it were laughing, making signs of joy and satisfaction; leaving me full of astonishment, to see that a  
beast

beast should be so apt to understand, and do what it was commanded. Yet the elephant is obedient to none but the nayre, or his master; and he will only endure to see them get upon him; for if he should see any other person mount, there were danger that he would throw down the coach with his trunk, and kill him; and therefore when any body is to get up, the nayre generally covers his eyes with his ears, which are very large and ill shaped.

If at any time the elephant does not obey so readily as he should, the nayre beats him cruelly on the middle of his forehead, standing himself all the while upright on his head. One time when I was upon him, with several others, the nayre beat him in this manner, and every stroke he gave him, it appeared as if we should have been all thrown down headlong. Generally they give him six or seven strokes on the middle of the forehead, but with such force, that the elephant quakes, and yet bears all patiently. There is only one time when he obeys neither the nayre, nor any other person, which is, when on a sudden he is inflamed with lust; for then, being quite beside himself, he bears with nobody, but lays hold of the coach with all that are in it, killing, destroying, and beating every thing to pieces. But the nayre by certain signs discovers it a little before it comes on and getting down speedily with all the passengers, unloads him, taking down the coach, and leaves him alone in some bye place till that fury be over; after which, being sensible of his error, and as it were ashamed of himself, he goes with his head low to receive the blows that are to be given him, thinking he has deserved them.

Formerly the elephants were of great use in war, and those armies were formidable that carried great troops of them into the field; but since the Portuguese found out the way of using artificial fireworks to them, they are rather hurtful than otherwise; for not being able to endure those sparks of fire which get into their eyes, they betake themselves to flight, breaking their own armies, killing and confounding all that stand in their way.

The tame elephant fights with only two creatures, which are the wild elephant, and the abada, or rhinoceros; the latter it overcomes, by the first is generally conquered. The rhinoceros is a beast of shape between a horse and an ox, but as big as one of the smallest elephants, covered all over with scales, as it were so many plates of armour. He has but one horn in the middle of the forehead, which is straight and pyramidal, and his feet and hoofs are like those of an ox. When I was at Nuocmon, a city in the province of Pulucambi, the governor went out to hunt a rhinoceros, that was in a wood near our dwelling place. He had with him above a hundred men, some on foot, and some on horseback, and eight or ten elephants. The rhinoceros came out of the wood, and seeing so many enemies, was so far from giving any tokens of fear, that it furiously encountered them all; who opened and making a lane, let the rhinoceros run through: it came to the rear, where the governor was a-top of his elephant, waiting to kill it; the elephant endeavours to lay hold with his trunk, but could not by reason of the rhinoceros's swiftness and leaping, and striving to wound the elephant with its horn. The governor knowing it could receive no hurt, on account of its scales, unless when struck on the side, waited till leaping it laid open the vulnerable part, and casting a dart, dexterously struck it through from side to side, with great applause and satisfaction of all the multitude of spectators; who without any more to do, laid it upon a great pile of wood, and setting fire to it, leaped and danced about whilst the scales were burning and flesh roasting, cutting pieces as it roasted, and eating them. Of the entrails, that is, the heart, liver, and brain, they made a more dainty dish, and gave it to the governor, who was upon a rising ground  
diverting

diverting himself with their merriment. I being present, obtained the hoofs from the governor; which are looked upon to have the same quality and virtue, as the claws of the great beast (or hoof of the elk), and so the horn is good against poison, as that of the unicorn.

CHAP. V. — *Of the Qualities, Customs, and Manners of the Cochin-Chinese; of their Way of living, their Habit and Cures.*

THE Cochin-Chinese are in colour like the Chinese; that is, inclining to an olive-colour: I mean those that are nearest the sea; for those up the inland, as far as Tonquin, are as white as Europeans. The shape of their faces is exactly like the Chinese, with flat noses, small eyes, but of an indifferent stature, not so short as the Japanese, nor so tall as the Chinese. Yet they are stronger and more active than either of them, and braver than the Chinese, but are outdone by the Japanese in one thing, which is the contempt of life in danger and battle; the Japanese seeming to make no account of life, nor to apprehend the least fear of death.

The Cochin-Chinese are naturally the most courteous and affable of all the eastern nations; and though on the one side they value themselves much upon their valour, yet on the other they look upon it as a great shame to suffer themselves to be transported with passion. And whereas all the other eastern nations, looking upon the Europeans as a profane people, do naturally abhor them, and therefore fly from us when we first come among them: in Cochin-China it happens quite contrary; for they strive who shall be nearest us, ask a thousand questions, invite us to eat with them, and in short use all manner of courtesy with much familiarity and respect. So it happened to me and my companions when we first came there, being as it were among friends of an old standing. This is a very good disposition to facilitate the preaching of the gospel.

This loving and easy disposition is the cause of much concord among them, they all treating one another as familiarly as if they were brothers or of the same family, though they have never known or seen one another before; and it would be looked upon as a most vile action, if one man eating any thing, though ever so little should not share with all about him, giving every one a bit. They are also naturally kind and free hearted to the poor, to whom it is customary among them never to deny alms, when asked; and it would be reputed a great fault to deny it, as if it were due to them. Thus it happened, that some strangers escaping from a shipwreck in a port in Cochin-China, and not knowing the language to make known their want, but learning only this word, doii, which signifies, I am hungry: when the natives saw strangers at their doors, crying out doii, as if the greatest misfortune in the world had befallen them, every one strove to be before another in giving them something to eat; so that in a short time they gathered so much provision, that a ship being afterwards given them by the King to return to their country, they took such an affection to that country, where they found all things for their sustenance at such an easy rate, that not a man of them would go away. So that the captain of the ship was forced to drive them aboard with many blows and cuts, which he effectually did, loading the ship with rice they had gathered only by going about, crying, I am hungry.

But as ready as the Cochin-Chinese are to give, so are they as apt, if not more, to ask for any thing they see, so soon as ever they cast their eye on a thing that is new to them, and curious, they say, "schin mocaï;" that is, give me one of these things; and it is such a rudeness to refuse them, though the thing be rare and precious, that

whosoever should do it, would be ever after looked upon as a vile person; so that a man must either hide, or be ready to give what he shews. A Portuguese merchant disliking this uncommon custom, as not used to it, resolved, since every one asked of him whatsoever he saw, to do the same with them; accordingly he came to a poor fisherman's boat, and laying hold of a pannier full of fish, in the country language said to him, "schin mocaii;" the honest man made no answer, but gave him all the pannier as it was, for him to carry home, as he did, admiring the liberality of the Cochin-Chinese; but taking compassion on the poor fisherman he afterwards paid him the full value of it.

The manner of breeding and civility of the Cochin-Chinese is more or less the same with that of the Chinese, always punctually observing all niceties; we know these latter observe between superiors and inferiors, equals, and the respect due to old persons, ever preferring the eldest, of what degree soever, and giving them preference before the younger. Wherefore some of those gentlemen coming often a visiting to our house, though the interpreter told them that a father we had there, somewhat older than the rest, was not our superior, yet they could never be brought to pay their respect to the young superior, before the old man. In every house, though ever so poor, the Cochin-Chinese have three sorts of seats; the first and meanest, is a mat upon the bare floor, on which persons of equal quality sit, as those that are of the same family. The next is a low stool, covered with a very fine mat; which is for persons of better account. The third, is a couch about three quarters of a yard high, on which only the lords and governors of places sit, or persons dedicated to the divine service, and on this they always make our fathers sit.

This good nature and civility of the Cochin-Chinese makes them so courteous to strangers, whom they allow to live according to their own laws, and to wear what clothes they please; and so they praise their customs and admire their doctrine frankly, preferring them before their own, quite contrary to the Chinese, who despise all but their own customs and doctrine.

As for their habit, we have before observed that it is the general custom in Cochin-China to wear silk, it only remains to speak of the fashion of their cloaths. To begin with the women: I think it the most modest garb of all India; for even in the hottest weather, they suffer no part of the body to be uncovered: they wear five or six petticoats, one over another, all of several colours; the first reaches to the ground, which they trail along with such gravity and state that the tips of their toes are not seen; the second is half a span shorter than the first, the third shorter than that, and so one over another, so that all the several colours appear; and this is the women's habit from the waist downwards; for on their bodies they wear doublets checkered of several colours; over all they have a veil, but so thin, that though it covers them, yet it is transparent, and shews all their gaiety with modesty, and makes a beauteous majestic appearance. Their hair is loose, spreading over their shoulders, so long that it reaches to the ground, and the longer the greater beauty it is reckoned. On their head they wear such a broad cap, that it covers all the face, so that they cannot see above four or five paces before them; and these caps are interwoven with silk and gold, according to the quality of the person. The women when met, are not obliged to any other return of civility, but to lift up the brims of their caps, so much as their face may be seen. The men, instead of breeches, swathe themselves with a whole piece of stuff, putting on over them five or six long and large gowns all of fine silk, and of several colours, with wide sleeves, like those of the monks of the order of St. Benedict; and these gowns, from the waist downwards, are all slashed curiously, so that as a man

moves he makes a shew of all these several colours together, and if any wind blows to lift them up, they look like peacocks with their fine feathers spread abroad.

They let their hair grow as the women do, down to their heels, and wear the same sort of hats or broad caps. Those who have any beard, and they are but few, never cut it; being in this like the Chinese, as they are in suffering the nails of their hands to grow, which the people of note never pare; this being a mark of distinction between them and the commonalty, who always keep them short for the conveniency of their trades; whereas the gentry have them so long, that they cannot grasp any thing small in their hands. Nor can they approve of our fashion of cutting our hair and nails; being of opinion, that they were given by nature as an ornament to man: so that some discourse arising once concerning hair, they started an objection, which was not so easy at first to answer, saying: "If the Saviour of the world, whom in your actions you profess yourselves to imitate, wore his hair long, after the manner of the Nazarites, as you yourselves do affirm, and shew by your pictures, why do not you do so too?" adding, "that our Saviour's wearing long hair demonstrated it to be the better fashion." But at last they were satisfied with the answer we made, that this imitation did not consist in the outward dress.

The scholars and doctors are somewhat more gravely clad, without so many colours and flashes, and therefore cover all their gowns with one of black damask. They also wear a thing like a stole about their necks, and a blue silk maniple on their arms, covering their heads with caps made after the manner of mitres.

Both men and women carry fans in their hands, rather for ornament than use, and they are not unlike those the women in Europe use. For mourning, as we Europeans use black, they wear white. They never uncover their heads in saluting, that being looked upon as an uncivil action: in this they agree with the Chinese, among whom that custom is reputed so unmannerly, that to comply with them in this particular, the fathers of the society were forced to obtain leave of Pope Paul the Fifth to celebrate the holy sacrifice of the mass covered. In short, the Cochin-Chinese wear neither shoes nor stockings, only saving their feet with leather soles fastened across the toes with silk, like sandals, nor do they think it indecent to go quite barefoot; and though going shod or unshod they are apt to dirty their feet, they value it not, their being in every house at the door of the chief room, a large pan of clean water, in which they wash their feet, leaving there those soles or sandals, and taking them again when they go away, because they cannot dirty their feet, all the floors being covered with mats.

The Cochin-Chinese not being so fond of their own customs as to despise those of strangers, as the Chinese do, our fathers in those parts have no occasion to change their habit, wherein they differ but little from the generality of all India. They wear a thin cotton cassock, which they call chingon, and is generally blue, without any cloak, or other upper garment. They have no shoes, neither after the European nor country fashion; the first they cannot get, because there is nobody knows how to make them; and the latter they cannot endure, because of the pain it is to any one that is not used to it, to have his toes spread at a distance from one another, by the buttons that fasten them on, and therefore they choose, as the less evil, to go quite barefoot, though it exposes them to continual pains in the bowels, especially at first, by reason of the dampness of the country, and their not being used to it. True it is, that in time nature complies, and the skin grows so hard, that it is no pain to walk upon stones or briars. When I returned to Macao, I could not endure shoes, feeling them a weight and incumbrance to my feet.

The chief sustenance of the Cochin-Chinese is rice; and it is wonderful, that though the country abounds in flesh, fowl, fish, and fruit, of so many several sorts, yet when they eat, they first fill their belly with rice, and then taste of other things, as it were for fashion's sake. They make more account of rice than we do of bread, and that it may not clog them, they eat it alone without any seasoning of salt, sugar, oil, or butter, but boiled in so much water as will keep it from burning, so that the grain remains whole, only softened and moistened. For this very reason that the rice is not seasoned, it is the easier of digestion, and therefore those who live upon rice, as they do in the East, commonly eat it at least four times a-day, and a great quantity of it to support nature. The Cochin-Chinese eat sitting cross-legged on the ground, with a round table before them, breast-high, with mouldings, or adorned with silver or gold, according to the people's quality or wealth: it is not very large, because the custom is for every man to have one to himself; so that at a feast, as many guests as there are so many tables are provided, and the same is done when they dine privately; only, sometimes man and wife, or father and son, will make a shift with the same table. They neither use knives nor forks; of the first they have no need, as every thing is brought up from the kitchen cut into small bits; the place of the last is supplied by two little sticks, wherewith they neatly and very readily take up any thing; nor have they any need of napkins, for they never foul their hands nor touch any thing with them.

There are frequent invitations among neighbours, and at these entertainments they provide other sorts of dishes than what we have hitherto spoken of; for they make no account of rice, supposing every man has enough of that at home; and though he that treats be never so poor, he does not come off with credit, unless every guest's table be served with at least an hundred dishes; and it being the custom to invite all their friends, kindred and neighbours, there is no feast where there is less than thirty, forty, fifty, sometimes a hundred, and even two hundred guests. I was once myself at a solemn entertainment, at which no less than two thousand were feasted, and therefore these banquets must be made in the country, that there may be room for so many tables. Nor must any one be surpris'd that the tables being small, they are furnished with a hundred dishes at least; for upon these occasions they very curiously make frames of sugar canes on the table, on which they dispose of the said dishes; and there must be in them all the varieties of meat the country produces, as well flesh as fish, and butcher's meat as fowl, wild and tame creatures, with all sorts of fruit the season affords; for if but one were wanting, it would be a great fault in the entertainer, and they would not count it a feast. The men of quality that are invited eat first, being waited on by their chief servants. When the masters have tasted of all they like best, the principal servants take their places and eat, being waited on by the inferior sort; then these succeed in their places, and because all of them are not able to consume such plenty, and according to custom all the dishes must be emptied, when these are satisfied, then the very meanest servants of every great man come in, and do not only eat their belly full, but put up all the fragments in bags they carry for that purpose, and carry them home, where they merrily divide it among the boys, and other mean fry, and so the feast ends.

Cochin-China produces no grapes, and therefore instead of wine they drink a liquor distilled from rice, which tastes like brandy, and resembles it in colour and harshness, spirit and briskness, and they have such plenty of it, that all people in general drink as much as they will, and are as drunk as people are among us with wine. Graver

persons mix that liquor with some other water distilled from calamba, which gives it a delicious smell, and is a delicate composition.

Between meals they drink hot water, wherein they boil the root of an herb they call chia, from which the liquor is named. It is cordial, and helps to dispel humours from the stomach, and promote digestion. The Japanese and Chinese use such a sort of drink, but in China, instead of the root they boil the leaves of the herb; and in Japan a powder made of the same leaves; however, the effect is the same, and they all call it chia.

Amidst this great plenty of meat, and abundance of provisions, it is incredible how much hunger and thirst we Europeans endure; not so much for want of food, as because we are not used to that diet, nature finding a very great want of bread and wine; and I believe the Cochin-Chinese would be in the same condition, should they come into Europe, where they would be deprived of their usual sustenance of rice, though they had plenty of other delicate provisions. To this purpose, I will not omit to relate what happened to us with a governor of Cochin-China; he being a friend of ours, was invited by us to eat at our house, and the more to shew our affection, we endeavoured to have several dishes dressed for him after the European manner. He sat down to table, and when we expected he should acknowledge our kindness, commend the cookery, and thank us for the variety, as we had been at much trouble about it, when he had tasted them all, he could not eat of any one, though out of civility he strove against his stomach; and we were obliged to dress more meat according to the country fashion, the best we could, whereof he afterwards eat very favourily, to his own and our satisfaction. Yet Providence does not neglect a thousand ways to support those that undergo these hardships for the preaching of the gospel, finding means, even in this world, to requite what they suffer for the sake of God, as happens in this particular of food, as was before said of going barefoot; for by degrees nature becomes familiar with it, and so habituated to the custom of the country, that it seems strange on returning to its first ways. This happened to me, who, when I returned from thence, coveted nothing but the rice of Cochin-China, which I thought satisfied me more than any other thing.

As for physicians, and their mode of practice, there are abundance of doctors, not only Portuguese but natives; and it often is experimentally known, that the country physicians easily cure several diseases, which the European physicians know not how to treat; so it sometimes happens, that after our physicians have given over a patient, they call in one of the country, and he cures him.

The physicians of the country follow this sort of practice: being come to the patient's bed-side, they stay a little to settle themselves after the motion of coming; then they feel the pulse for a long while together, very attentively, and with much consideration; after which they usually say, "you have such a distemper," and if incurable they honestly say, "I have no cure for this disease," which is a sign the patient will die. If they find the disease curable they say, "I have a medicine that will cure him: and I will do it in so many days." Then they agree what they are to have if they cure the sick man, bargaining the best they can, and sometimes they draw up writings to bind the contract. After this the physician himself prepares the medicine, without the help of an apothecary, for which reason there are none in the country; and this they do that they may not discover the secret of the art they practice, and because they will not trust another to put together the ingredients they prescribe. If the patient recovers within the time appointed, as generally happens, he  
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pays the price agreed on ; if he miscarries, the physician loses his labour and medicines.

The medicines they give are not like ours, which cause a loathing and are laxative ; but theirs are palatable as their broths, and nourishing without any other sustenance, which makes them give the patient several doses in a day, as we give broth at so many hours interval ; and these do not alter the course of nature but only assist its usual operations, dispersing the peccant humours, without wracking the patient.

I remember an occurrence worth relating in this place : a Portuguese falling sick, sent for the European physicians, who having used their endeavours, gave him over. When they were gone, a physician of the country was called, who undertook to cure him in so many days, strictly enjoining him, whilst he was under his hands, to have nothing to do with women, upon pain of certain death, from which the virtue of his medicine could not deliver him. They agreed upon the price, and the physician undertook to cure him in thirty days. The patient took the medicines prescribed to him, and in a few days found himself so well recovered, that he was not afraid to transgress the physician's injunction ; who, coming to visit him, by the alteration of his pulse discovered the sick man's incontinency, and bid him prepare to die, because there was no cure for him ; but that he should pay him his money, since it was none of his fault that he must die. The case was tried, the sick man was adjudged to pay, and so he died.

Bleeding is also used but not so much as in Europe ; nor is it done with a steel lancet, but they have abundance of goose quills, in which they fix some bits of fine porcelain, made sharp and shaped like the teeth of a saw, some bigger, some less, of several sizes ; when they are to let blood, they apply one of these quills to the vein, proportionable to the size of it, and giving it a fillip with the finger, open the vein, only so much of the porcelain entering as is requisite ; and what is most wonderful, when they have drawn the blood, they use no fillet or binding to stop it ; but wetting their thumb with spittle they press the orifice, so that the flesh returning to the place whence it was parted, the blood is stopt, and runs out no more, which I suppose to proceed from the manner of opening the vein, as it were sawing it with the indented porcelain, and therefore it closes again the easier.

There are also surgeons, who have some wonderful secrets, whereof I will give but two instances, one practised upon myself, the other upon one of our brothers, my companion. I happened to fall from a very high place, with my breast against the corner of a stone, whereupon I presently began to spit blood, and had a wound in my breast outwardly. We applied some medicines after our European manner, but to no purpose. A surgeon of the country came and took a quantity of a certain herb like what we call mercury, and making it into a plaster, laid it on my breast ; then he caused some of that herb to be boiled for me to drink ; and made me eat the same herb raw ; and thus in a few days perfectly cured me. I, to make another experiment, caused the leg of a hen to be broken in several places, and making a plaster as he had done of the same herb, bound it upon the broken leg, and in a few days it was whole and sound.

A scorpion bit a brother of ours, my companion, in the neck ; and in that kingdom the bite of a scorpion is mortal. All his throat swelled immediately, and we were about giving him extreme unction. A surgeon was sent for, who immediately set a pot of rice boiling in nothing but fair water, then clapping the pot to the brother's feet, covered him and it close with cloths, that the steam might not escape, and as soon as the steam and hot vapour of the rice reached the place where the bite was, the brother felt

felt the pain assuaged, the swelling in his throat fell, and he remained as sound as if nothing had ailed him.

Many other instances might be added, but I shall only say that the medicines in those parts have a greater virtue than when they come to us; and particularly I can affirm, that I brought with me a small cask of rhubarb, which was extraordinary good there, and when I came into Europe, having spent two years by the way, I found it so changed, that I scarcely knew it myself; so that those medicines lose much of their virtue in conveying from distant countries to our parts.

#### CHAP. VI. — *Of the Civil and Political Government of the Cochin-Chinese.*

I WILL give a brief account of as much as may suffice for the reader's information; for it would be too tedious, and beyond the purpose of this my short relation, to discourse of every thing in particular. The government of Cochin-China in general, is a medium betwixt those of China and Japan; for the Japanese make less account of learning than military knowledge: and on the contrary, the Chinese attribute all to learning, taking little notice of warlike affairs. The Cochin-Chinese, following the example of neither, equally encourage learning, and skill in war, according as occasion offers; sometimes preferring the soldier, and sometimes the scholar, and so rejecting them, as appears most convenient.

In Cochin-China there are several universities, in which there are professors, scholars and degrees conferred by way of examination, in the same manner as is practised in China; the same sciences being taught, and the same books and authors read; that is, Zinfu or Confucius, as the Portuguese call them, which are authors of such profound learning, and in such esteem and reputation among them, as Aristotle is among us, being much more antient than he. These books of theirs are full of erudition, of stories, of grave sentences, of proverbs, and such like things, for the directing a civil life, as are Seneca, Cato and Cicero among us: and they spend many years in learning the true sense of the phrases, words, characters and hieroglyphics they are written in; but what they most value is moral philosophy or ethics, economy and policy. It is comical to see and hear them, when they are studying, read and repeat their lessons in such a tone as if they were singing, which they do to use themselves to it, and give every word its proper accents, which are many, every one expressing a different thing; and therefore one would think, that to converse with them, a man must understand the grounds of music.

The language they generally speak is different from what they read and teach in the schools, and which their books are written in: as among us the vulgar language differs from the Latin used in the schools. In this they differ from the Chinese, who, if they are learned or noble, always use the same language which they call of mandarines, that is, of doctors, judges and governors; and the characters they use in writing and printing their books are above eight thousand, all differing from one another. For this reason the fathers of the society spend eight and even ten years in studying the Chinese books, before they can be masters, and go abroad to converse with them. But the Cochin-Chinese have reduced the characters to three thousand, which they generally make use of: and these are enough to express themselves in their harangues, letters, petitions, memorials and such things which do not belong to printed books; for those of necessity must be in Chinese characters. The Japanese have been more ingenious, who, though in all that belongs to books, whether written or printed, they agree with the Chinese, yet for common uses had found out forty-eight letters, where-  
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with they exprefs whatfoever they please, as well as we do with our alphabet : and yet the Chinefe characters are in fuch efteem even among the Japanefe, that thefe forty-eight letters, notwithstanding the ufe they are of above the others, are contemned in comparifon of them, infomuch that in fcorn they call them women's letters.

The ingenious invention of printing was found out in China, and Cochin-China, long before it was in Europe ; but not in fuch perfection : for they do not compofe joining letters and characters, but with a graver, pen-knife or fuch instrument, cut and carve the characters upon a ftone as they will have in their books : on this board fo carved they lay their paper, and print it off, as we in Europe do copper plates, or the like.

Befides thefe books of morals they have others, which contain things they account facred ; as for instance the creation and beginning of the world ; of the rational fouls of demons ; of idols, and of their feveral fefts. Thefe books are called *fayc-kim*, to diftinguifh them from the profane, which they call *fayc-chin*. Of the doctrine of their facred books, we fhall treat in the fecond part of this account, where the fubject will be more fuitable.

Though the language of the Cochin-Chinefe be in one refpect like that of the Chinefe, both of them uſing all monofyllables, delivered in feveral tones and accents, yet they utterly differ in the word itſelf, the Cochin-Chinefe being more full of vowels, and confequently fofter and ſweeter, more copious in tones and accents, and therefore more harmonious. The language of Cochin-China is, in my opinion, the eaſieſt of any, for thoſe that have a muſical ear, to take the tones and accents ; for it has no variety by way of conjugation of verbs, or declination of nouns, but one and the ſame word, with the addition of an adverb or pronoun, ſignifies the preſent, the preterite and future tenſes, the ſingular number, and the plural ; and in ſine ſerves for all moods, tenſes, and perfons, and the diverſity of numbers and caſes. For inſtance this word, To have, which in the Chineſe language is *Co*, by only adding a pronoun, ſerves all occaſions, ſaying I have, thou have, he have ; the name of the perſon making that diverſity, which we expreſs by altering the termination, thus, I have, thou haſt, he has. In the ſame manner they make the feveral tenſes ; ſaying for the preſent, I now have ; for the preterite, I heretofore have ; and for the future, I hereafter have : and ſo without ever altering the word *Co* : by which it appears how eaſily this language may be learnt ; as it happened to me, who in fix months underſtood ſo much, that I could diſcourſe, and even hear their confeſſions, though not ſo perfectly, for it requires at leaſt four years to be a maſter. [This variety of moods and tenſes appears better by the Latin or other languages, than in Engliſh, where we uſe much the ſame method, as he repreſents in Cochin-China ; our variations are the ſame, being but few, as for inſtance in the ſame word, I have, you have, we have, they have, I ſhall have, may we have : and ſo in this, and many others.]

But to return to our relation : I was ſaying that the Cochin-Chineſe reward not only the learned with dignities, employments and revenues ; but that they make great account of good ſoldiers, in which particular they act differently from us ; for inſtead of aſſigning brave commanders ſome land, earldom or marquiſate, as a reward of their valour, they allot him ſuch a number of people and vaſſals, belonging to the King himſelf, who, whatſoever part of the kingdom they live in, are obliged to own him as their lord to whom they have been aſſigned by the King, being bound upon all occaſions to ſerve him with their weapons, and to pay him all thoſe duties they before paid to the King himſelf ; and therefore, as we ſay, ſuch a one is lord, earl, or marquis of ſuch

such a place, they say, such a one is a man of fifty, such a one of a thousand men, to such a one the King has added three thousand, to such a one two thousand; their dignity, wealth and grandeur increasing by the addition of many vassals. We shall speak of the wars of this kingdom in the next chapter.

It remains that we say something deserving notice of the civil government. In the first place they govern rather after a military manner, than by judges, counsellors and lawyers, and their formalities; the viceroys and governors of provinces performing that function; for every day they give public audience four hours daily, in a large court within their own palace, two hours in the morning, and two after dinner. Hither all suits and complaints are brought, and the viceroy or governor, sitting on a tribunal raised like a balcony, hears every man in his turn; and these governors being generally men of sound judgement, capacity and experience, they easily discover the truth of the matter by the questions they put, and much more by the common consent of the stander-by, which is gathered by the applause they give the plaintiff or defendant, and accordingly they immediately, without delay, give judgement with a loud voice, which is immediately executed without any demur or appeal, whether the sentence be death, banishment, whipping or fine, every crime being punished as the law appoints.

The crimes generally tried and severely punished are many, but they are particularly rigid against false witnesses, thieves and adulterers. The first of these being convicted of having given false evidence, are themselves indispensably condemned, as if they had committed the crime they accuse others of; and if the crime they alledged deserved death, they are sentenced to die: and experience teaches that this way of trial is very proper to find out the truth.

Thieves, if the theft be considerable, are beheaded; if small, as for instance a hen, for the first offence, they have a finger cut off, for the second another finger, for the third an ear, and for the fourth the head.

Adulterers, both men and women, indifferently, are cast to the elephants to be killed, which is done thus: they lead the criminal out into the field, where, in the presence of an infinite number of people flocking together, he is set in the middle, with his hands and feet bound, near an elephant, to whom the condemned person's sentence is read, that he may execute every part of it orderly; first, that he lay hold of, grasp and hold him fast with his trunk, and so hold him in the air, shewing him to all the company; then he toss him up, and catch him upon the points of his teeth, that his own weight may strike them through him; that then he may dash him against the ground; and lastly that he bruise and crush him to pieces with his feet: all which is exactly performed by the elephant, to the great terror and amazement of the spectators, who are taught by this punishment, at another man's cost, what fidelity is due between married persons.

Since we are upon this point of matrimony, it will not be irrelative to mention some further particulars concerning it before we conclude this chapter. The Cochinchinese, though heathens, never contract matrimony within those degrees forbid by the laws of God and nature, nor within the first degree of the collateral line of brothers, and sisters. In other degrees, matrimony is lawful to every man with only one woman; though rich men have many concubines, under pretence of grandeur and generosity, looking upon it as covetousness not to have as many as every man's income will conveniently maintain: and these are called second, third, fourth and fifth wives, and so on, according to every one's rank; all which wait upon the first, which is accounted and really is the true wife, whose business it is to chuse the others for her husband.

But these marriages of theirs are not indissoluble, the laws of Cochin-China allowing of divorces, but not at the will of either party, it being first requisite that the person suing for it convict the other of many offences; which being made out, it is lawful to dissolve the first marriage, and marry again. The husbands bring the portion, and leave their own houses to go to the wife's, upon whose fortunes they live, the women managing all the household affairs, and governing the family, whilst the husband lives idle at home, hardly knowing what there is in the house, satisfied that they have meat and clothes.

CHAP. VII. — *Of the Power of the King of Cochin-China, and of the Wars he has in his Kingdom.*

I TOOK notice at the beginning of this account, that Cochin-China was a province of the great kingdom of Tunchim, usurped by the grandfather of the King now reigning; who being made governor of it, rebelled against the said King of Tunchim, to which he was not a little encouraged by having in a short time collected a great many pieces of cannon, from the wrecks of several Portuguese and Dutch ships, cast away upon those rocks, which being taken up by the country people, there are above sixty of the largest at this time to be seen in the King's palace. The Cochin-Chinese are now become so expert in managing artillery, that they perform it better than the Europeans, practising continually to shoot at a mark with such success, that being proud of their skill, as soon as any European ship arrives in their ports, the King's gunners challenge ours, who being sensible that they cannot stand in competition with them, as well as they can avoid this trial of skill, being convinced by experience, that they will hit any thing as exactly with a cannon, as another shall do with a firelock; which they are also very expert at, often going out into the field to exercise. Another great encouragement to rebellion was, his having above a hundred gallies, which rendering him formidable at sea, and the artillery by land, he easily compassed his designs against the King of Tunchim. Besides, on account of the constant trade with Japan, there were in Cochin-China abundance of catanas, which are scimitars made in Japan, and excellently tempered: and all the country abounding in horses, which, though small, are handsome and mettlesome, on which they fight, casting darts, and daily exercise themselves.

The power of this King is so great that whenever he pleases he can bring eighty thousand fighting men into the field, and yet is always in fear of the King of Tunchim, whose power is four times as great; to whom, for quietness-sake, he, by agreement, pays a tribute of all such things as his kingdom affords, and are useful for that of Tunchim, particularly of gold, silver, and rice; furnishing, besides all this, plank and timber for building of gallies. And for the same reason he was about entering into a league with the fugitive son of the late King, who lorded it in the utmost province of Tunchim, which borders upon China, that in case he succeeded, and became master of Tunchim, Cochin-China might remain free from all tribute and acknowledgment.

For the better understanding hereof, it is to be observed, that when I was in Cochin-China, that kingdom was in the possession, not of the preceding King, but the tutor or governor of that son, who made his escape from the said governor to save his life. This Prince lived like a fugitive in the farthest province adjoining to China, where being known what he was, the late King's son, he was received by that people as their sovereign lord, and by his good government he had so strengthened himself, that

his tutor already declared King of Tunchim, was much afraid, seeing him grow so great, lest he should agree with the King of Cochin-China, who is on the opposite side to catch him between them, and expel him from his unjust possession. He therefore every year formed a considerable army to destroy the aforesaid Prince, but always to no purpose, because the army being of necessity to march five or six days, through a country where there is no water to drink but that of some rivers coming from the enemy's country, the army always found it poisoned by the Prince's party, with a sort of herb, the effect of which was such, that it destroyed both men and horses, which obliged him always to retire after much trouble and expence thrown away.

The military discipline and art of war, in Cochin-China, is almost the same as in Europe, the same form being observed in drawing up, fighting, and retiring. This King has generally war in three parts of his kingdom: first, he is always upon his defence against the King of Tunchim, who, as has been said, continually threatens and assaults his frontiers, and therefore the King of Cochin-China has his residence in Sinuua, the extreme part of his dominions, the better to oppose him and march his forces towards the confines of Tunchim, which is a powerful province, and generally under experienced and martial governors.

The next is a sort of civil war, raised by two of his own brothers, who aiming to be equal in command and power, not satisfied with what has been allotted them, have rebelled against him, and craving succours from Tunchim, gave him perpetual trouble. Whilst I lived in those parts, they having got some pieces of cannon, which they carried upon elephants, fortified themselves so well upon the frontiers, that the King's army marching against them, was in the first engagement routed, with the loss of three thousand men; but coming to a second battle, the King's brothers lost all they had gained before, being both made prisoners; and they had both immediately lost their lives, had not His Majesty's natural clemency and brotherly affection prevailed, and taken place of his anger, so far as to spare their lives, yet so as to keep them prisoners.

The third place where he has continual war, is on the west side and utmost bound of his kingdom, called Renran, against the King of Chiampá; whose efforts being weaker, are sufficiently repulsed by the troops of that same province, and the governor.

He is also in continual motion, and making warlike preparations to assist the King of Cambogia, who has married his bastard daughter, sending him succours of gallies and men, against the King of Siam; and therefore the arms of Cochin-China and their valour, are famous and renowned, as well by sea as by land.

At sea they fight in gallies, as has been said, each of which carries cannon, and is manned with musketeers. Nor will it seem strange that the King of Cochin-China has an hundred or more gallies in readiness, when the method of furnishing them is known. It is therefore to be observed that the Cochin-Chinese do not have a crew of criminals or other slaves to row in their gallies; but when they are to go out to fight, or for any other purpose, the way to man them immediately is this: a great number of officers and commissaries go out privately, and scouring on a sudden all together throughout the whole kingdom, with the King's authority, press all they find fit for the oar, conducting them altogether to the gallies, unless they be exempted, by birth, or any other privilege. Nor is this method so troublesome as it appears at first sight; for in the first place they are well used and paid aboard the gallies; and besides their wives and children are fed and provided with all things necessary according to their condition, all the while they are from their houses. They do not only serve at the oar, but  
upon

upon occasion lay hold of their weapons, and behave themselves bravely, for which purpose every one has his musket, darts and scimitar allotted him; and the Cochin-Chinese being of an undaunted spirit and brave, they give good tokens of their valour, either rowing to join their enemies, or with their arms when joined. Their gallies are somewhat less, but particularly narrower than ours, and so neat and well adorned with gold and silver, that they afford a glorious fight. Chiefly the stern, which they account the most honourable post, is all over gold, and there the captain and persons of chief note have their station; and the reason they give for it is, that it being the captain's duty to be the first upon any danger, it is fit he should be in the most proper part of the galley for that purpose.

Among other sorts of defensive arms they use in war, they have certain oval, hollow targets, so long that they cover a man entirely, and so light, that they can manage them without any trouble. The cities of this kingdom have a great advantage in the manner of their houses, which being all of wood upon pillars of timber, as before mentioned, when the enemy comes so strong, that they perceive they cannot oppose him, every man flies to the mountain with what he has, firing the houses, so that the enemy finds nothing but the ruins left by the flames, and having no place to fortify himself, nor any thing to subsist on, is forced to retire back to his own country, and the inhabitants returning to the same place in a short time with great ease rebuild their houses.

#### CHAP. VIII. — *Of the Trade and Ports of Cochin-China.*

THE great plenty Cochin-China affords of all things necessary for the support of human life, as has been said before, is the cause that the people have no curiosity or inclination to go into other kingdoms to trade; and therefore they never go so far to sea, as to lose sight of their beloved shore; yet they are very ready to admit of strangers, and are very well pleased they should come not only from the neighbouring countries, but from the remotest parts to trade with them. Nor do they require to use any art for this purpose; strangers being sufficiently allured by the fruitfulness of the country, and the great wealth which abounds there; and therefore they resort thither not only from Tunchim, Cambogia, Chincheos, and other neighbouring places, but from the remotest, as China, Macao, Japan, Manilla, and Malacca, all of them carrying silver to Cochin-China, to carry away the commodities of the country, which are not bought, but exchanged for plate, which is here put off as a commodity being sometimes worth more, and sometimes less, according as there is more or less plenty of it, as is usual with silk and other goods.

All the coin they use is of brass, and of the same value, like a quatrone, five hundred of which make a crown. These pieces are quite round, with the King's arms and ensign stamped on them, and every one of them has a hole in the middle, which serves to string them by thousands, and every thousand is worth two crowns.

The Chinese and Japanese drive the chief trade of Cochin-China, which is managed at a fair held yearly at one of the ports of this kingdom, and lasting about four months. The Chinese, in their vessels they call junks, bring the value of four or five millions in plate; and the Japanese in their ships called *sommes*, an infinite quantity of very fine silk, and other commodities of their country. The King has a vast revenue from this fair by customs and imposts, and the whole country receives great profit. The Cochin-Chinese applying themselves very little to arts, because plenty

makes them lazy, and being soon taken with the curiosities of other countries, it comes to pass that they put a great value upon, and buy at great rates many things, which to others are of very small worth; as for instance combs, needles, bracelets, and pendants of glass, and such like women's ornaments. I remember a Portuguese, who bringing into Cochin-China from Macao a box full of needles, which could not be worth above thirty ducats, made above a thousand of it, selling for six pence in Cochin-China, what had not cost him above a farthing at Macao. In short, they out-bid one another, in buying any thing that is very new and strange without sparing for price. They are very fond of our hats, of caps, girdles, shirts, and all other sorts of garments we wear, because they are quite different from theirs; but above all they set a great value upon coral.

As to their ports, it is wonderful that in a coast little more than a hundred leagues in length, there should be above sixty most convenient landing places; which is so, because there are many large arms of the sea. But the principal port to which all strangers resort, and where the above-mentioned fair is kept, is that of the province Cacchian; which has two mouths, or inlets from the sea, the one called Pulluchiam-pello and the other of Turon, being at first three or four leagues distant from one another, but running in seven or eight leagues like two great rivers, at last join in one, where the vessels that come in both ways meet. Here the King of Cochin-China assigned the Chinese and Japanese a convenient spot of ground to build a city for the benefit of the fair. This city is called Faifó, and is so large, that we may say there are two, one of Chinese, the other of Japanese; for they are divided from one another, each having their distinct governor, and the Chinese living according to the laws of China, as the Japanese do according to those of Japan.

And because, as we said before, the King of Cochin-China gave free admittance to all nations whatsoever, the Dutch resorted thither with all sorts of commodities. Hereupon the Portuguese of Macao resolved to send an ambassador to the King, to demand in their name, that the Dutch, as mortal enemies to their nation, should be excluded all Cochin-China. One Captain Ferdinand de Costa, a man well known for his valour, was appointed to go upon this embassy; which he delivered, and was favourably heard, with assurances of obtaining his demands. Nevertheless, whilst he was yet at that court, there arrived a Dutch ship, and coming to an anchor in the port, some of them landed with much mirth and jollity, and presently went with rich presents to the King; who accepted of them very graciously, and granted them the usual liberty of trading freely in his kingdom. A costa hearing of it, went presently to the King, and complaining that his majesty did not keep his word with him, in a Portuguese bravado gave a stamp on the ground to shew his resentment. The King and all the courtiers were pleased at his passion, and bidding him have patience and wait the event, for he should find he had no cause to complain, dismissed him. In the mean while he ordered all the Dutch to go ashore, and land all their goods for the fair at Turon, as the Portuguese did, which they performed: but as they were going upon the river in boats, they were on a sudden assaulted by the gallies, which destroyed most of them. The King remained master of their goods; and to justify this action, alledged, that he very well knew the Dutch, as notorious pirates, who infested all the seas, were worthy of severer punishment; and therefore, by proclamation, forbid any of them ever resorting to his country; and it was actually found, that those very men had robbed some vessels of Cochin-China, and therefore he took this just revenge, admitting the Portuguese as good and sincere friends. They not long after sent another ambassador from Macao, to obtain of the King a confirmation of the  
aforesaid

aforefaid edict, at the instance of Acofta, alledging as a motive the danger that the Dutch in time might cunningly poffefs themfelves of fome part of Cochin-China, as they had done in other parts of India. But the new embaffador was advifed by knowing men of that country, not to mention any fuch thing to the King, becaufe that very thing would be a motive to him to grant the Dutch a free trade, and invite all Holland to come over. He pretended to be afraid of no nation in the world; quite contrary to the King of China, who being afraid of every body, forbids all ftrangers trading in his kingdom; and therefore the embaffador muft urge other motives to obtain his defire.

The King of Cochin-China has always fhewn himfelf a great friend to the Portuguefe who trade in that kingdom, and has feveral times offered them three or four leagues of the moft fruitful country about the port of Turon, that they may build a city there with all forts of conveniences, as the Chinefe and Japanefe have done. Were it allowed me to give His Catholic Majefty my opinion on this point, I fhould fay he ought by all means to command the Portuguefe to accept of the kind offer made them, and to build a good city there as foon as poffible; which would be a refuge, and brave defence, for all the fhips that pafs by towards China: for here a fleet might be kept in readinefs againft the Dutch, that fail to China and Japan, who of neceffity muft pafs through the middle of the bay, that lies between the coaft of this kingdom, in the provinces of Ranran, and Pulucambi, and the rocks of Pulufifi.

The above is what I thought I could with truth give an account of, concerning the temporal ftate of Cochin-China, according to the knowledge I could gain during fome years I refided there; as will farther appear in the fecond part of this relation.

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## PART II.

### OF THE SPIRITUAL STATE OF COCHIN-CHINA.

#### CHAP. I. — *Of the firft entering of the Fathers of the Society of Jefus into that Kingdom: and of the two Churches built at Turon and Cacchian.*

BEFORE the fathers of the fociety of Jefus went into Cochin-China, it was the cuftom of the Portuguefe trading thither, to carry with them from Malacca and Macao, and the Spaniards from Manilla, fome chaplains, to fay mafs and adminifter the facraments to them, during their ftay there, which generally was three or four months in a year. Thefe chaplains having no other obligation but only to ferve the Portuguefe, never thought of promoting the fpiritual welfare of the natives of that country, not applying themfelves to learn their language, nor uſing any other means to communicate the light of the gofpel to them. And yet there was one of thefe who had the face to publifh in Spain, in a book called “The Voyages of the World,” that he had catechifed and baptized the Infanta or Princefs of Cochin-China, and a great many of her ladies: whereas never infanta, nor any other perfon of all that royal family, till this time, has fhewn any inclination to become Chriftian, notwithstanding  
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we fathers go every year to visit the King, and discourse with all the great men of the court; and yet the Infanta has not given any token of being a Christian, or so much as knowing what a Christian is. And it may well be discerned how falsely he talks in this point by the other fables he adds in the same book concerning that Infanta; as that she should have married the said chaplain, and the like. We know of none but some fathers of the order of St. Francis, that went from Manilla, and one of St. Augustine from Macao, to Cochin-China, merely for the conversion of those souls. But they meeting with no success, on account of the many several difficulties that occurred, they returned to their countries: providence so ordering it, which had designed that land to be cultivated by the sons of the holy patriarch Ignatius; which was done as follows—

Certain Portuguese merchants acquainted the superiors of the society of Jesus, at Macao, with the great advantages that might be gained, to advance the glory of God in Cochin-China, if there were undaunted and zealous labourers sent thither; and particularly one captain earnestly pressed the father provincial not to abandon a kingdom so capable of being instructed in the holy faith. The proposal seemed to the father very agreeable to the spirit of our vocation; and therefore, without demurring upon the execution of it, he made choice for this enterprize of F. Francis Buzome, who had been professor of divinity at Macao, by birth a Genoese, but educated in the kingdom of Naples, where he was admitted into the society, and whence he set out for India, together with F. James Carvalho, a Portuguese, who from Cochin-China was to attempt to go over to Japan, as he did. This was he, who being put into a pool of cold water in the dead of winter, and exposed to the wind and snow, gave up his life for the sake of his redeemer, freezing leisurely to death. F. Carvalho being gone, F. Buzome was left alone in Cochin-China, with only a lay-brother to attend him. Being zealously inflamed with the desire of saving souls, he used all possible means for their conversion, and to this purpose began his mission at Turon. But as yet he knew not the language, nor could he find any interpreter that knew any more Portuguese than what was requisite for buying and selling, and some words or phrases, which the interpreters of the chaplains of ships, who were there before the fathers of the society, made use of to ask the Cochin-Chinese whether they would be Christians? After this manner they had made some, but such as might rather be accounted so by name than by profession; for they did not so much as understand what the name of a Christian meant; and this by reason of the phrase the interpreters used to ask them, whether they would be Christians: for the words they made use of signified nothing more than that they would become Portuguese; which F. Francis Buzome found out by the following accident:—A play was acted in the public market-place, at which the father saw one in the habit of a Portuguese, brought in by way of ridicule, with a great belly, so artificially made that a boy was hid in it: the player, before the audience, turned him out of his belly and asked him whether he would go into the belly of the Portuguese? using these words, “*Con gnoo muon bau tlom laom Hoalaom chiam?*” that is, “Little boy, will you go into the belly of the Portuguese or not?” The boy answered, he would; and then he put him in again, often repeating the same thing to divert the spectators. The father observing, that the phrase the player so often repeated, *Muon bau tlom laom Hoalaom chiam*, was the same the interpreters used, when they asked any one whether he would be a Christian, presently conceived the mistake the Cochin-Chinese were under, who thought that to become a Christian was only to cease being a Cochin-Chinese and become a Portuguese; which, to make sport, was expressed in the play by making the boy go into the belly of him that acted the Portuguese. The father took

took care that so pernicious an error should spread no farther, teaching those already baptised their duty, and instructing those that were newly converted what it was to be baptised, and become a Christian, taking particular care that the interpreters should be well informed in this particular, that they might afterwards serve faithfully in teaching of others; changing the above-mentioned phrase into this, “*Muon bau dau Christiam chiam?*” that is, “Will you enter into the Christian law, or no?” His great diligence and charity was so successful, that within a few days he began to reap the fruit of his labours, as well by the reformation of those who before were Christians only in name, as the conversion of many more. Nor was the fame of his charity and zeal for the gaining of souls confined to Turon, his usual place of residence, but spread abroad into other places; he labouring in all places to instruct, convert, and dispose the people to receive baptism, with such fervour, and so great a concourse about him, that in a short time those new Christians built a very large church at Turon, in which the most holy sacrifice of the mass was publicly celebrated, and the Christian doctrine preached and taught, by means of the interpreters, then well instructed; all persons being very much taken with F. Francis Buzome, who, besides his being a man of great knowledge and virtue, entirely gained the affections of those heathens by his great meekness and affability, insomuch that they all flocked after him. This particularly happened at Cacciam, the city where the King resides, six or seven leagues from Turon, up the river.

Here F. Buzome made so great an impression, that a place was presently allotted him for a church, which was built in a very short time, every body contributing to the expence and to the work, according to their power: besides, he had a good house assigned him, fit to make a residence of fathers, who were to go thither in time to instruct that people in matters of faith: all which was done with the assistance of a most noble lady, who was converted, and in baptism took the name of Joanna. She not only undertook the foundation of the house and church, but erected several altars and places of prayer in her own house, never ceasing to bless and praise God for the mercy shewn her, in enlightening and drawing her to the faith. All this his divine majesty brought to pass in the space of a year, through the means of his servant F. Francis Buzome; whose fame being spread as far as Macao, the following year our father provincial thought fit to send him another father, that was younger, with a Japanese brother, that, learning the language, he might afterwards preach without requiring an interpreter. This was F. Francis de Pina, a Portuguese, who had learnt divinity under F. Francis Buzome. And though this second year the increase was not equivalent to that of the first, as to the conversion of souls, yet the advantage was much greater in the sufferings of a cruel persecution, raised by the enemy that sowed the tares, who could not endure to see the divine seed grow up so prosperously in those parts, and endeavoured to choke it, as shall be shewn in the next chapter.

CHAP. II.—*Of the Persecution the new Church of Cochin-China endured at its first Institution: and how I was sent thither to be assisting to it, by my Superiors.*

THE persecution against the fathers took its rise from an accident, at first slight ridiculous and of no moment, which afterwards gave them much cause to lament. That year there happened an universal barrenness throughout the whole kingdom, for want of the usual inundation in autumn, which, as was mentioned in the first part, is so necessary for bringing up the rice, the chief support of life in that country. Hereupon their priests, whom they call *omfais*, held a great council, to find out the cause why their idols were so angry with all their kingdom, that seeing the people starve to death

about the fields, yet they were not the least moved to compassion for so great a calamity. It was there unanimously agreed, that there was nothing new in the kingdom so opposite to the worship of idols as the admitting of strangers freely to preach up a law there, that utterly contradicted the honour given to those idols; and that they being justly provoked at it, revenged themselves by denying them their desired rain.

This being agreed on as a most undoubted truth, according to their ignorance, they presently went in a tumultuous manner to the King, and urge that the preachers of the new law may be banished all the kingdom, that being the only means to appease the wrath of their gods. The wise king laughed at their project, knowing it to be a foolish notion of those priests, and made little account of it, having a great esteem for the fathers and a kindness for the Portuguese. Yet this favour of the King availed them but little to oppose the fury of the ministers of Satan; for they so stirred up the people to insist that the preachers of the gospel might be expelled the kingdom, that the King, not able to resist without danger of a mutiny, sent for the fathers, and with much concern told them, he was sensible of the folly of the people and ignorance of the priests, but that it was not prudence to withstand a multitude so eagerly bent upon such an affair as that was, which was designed for removing so general a calamity; and therefore they must depart this kingdom as soon as possible. The fathers having heard these words, with tears in their eyes, seeing themselves obliged to forsake those new and tender plants of Christianity, yet ever submitting to the will of God, went away to embark; but being got aboard, they could not get out of the harbour, because at that time a sort of contrary winds, which usually hold three or four months, had begun to blow, which by the Portuguese are called *Moncao*, or general winds. The Cochin-Chinese observing it, would not allow them to return into the city, but obliged them to remain upon the shore, deprived of all human comfort, and exposed to the burning heat of the sun, which in those parts is very violent. It was a great satisfaction to them in the midst of their sufferings, to see the constancy of some of those new Christians, who never forsook their masters, following, accompanying, and relieving them the best way they could, becoming voluntary companions in their sufferings. F. Buzome had here a new trial of his virtue; for the uneasiness of this uncomfortable life in a few days caused an imposthume to break out in his breast, from which there was a copious discharge, which very much weakened him.

The infernal fiend, not satisfied in having brought the preachers of the gospel to this miserable condition, made yet farther efforts to discredit their doctrine and catholic religion, making use for this purpose of one of those *onsais*, who living a solitary life was therefore in great reputation of sanctity. This man, coming one day from his hermitage, publicly boasted that by his prayers he would cause the idols immediately to send rain; and without more to do, went away, followed by an innumerable multitude, to the top of a mountain, where he began to call upon his devils, and striking the earth three times with his foot, the sky was presently clouded and there fell a shower of rain, which though not sufficient to supply the want, was yet enough to give a reputation to that minister of hell, and to discredit our holy faith; every one saying, they had not yet seen the foreign priests obtain so much by their prayers of the great God, whose servants they professed themselves. This accident troubled the fathers more than the misery they lived in: but Providence comforted them by the means of the lady Joanna above mentioned. She, as it were with a prophetic spirit, bid them not be concerned at any thing that had happened; for in a little time God would make the hypocrisy of that *onsai* and the vanity of his idols known to all men, by destroying the reputation he had gained till then: all which was verified to a tittle soon after. For the same

of his sanctity being spread abroad on account of the rain, and coming to the King's ear, he presently sent for him and gave him an apartment in the palace. There he fell in love with one of the King's concubines, and found no difficulty to compass his design; but the matter being known, though in Cochin-China this be accounted a most heinous crime, and it be death to have to do with a woman the King has once touched, yet they could not proceed to execution against him, as being a person sacred among them, except according to the form appointed by their laws: the king therefore pronounced the sentence, that the *omfai* should vanish; but that he should neither go east, west, north, nor south, nor through any part whatsoever of his kingdom. This decree being published, was immediately executed in such a manner, that the *omfai* vanished with great shame, and was never more seen in the kingdom nor out of it.

But the devil being enraged vented his fury against God's servants, stirring up the people to set fire to the church in Turon, to the great grief of the fathers, who beheld all from the shore without hopes of redress.

In the mean while, the news of the fathers' misfortune was spread all about the neighbouring countries, and even so far as Macao, which was a great trouble to the fathers of that college, who pitying their brethren, resolved to send them some relief by a Portuguese vessel that was ready to sail to Cochin-China; and the fathers judged the business might succeed the better, if two fathers going in it, one had the name of chaplain of the ship to return in it; and that the Cochin-Chinese might have no cause to complain, or be incensed, he that remained was to go disguised. F. Peter Marques, a Portuguese, was appointed chaplain; and I had the good fortune to be his companion, obedience so ordering it: for though I had been destined for China by our father-general, I freely and affectionately embraced the opportunity of dedicating myself to God in the mission of Cochin-China, and for the comfort of those afflicted fathers, seeing myself quite shut out of China, by reason of the persecution raised there. I set out from Macao in the habit of a slave, and soon arrived in Cochin-China upon my birth-day, which was very near opening the way for me to a blessed life; but it pleased Providence to order matters otherwise, either because my sins made me unworthy of such a mercy, or for other causes only known to God. As the vessel was entering the harbour, around which there were abundance of the country people, there happened, I know not how, a quarrel between two Portuguese, and one of them falling down as if dead, the other leaped into the sea to escape the wounded man's friends and companions, who would have killed him. He swam awhile, but being tired, drew towards the ship again to save himself from sinking, and endeavouring to catch hold, could not, because they were ready above with half-pikes, javelins, and swords to wound him. I, seeing him in that distress, endeavoured to relieve him; and though I was in a servile habit, ran among them, and calling out to one, and pulling another, took such pains that I appeased them. The Cochin-Chinese who were aboard the ship, seeing the Portuguese pacified at the sight of a slave, began presently to suspect the matter; and knowing by experience that the Portuguese, when in a passion, are not so easily quelled unless religious men interpose, said to one another, "This man is certainly no slave as his dress seems to suggest; and being no merchant as the rest are, he is certainly one of their religious men, who endeavours, contrary to the King's command, to be concealed in our country, but we will discover him to the King himself, that he may be punished as he deserves." They immediately flocked about me, and though I did not understand their language, yet I plainly perceived they had all a jealousy of me; and notwithstanding all my endeavours not to discover myself, I could not prevent their sending advice to court. When I had satisfied myself as to this point, believing I was

certainly a dead man, I resolv'd to die as what I was : I accordingly put on my habit of the society, a surplice over it, and a stole about my neck ; and in that habit I began publicly to preach the faith of Christ by means of the interpreter ; then erecting an altar on the shore, I said mass, and gave the communion to the Portuguese that were present, standing ready for whatsoever it should please God to appoint : but it pleas'd him that I should not then shed my blood for him. Whilst my cause was in hand, it rained so abundantly day and night, without ever ceasing, that every man applied himself to tilling the ground and sowing rice ; and perhaps reflecting that they had obtained at my arrival what they had so long wished for, looking upon it as a good omen, and concluding it was not the fault of the fathers that they had wanted rain, they repented them of all they had done against us, and never gave us any farther trouble, but suffer'd us to live freely throughout the kingdom.

Matters being thus pacified I resolv'd to look out for F. Buzome and his companion, since I went thither for that purpose ; and whilst I was endeavouring to hear some news of him, the report of my arrival being spread about the city, that lady Joanna above-mentioned found me out. By her I understood that F. Francis de Pina, with the Japanese brother, had been privately convey'd by Japanese Christians to the city Faifó, every one certainly concluding that the fathers were then got out of the kingdom. Upon this information F. Peter Marques, who knew the language of Japan very well, would have us go to Faifó, where we found F. Francis de Pina, who was there hid, but very well us'd by those good Japanese Christians, to whom he privately administered the sacraments. We received incredible joy in meeting : for besides the general charity of religion, we had been companions and great friends in the college of Macao ; and the kindness of the Japanese was extraordinary, for they treated us during a fortnight very splendidly, with great demonstrations of affection and joy.

Here I also understood how, through God's special providence, F. Buzome was also safe in the kingdom, as if God had particularly defended him for the good of that mission, where, whilst he was upon the strand amidst so many afflictions, and with the imposthume in his breast, the governor of Pulucambi came to Turon ; who seeing that man so ill us'd that he look'd like a walking ghost, being moved to compassion, ask'd who he was, and what misfortune had brought him to that miserable condition. He was told all that had happen'd ; and that the want of rain being laid to his and his companion's charge, he had been banish'd by the King's order. The governor was not a little amaz'd, and laugh'd to think that this should be attributed to a poor religious man, which could no way depend on him, therefore he order'd him to be taken from the open shore, and carried into one of his gallies, in which he convey'd him to his province, entertain'd him in his own house, had him look'd after by the most skilful physicians in that city, and made his own children attend him during a whole year, for so long his sickness last'd : all men wondering that a heathen should behave so charitably towards a stranger utterly unknown to him, only out of mere natural compassion.

Thus we were four priests of the society in Cochin-China : F. Buzome, at Pulucambi, one hundred and fifty miles from the port of Turon ; F. Peter Marques remain'd at Faifó as superior, and to serve the Japanese, keeping F. Francis de Pina for his companion ; and I return'd to Turon, there to serve the Portuguese, to say mass, preach to them and hear their confessions ; and learning at the same time the language of Cochin-China, endeavour'd, with the assistance of the interpreters, to persuade some of those heathens to be baptis'd ; and above all, to encourage and confirm those that were already baptis'd. Soon after my first coming, there happen'd a mean accident worthy

to be known: I was called to make a dying infant a Christian; I did so, and it soon after gave up the ghost. I was concerned, not knowing where to bury it, which made me think of fixing a burying-place for all the Christians that should die for the future. To this purpose I ordered a mast of a ship that was laid aside to be taken, and a stately cross to be made of it: which done, I invited all the Portuguese and sailors to help to carry it to the appointed place, I attending with my surplice and stole. Whilst the hole was digging to erect the holy cross, a company of armed men came out from the neighbourhood, who with their muskets threatened to kill me; which I perceiving, caused the interpreter to endeavour to know of them what it was they would be at, and was told they would not have that cross erected there, because they feared the devils would infest their houses. I answered it would be quite the contrary: because the cross had such a virtue that it put the devil to flight. With this they were so well pleased that, laying down their arms, they all ran to help: and thus the cross was set up to the general satisfaction of all parties, and the burial-place fixed. Soon after the governor of Pulucambi came thither, and brought F. Buzome with him; and we met all four fathers of the society to our unspeakable joy at Faifó, together with two lay brothers, one a Portuguese and the other a Japanese. After a charitable reception, we consulted together about the most proper means of promoting that mission. It was unanimously agreed, that F. Peter Marques should stay at Faifó with the Japanese brother, because he was a good preacher; and the other three with the Portuguese brother, should follow the governor of Pulucambi, who earnestly desired it; which was accordingly done, as shall be here related.

CHAP. III. — *The Governor of Pulucambi introduces the Fathers of the Society into his Province, building them a House and Church.*

F. FRANCIS BUZOME, F. Francis de Pina, and I set out from Faifó for Pulucambi with the governor of that province; who all the way treated us with inexpressible courtesy and kindness, always lodging us near himself, and behaving in such a manner, that there being no human motives to incline him so to do, it plainly appeared to be the work of Providence.

He appointed a galley only to carry us and our interpreters, not suffering so much as our baggage to be put on board of it, but ordered another boat for it. In this easy manner we travelled twelve long days' journey, putting into a port morning and evening, and all the ports being near great towns or cities of the province of Quanghai, in which province the governor had as much power as in his own at Pulucambi; all people ran to pay their respects and acknowledgments, bringing him rich presents, the first of which always fell to our share, he himself so ordering it, every one astonished to see us so honoured, which gained us much esteem and reputation among those people, that being the design of the governor; and this was much forwarded by the great account he made of our intercession, when any criminal was to be punished; for we no sooner opened our mouths but we obtained all we desired, by which means we not only gained the reputation of being great with the governor, but of having compassion and kindness for those people, who therefore loved and respected us. Besides, during the whole voyage he treated us as if we had been some great lords, contriving sports and pastimes in all parts, causing the galleys sometimes to represent a sea-fight, sometimes to row for rewards. Nor did there a day pass but he came on board our galley to visit us, seeming much pleased with our conversation, especially when we discoursed of religion and our holy faith. In this manner we came to the province of

Pulucambi, through which we had still some days' journey to make before we arrived at the governor's palace, who for our greater diversion would have us travel by land. For this purpose he ordered seven elephants to be provided; and the more to honour us would have one for each, causing an hundred men, some on horseback and some on foot to attend us: and the journey being for recreation, we spent eight days in it, being royally entertained wheresoever we came; but particularly in the house of a sister of his we had a most splendid entertainment, not only for the variety and number of dishes, but much more for the rarity of dressing, all things being dressed after the European manner, though neither the governor, nor any of the family were to taste of them.

Being at length come to the governor's palace, all the entertainments and dainties of the journey concluded in such a reception as he used to make for Kings and great Princes, treating us for eight days together in the most splendid manner, making us sit in his royal throne, and eating with us himself in public, with his wife and children, to the great astonishment of all that city, where it was unanimously affirmed such a reception had never been seen, unless it were for some royal person; and this was the cause of the report generally spread throughout the kingdom, that we were a King's sons, and were come thither about matters of great concern; which being known by the governor he was mightily pleased, and before the chief men of the court he publicly said, "It is very true, that the fathers were sons of a King, for they were angels come thither, not for any want or necessity of their own, being provided with all things in their own countries, but only out of pure zeal to save their souls;" and therefore he advised them "to give ear to the fathers, and observe the law they would preach to them, learn the doctrine they taught, and receive the faith they delivered: for (said he) I have often discoursed and conversed with these men, and plainly perceive by the doctrine they teach, that there is no true law but theirs, nor no way but that they shew, which leads to eternal salvation. But take heed what you do; for unless you learn that true doctrine which I, your chief, bring to you by means of these fathers, your neglect and infidelity will be punished eternally in hell." Thus spoke that lord, becoming a preacher of the gospel, though himself a heathen: all men being the more amazed and astonished at it, because of the high opinion they entertained of his wisdom.

After the first eight days we gave him to understand, that we would rather live in the city, the better to promote the preaching of the gospel, which we could not so well attend to in the palace, because it was three miles from the city, in an open field according to the custom of the country. The governor would not have parted with us, because of the great affection he had for us, but preferring the public good before his own satisfaction, he immediately ordered there should be a very convenient house provided in the city Nuoecman: and moreover told us, we might see above a hundred houses that were about his palace, and take our choice of the most convenient of them to make a church of it; and on acquainting him with it, he would provide all that was necessary. We returned him thanks for so many favours bestowed on us during our journey, and those we still received. Having taken our leave for the present, we mounted the elephants again, and with a great retinue went away to the city Nuoecman, which extends itself five miles in length, and half a mile in breadth, where we were by the governor's order received with extraordinary honour. He, unable to endure being so far from us, came the next day to visit us, to know whether the house given us was convenient; and told us, he knew that we being strangers could not have money and other necessaries, but that he took upon himself to provide every thing; and immediately ordered a good sum to be paid monthly, and every day flesh,

fish, and rice to be sent in for us, our interpreters, and all the servants of the house: and not thus satisfied, he frequently sent us so many presents, that they alone were sufficient to furnish us plentifully with all things. The more to honour and credit us among all men, he one day gave public audience in the court of our house, in the manner as we mentioned above was practised in Cochin-China. Here several criminals were tried, every one receiving sentence according to his crime; among the rest two were condemned to be shot to death with arrows, and whilst they were bound, we undertook to beg their pardon, which was immediately granted, and he ordered them to be discharged, publicly protesting he would not have done it at the request of any other; "but to these holy men who teach the true way for the salvation of souls, (said he,) I can deny nothing; and I am myself impatient to be rid of those impediments that obstruct my being baptised and receiving their holy faith, which is what you all ought to do, if you desire to oblige me."

Then turning to us, he again desired we would appoint the place for the church, that he might give orders for its speedy fitting up. We shewed him a place that seemed convenient enough, and he approving of it went away to his palace. Before three days were over news was brought us that the church was coming: we went out with great joy and no less curiosity to see how a church should come, which, though we knew was to be made of timber, as had been agreed, yet it could not be otherwise than a great pile, according to the space it must fill, standing upon great pillars. On a sudden, in the field, we espied above a thousand men, all loaded with materials for this fabric. Every pillar was carried by thirty lusty men; others carried the beams, others the planks, some the capitals, others the bases; some one thing, some another, and so all of them went in order to our house, filling all the court, which was very large, to our unspeakable joy and satisfaction. One only thing displeased us, that we had not provisions enough in the house to give so great a multitude a small entertainment; for though they were paid by the governor, yet it looked like ill-breeding to send them away without some refreshment: but we were soon eased of this trouble, seeing every one sit down upon the piece he brought, being obliged to keep and deliver it, and take out of his wallet his pot with flesh, fish and rice, and lighting a fire, fall to cooking very quietly without asking any thing. When they had eaten, the architect came, and taking out a line, viewed the ground, marked out the distances, and calling those that carried the pillars, fixed them in their places; this done, he called for the other parts one after another, that every man might give an account of what he brought and go his way: and thus all things proceeding very regularly, and every man labouring his best, all that great pile was set up in one day; yet either through too much haste, or the negligence of the architect, it proved somewhat awry and leaning to one side; which being made known to the governor, he presently commanded the architect upon pain of cutting off his legs, to call all the workmen he required and mend it: the architect obeyed, and taking the church to pieces with a like number of workmen, rebuilt it in a very short time quite completely. And we blessed God, forasmuch as, at a time when Christians were so lukewarm, it had pleased him to stir up a heathen so zealously to build a church in honour of his divine majesty.

And to shew how affectionately the governor looked to our affairs, I will give one particular instance, and so end this chapter. In the months of June, July, and August, the south-west winds generally reign in Cochin-China, which cause such an extraordinary heat, that the houses are perfectly parched and dried up; and being all of wood, the least spark of fire that, through negligence or other accident, falls upon them, immediately catches as it would do in tinder; and therefore during those months there

are generally great fires throughout the kingdom ; for when it has taken hold of one house, the flame soon spreads to those that lie in the direction the wind blows, and miserably consumes them. To deliver us from this danger, our house being in the middle of the city, and to make it further appear what esteem the governor had for us, he issued an edict, commanding that the tops of all the houses that lay south-west of us should be taken off ; and there were so many of them that they extended at least two miles ; which he did to the end, that if any of them took fire, it might be the easier to prevent its passing forward to ours : and this was readily performed by them all, on account of the great respect they bore us.

#### CHAP. IV. — *Of the Governor of Pulucambi's Death.*

OUR affairs advanced very prosperously in this city, and it was now the time when divine Providence was, according to its usual method, to give us a taste of sufferings, wherewith God frequently tries his servants ; and so we ever see that he gives such a mixture of prosperity and adversity, that they neither be depressed by the one nor puffed up by the other : and as the primitive church was founded by the holy apostles upon these two pillars, of prosperity and tribulation, even so it pleased the Almighty that the new church of Cochin-China should be established by his apostolical ministers. The first beginning of this mission was very successful, as has been seen in the first chapter of this second part ; but very soon after ensued that terrible persecution for want of rain, which had like to have ruined all. Afterwards with the favour of the governor of Pulucambi, the storm seemed to be blown off, and the budding vine appeared to promise abundance of fruit : but it pleased him who disposes of all things, that the governor of Pulucambi's death, like a violent north wind, almost destroyed all in the bud. This misfortune happened as follows : the governor went out one day a hunting on his elephant, very well pleased, and the sport drawing him on, he did not reflect that he rode all day over a scorching plain, where the heat pierced his head in such a manner, that at night he fell into a burning fever ; upon notice whereof we hastened to the palace to visit, or rather to baptize him, if we found him in imminent danger. He kept us with him two days, we still pressing him to be baptized, as he had often said he would ; to which he always answered he was ordering his affairs for that purpose, but came to no conclusion. The third day he lost his senses, God so permitting for causes only known to himself ; and perhaps that vain honour he ever passionately coveted, was the reward of the good turns he did us : in fine, he began to rave, and so continued three days, till overcome by the violence of the distemper, he died without baptism.

Any man may guess how much we were concerned at this accident, seeing ourselves forsaken in a strange country, and destitute of all human help ; but it chiefly grieved us that a person so well disposed, and through whose means we had conceived hopes that the faith might spread throughout the whole kingdom, should die so in our hands without baptism. Abundance of their rites and superstitious ceremonies were performed at this governor's death, at which we were present to the last. It would be endless to relate them all, and therefore I will mention two or three, by which the others used by those Gentiles may be conceived : first, whilst he lay in his agony, there was a multitude of armed men, who incessantly cut and made thrusts in the air with their scimitars, cast darts and fire muskets in the rooms of the palace ; but particularly two, that stood on each side of the dying man, were continually striking the air about his mouth with their scimitars ; and both these and the others being asked, why they

they did so? told us, they frightened the devils, that they might not hurt the governor's soul as it was departing his body. These superstitious ceremonies made us pity their ignorance, but not fear any harm to ourselves, as followed when the governor was dead: for we had much cause to apprehend being expelled the province of Pulucambi, and perhaps all the kingdom, with the loss of all we had acquired towards settling Christianity, and perhaps worse. It is the custom when any great person dies for all the omfais, or priests of the country, to meet together, in order to find out, not the natural, but the superstitious cause of his death; and being unanimous upon what it may be, immediately that thing to which it is attributed, is ordered to be burnt, whether it be a house, garment, man or beast. Accordingly all the omfais being assembled in a great hall, they began to argue this point: we who were present, remembering the persecution for want of rain, there being at that time nothing extraordinary in the province, but the governor's kind reception to us, and his assigning a house, and building a church in the city, with such extraordinary tokens of affection for our holy law, did not at all question, but that these things being represented to them, they would lay the death of that lord to our charge, and consequently would order us all to be burnt alive, together with our house and church, and all our goods. Therefore we stood in a corner of the hall, recommending ourselves to God, and preparing ourselves for whatsoever his divine Majesty should suffer to be decreed against us; when one of the omfais, who was the eldest of them, and as it were their dean, standing up, said with a loud voice, that, in his opinion, the only cause of the governor's death was the falling of a beam some days since in the new palace; and he was the more apt to believe it, because all the distemper was in his head, as appeared by his raving; an evident sign, as he said of the stroke he had received in his head by the aforesaid beam, all which he meant metaphorically and in a superstitious sense, and therefore it pleased the other omfais, who all unanimously agreed in the same sentiment, and so rising without more to do, they went and set fire to that palace, which was all reduced to ashes, whilst we gave thanks to God for having escaped so manifest a danger.

This done, some other omfais who profess necromancy, came to the governor's palace to perform another superstitious ceremony according to the custom of the country. The kindred of the party deceased looking upon it as a great blessing, that any body inspired by an evil spirit should speak concerning the state of the soul departed; and to this purpose those wizard omfais were called, of whom they all earnestly beg that devilish favour, he that obtains it being much envied by the rest. These conjurers made their circles, and used several charms both in words and actions, that the devil might enter into some one of the governor's kindred, who were there in a suppliant posture, but all in vain. At last a sister of the governor, for whom he had an extraordinary affection, came in, and begging the same favour, immediately gave manifest signs that she was possessed: for being decrepid by reason of her great age, and not able to go alone, she began, to the astonishment of the spectators, to skip as nimbly as if she had been a young girl, and the stick she threw from her hung in the air all the while the devil was in her body, during which time, talking in a raving manner, and doing many disorderly actions, she uttered several extravagancies about the state and place her brother's soul was in; and concluding her mad discourse, the devil leaving her, she fell down as if she had been dead, remaining so exhausted for the space of eight days, that she could not stir for mere weakness; all the kindred and friends flocking to visit her, and congratulate her happiness, in that she had been chosen

chosen among all the relations for an action (as they thought it) so glorious and honourable to the dead man.

At length they began to order the funeral of this lord; and as in the Catholic church it is the custom to honour the memory of men renowned for sanctity of life, by a solemn canonization, so in Cochin-China, the devil always mimicking holy things, the more to delude the people, it is customary to honour the death of those who have been universally reputed just men, and upright in their actions, and adorned with moral virtues, with great solemnity and magnificence, canonizing them, if we may so call it, after their manner, by eternizing their memory, and giving them immortal veneration. For this reason the governor of Pulucambi, who by all men, not only in his own province, but throughout all the kingdom, was for his extraordinary natural parts, reputed a man of great wisdom and incomparable prudence, his government being adorned with singular justice and integrity, together with an unfeeling inclination and affection for all needy persons, was judged not to require a doleful sad funeral pomp, as was due to others; but on the contrary all demonstrations of joy and grandeur, which might declare him worthy of religious honours, and to be added to the number of their gods. This being decreed, they all endeavoured to lay aside their mourning and sorrow, and to express entire pleasure and satisfaction; and to this purpose all the governor's kindred, for the space of eight days, sumptuously treated all the people, during which time they did nothing from morning till night, but eat and drink, sing, dance, and play upon musical and warlike instruments.

After eight days the body was carried in a silver coffin, gilt, under a canopy, to the city where he was born, called Chifu, three day's journey distant, attended by a multitude of all sorts, of people dancing and rejoicing, leaving the palace where he died utterly uninhabited, that it might fall to ruin, and no sign of it remain; so that the memory of the governor's death might be lost in perpetual oblivion, he still remaining alive with continual praise and veneration in the hearts and mouths of all men. Being come to a spacious plain without Chifu, they all fell to work upon a palace twice as magnificent and sumptuous as that the governor died in; and to make a greater shew of the dead man's wealth, they built as many galleys as he used to keep, upon wheels, for them to run upon dry land. In the same manner they made wooden elephants and horses, and all other moveables used when the governor went abroad when alive without sparing any cost. In the midst of the palace they erected a stately temple, with a fine altar, on which they placed the coffin covered, and hid with such curious workmanship, that the hieroglyphics, carving, and painting greatly move those gentiles to respect. For three days continually they performed several sacrifices and ceremonies, by the ministry of five or six hundred omfais, all clad in white, who spent the time in singing and sacrificing, offering wine, oxen, and buffaloes in great numbers; the public entertainments continuing these three days for above two thousand men of note, every one having his table to himself, according to custom, and each of them covered with above two hundred dishes. At the end of the three days they set fire to all that pile, burning the palace and temple, with all the perfumes and furniture, only saving the coffin with the body, which was afterwards buried, and privately removed to twelve several graves, that the people being always in doubt where it had been left, that uncertainty might increase the honour of the new idol, they adoring it in all those places where they thought the bones might be. Thus the solemnity ended for that time, till some months after, that is, in the seventh moon, according to their computation of time, it was repeated in the same manner as it had

been

been performed at first; a few months after, it was done a third time; and so from time to time for three years, all the revenues assigned the governor of that province by the King being spent upon this solemnity for three years; and therefore no other governor was appointed during that time, they being persuaded that the dead man's soul, which was placed among the gods, would continue in the government for these three years. However, his own son was appointed deputy governor, or lieutenant.

We three fathers of the society then in that province were present at most of this solemnity; and though we did not attend at their superstitious ceremonies, yet to avoid being thought ungrateful and unmannerly, we were forced to accept of some invitations, in one of which we were forewarned we should be asked where the governor's soul was, assuring us that if we said it was in hell we should presently be cut to pieces. We were soon after publicly asked the question, and answered, that no man could be saved without baptism; but that, through the mercy of God, and earnest desire to be baptised sufficing, where better cannot be, if the governor at last had such a desire, as it was likely he had because of the affection he bore our faith, as mentioned above, and that he would have asked it, but that the violence of his distemper hindered, therefore it might be believed he was saved and not damned.

This answer, though new and unexpected, in some measure satisfied them, in token whereof they offered us some whole buffaloes, some boiled, some roasted, which had been sacrificed to their new idol, the dead governor; but we refusing them, saying, our law forbid us to eat of that flesh so defiled by their sacrifice, instead of the dead sacrificed buffaloes, they ordered others alive to be given us: the governor's kindred afterwards sending us elephants, that we might return on them to Pulucambi with as much honour as when the governor was living.

These were the last favours we received in virtue of the governor of Pulucambi's favour; and therefore returning home, we were left like fatherless children, forsaken by all the world. Now nobody regarded us; the allowance of rice for our maintenance failed, and we having but twenty crowns must in a few days have been reduced to great misery and want; and if any one fell sick we durst not call any body to open a vein, because we had not wherewithal to pay for it: and though there were among them people very ready to supply the needy, especially with sustenance, as was said above, yet it was not convenient for us to ask any thing, lest we should lose all the advantage we gained, as to the conversion of souls, because they would have said we went not thither to preach the law of Jesus Christ, but to supply our wants under the protection of the governor. Nobody now came to our house, that first shew of authority ceasing; and though we had learned the language of the country, yet they made no account of the words of three poor men left in the midst of infinite idolators, and despised our doctrines, as an invention of our own carried thither to oppose their ancient sects and tenets.

Three years passed after this manner, and yet we were not so much troubled at our own wants, which God knows were very great, as to see every day less hopes of promoting the service of God among those pagans, having during these three years converted but very few, and that with unspeakable labour and toil. Things were in this state, in some measure desperate, we being inclinable to believe the time was not yet come when it would please God to enlighten the darkness of those people, either because our sins obstructed it, or some other hidden judgment of God. But when our human frailty shewed itself most diffident of divine assistance, even then, the more to confound us, the God of mercy shewed the wonderful effects of his divine omnipotence, that the noble undertaking of converting souls might be wholly attributed to

him, we then owning we had no power to proceed in it; and that we might know experimentally, that neither he who waters nor he who plants does any thing, but it is God that gives the increase, as will appear in the following chapter.

CHAP. V. — *How God made Way for the Conversion of the Province of Pulucambi, by Means of the noblest Persons in it.*

WE having nothing to maintain us at Pulucambi, and converting nobody, dispersed ourselves into several parts: F. Francis de Pina went to live at Faifó, a Japanese city as before mentioned, with a design to serve those Christians whose pastor he had been before, and to live upon their alms. He being well skilled in the language of Cochin-China, and talking it naturally, never ceased there to preach our holy faith. F. Francis Buzome went away for Turon, carrying along with him the best interpreter we had, to endeavour to obtain some alms of the Portuguese there that might at least maintain us two in Pulucambi, in our house at Nuocman, till some supply came from Macao.

Thus was I left at Pulucambi solitary and disconsolate, without any hopes of the conversion of those gentiles, when one day being at home, far from any such thought, I saw a number of elephants before our door, with many ladies, and a large retinue of gentlemen, after whom followed a great lady and principal matron, most richly clad, and adorned with abundance of rich jewels according to the fashion of the country. I was much surpris'd at the unusual appearance and majesty of the lady, and in suspense, not imagining what might be the intention of this new visit. Going out at last to receive her, I understood she was wife to the ambassador the King of Cochin-China was sending to the King of Cambogia, which ambassador was a native of Nuocman where we dwelt, and next the governor the chief man in that city, who was then at the court of Sinuá, treating with the King upon the subject of his embassy. After the usual ceremonies and compliments, according to the custom of the country, the lady being unwilling to lose time upon matters that were not to her purpose, "Let us come (said she) to the business I aim at. I have been fully informed, father, of your coming into this country and province, and of the occasion of your coming; I see the holy and unblemished life you lead; I know you preach and teach the true God; and being satisfied that this is most agreeable to reason, am persuaded that there is no true law but yours, nor other God but yours, nor any way to life everlasting but that you teach; and therefore my coming to your house is for no other intent but earnestly to beg of you, that, bathing me in your holy water, you will add me to the number of Christians: this is the utmost of my wishes and desires." In the first place I commended her good and holy resolution, exhorting her to return thanks to God for so signal a mercy bestowed on her in calling her to the knowledge of his holy law, there being nothing in this world to be valued equal to the salvation of the soul. Next I made my excuse for not complying immediately with her pious and reasonable request; because although I had some knowledge of the Cochin-Chinese language, yet it was not enough to instruct her in the lofty mysteries of our Christian religion; and therefore I advised her excellency to wait for F. Buzome, who in a few days was to return from Turon, having with him an excellent interpreter, by whose means she would be instructed as she ought to be to her own satisfaction, and obtain the end of her holy desires. "The great fire (replied she) that inflames my heart will not allow of such a long delay; and the more since my husband is hourly expected from court, with whom I am soon to embark for the kingdom of Cambogia, where the dangers of the sea being frequent, a storm may happen to rise, where dying I may perish for ever."

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She added that it was enough if I discoursed of divine matters as I did of other things, for she should understand all I said. These visible tokens of her resolution obliging me to it, I began in the best manner I could to inform her in several matters and principles of our holy faith. Soon after it pleased God F. Buzome returned, and seeing this good success, gave infinite thanks to God. The lady was much pleased with the arrival of the interpreter, whom she had so earnestly expected; with whose assistance, and her continual application, study, and attention at catechizing, which was done for two hours before and two hours after dinner, in a fortnight's time she became perfect in the Christian doctrine. Above all, what made the greatest impression on her heart was the knowledge of Jesus Christ, true God, made man, and humbled for the sake of man; and therefore, in some measure to imitate our Saviour's great humility, she for the future came to our house, which was a good mile from her's, not only without the state and elephants she used before, but bare-footed, in dirt, and upon stones, obliging her gentlemen and ladies, by her example, to imitate her devotion.

In our spiritual discourses, and exposition upon the catechism, when we came to make mention of hell, describe its torments, represent the greatness, eternity, and variety of torments there suffered, the horrible company of devils, the darkness of those infernal dungeons and uninhabitable dens, and lastly the torture of fire, both she and her ladies were so terrified, that having by themselves all night considered upon what they had heard, they came again the next day to tell us they would all be Christians to avoid that everlasting misery. But we telling them it was impossible, they being servants, and consequently concubines to the ambassador, according to the custom of the country, as has been mentioned in the first treatise, the ambassador's lady answered, "That impediment does not concern me."—"It is so," said we, "for your excellency is your husband's only wife, and has not to do with other men, and therefore may freely be baptised." At these words, lifting up her hands to Heaven, she gave such tokens of joy as if she had been beside herself, though she had never been truly so much herself as when she shewed such signs of joy for that which ought to be the only cause of all our satisfaction. Her women, on the other hand, seeing themselves excluded the way of salvation, cried out aloud they would forbear being the ambassador's concubines, since it obstructed their baptism, and was the way to damnation. The lady seconded their good purposes, taking upon her to deliver them from that sin, and get every one of them a husband. All lets and impediments being removed by the promises of the lady and firm purposes of the women, one day, which was the most joyful I ever saw in my life, the ambassador's lady richly apparelled and decked with jewels, and nobly attended to our church by gentlemen, was baptised with twenty-five of her women, and as the chief of them called Ursula, to the glory of Jesus Christ, who by means of these few women opened a way to the conversions made by our mission in Cochin-China.

After they were baptised we went in procession to the palace of the ambassador's lady Ursula, where there was an oratory, in which she used before to perform her superstitious devotions to an idol. When we came in we first sprinkled the house with holy water, and then the lady and her women courageously laid hold of the idol, and throwing it violently against the ground, beat it to pieces, trampling on it; in whose place we set up a fine picture of our Saviour, which those new devout Christians falling down devoutly worshipped, owning themselves his most humble and devout slaves. Then we put about their necks some Agnus Dei's, crosses, medals, and relics, which they valued above the gold chains and strings of pearls they were adorned with. Having obtained this victory over the devil, after saying the litany and other prayers in the oratory,

oratory, now blessed, F. Buzome and I returned home with that satisfaction and thanksgiving that every man may imagine. The ambassador's lady and her women came after this every day duly to mass, catechize, and other spiritual exercises, with great tokens of fervour and Christian piety.

At this time the ambassador, husband to the lady Ursula, came from court to depart in a short time upon his embassy to the King of Cambogia. It is the custom of that country, when the head of a family comes from afar off, for the wife children, and the rest of the family, to go out at least a mile upon the way to meet him. The lady Ursula failed to perform this ceremony, being then retired in her oratory. The husband wondering at it, and suspecting she might be hindered by sickness, asked what was become of her; but understanding she was well, wondered at it the more, till coming to the gate of his palace and missing the usual reception, he began to mistrust she was angry with him. At length he went up and into the oratory, where he found his lady and her maids, with Agnus Dei's and relics about their necks, beads in their hands, and other Christian signs, praying before the image of our Saviour. The ambassador was astonished at this sight, and his lady, directing her discourse to him, bid him not wonder that she had forbore the usual compliments to him, because she was raised to a higher pitch of honour than he was, both she and her women being children of the true God and Saviour of the world, Jesus Christ, whose picture she shewed him, saying, he ought to adore him if he would be equal to them in dignity. The ambassador, moved by his lady's words and the beauty of the picture, with tears in his eyes fell down and adored: then standing up, he turned to his wife and women saying, "How is it possible you should be Christians? Have you a mind to leave me? Do not you know that the law the fathers preach forbid polygamy? Therefore you must either find another dwelling-place, or I leave this to you and seek out another house." His lady answered, "Neither need you depart nor we leave you, for there will be a remedy for all things:" wisely concealing for the present the prohibition of plurality of wives, to avoid that difficulty which would have bred a disturbance. The ambassador took heart at these words, and conceiving as yet that he need not be obliged to leave his women, thus piously imposed upon, he said he would be a Christian too, and follow the good example set him by his wife and her women.

The next morning betimes the ambassador came to our house to tell us, that since we had made his wife a Christian, he had a mind to embrace the same religion, if we thought it practicable. Very practicable, said we, full of joy and satisfaction at so grateful a question; for in case he were resolved, we would in a short time instruct him sufficiently to be baptized. He was pleased; and as the affairs of his embassy took up the day, so that he had not leisure to be instructed, upon his request we agreed to go to his house at night, where we began to catechize him, continuing it for twenty nights four or five hours at a time, acquainting him with the mysteries of our holy faith, from the creation of the world till the redemption of man, the glory of heaven and pains of hell. It was no small matter for so great a person, and so full of business, to lose his sleep to hear the word of God; and he paid great attention to it, asking many very ingenious questions, which shewed his great wit. In all our discourses our whole aim was to imprint the truth of our holy law in the heart of this nobleman, and make it agreeable to reason, so that being made sensible of the great importance of salvation, and the terror of the pains of hell, and being well inclined to, and convinced of the certainty of, our religion, he might afterwards make less difficulty in the main point concerning polygamy, which was the only thing he stuck at, and which we till then had designedly forbore to speak of. Having gone so far towards the am-

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ambassador's conversion, we began to expound upon the commandments, where we informed him, that among Christians it was unlawful to have many wives.

The proposition was so unexpected, that like fire with water thrown on it, the ambassador presently cooled, and taking leave of us, said this was a matter of great consequence, and therefore required time to come to a resolution. This answer was so displeasing and grievous to us, that returning home we spent that night in prayer and mortification, praying to God with all the fervour we could, that he would be pleased to put a happy conclusion to the work he had so well begun. Next morning one of the most learned omfais in the city came to us from the ambassador, to examine the reasons for the prohibition of polygamy. Among other objections this man made one, in his opinion of the greatest force; which was, why plurality of wives should be forbid, since generation and children were a work of perfection, and so agreeable to nature, chiefly when a man had a barren wife, as was the ambassador's case, and might not have another to get heirs upon. We wanted not answers according to our divinity, but perceiving they were not satisfactory to them who were not used to our theological notions, we at last added a reason out of scripture, whereof the ambassador had before some knowledge from us, and it pleased God this made an impression on his heart, and absolutely convinced him. This was putting him in mind, that God being so just, and the law he had prescribed so agreeable to natural reason, as he himself had owned, he ought without doubt to obey in this point, since God himself commanded it; and this so much the more in regard that God creating man, intimated the same to him, when there was most occasion for propagating the human race, and yet he gave Adam but one wife, whereas he could as easily have given him many more, that man might multiply the faster. This reason, I say, fully satisfied the ambassador, yet finding it difficult to observe the precept, as being a thing he was much addicted to: "Is there no remedy," said he, "or dispensation from the pope, or any other means, though never so difficult, to have this point remitted?" We told him it was in vain to seek any redress whatsoever in this case; and therefore, if he desired to be saved, he must dismiss the other women, and stick to his wife. Then the ambassador lifting up his eyes and hands to heaven, as it were struggling with himself, and pressed on by truth, with a generous resolution said, "If then multiplicity of wives be inconsistent with my salvation, let them all go in the name of God; for it is a pity to lose an eternity of glory, for a transitory delight." Then turning to his concubines, who were present with his wife, he discharged them all: but perceiving they laughed at his discharge, as a thing that would never stand good, to shew he was in earnest, he ordered his wife to pay them all off immediately, and let not one of them stay in his palace that night. After which turning again to the fathers, "Behold," said he, "I have readily performed all you commanded me." Having obtained our desires, we went home to give thanks to Almighty God.

But the devil found out a way still to make opposition, making use of the lady Ursula's womanish temper; for she had not the heart to turn away those women she had bred up from their infancy in her house, and loved them as if they were her own children. Therefore some strife arising between the man and his wife, he pressing to have them gone, and she opposing, the ambassador dissatisfied came to us to justify himself, and desire to be baptised, since the impediment was removed, he being willing the women should depart from his house. We were about going to work, perceiving he spoke rationally, and particularly because he resolved they should not continue in his house as his concubines, but as his lady's servants. But the good man making a pause as if he were reflecting, at last said he had a scruple to propose:

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“ Since, according to what you fathers have taught me,” said he, “ God sees into the heart of man, and cannot be deceived, though I desire to forsake and send away the women, yet whilst they continue in the house, I plainly see, either my old habits or the frailty of nature will easily cause me to fall again into sin; therefore methinks I do not proceed with due sincerity in this affair.” We perceiving, by the ambassador’s discreet and Christian discourse, he foresaw the danger of being in the immediate opportunity of sin, studied some proper means to remove so considerable an impediment; but nothing occurring for the present, he himself being very earnest upon the business, proposed a method, which we adhered to as the best of all others: “ Fathers,” said he, “ the safest way I can think of is, that you as their directors powerfully persuade the Christian women that were my concubines, (for the heathens I will infallibly make my wife turn away), that in case through frailty I should be under any temptation they resist me resolutely; and forasmuch as I bear a great respect to, and stand in awe of our Saviour’s picture placed in the oratory, if the women lie in that place, I will rather be torn to pieces than have any thing to do with them in the presence of that great lord; and they being thus secured against me, till there be an opportunity of marrying them, it will be known abroad that they are not kept in the house as my concubines, but only as servants to my sole wife Urfula, and the people will be sensible I do not act contrary to the law of God.” This method was so well approved of, that the day after it was put in execution, the ambassador was baptized in great state, attended by drums, fiefs and other instruments, and he himself clad in rich apparel. With him were baptized twenty other gentlemen, his best friends, and he had the name of our holy patriarch Ignatius given him. After which, taking his wife Urfula by the hand, she renewed the old contract of matrimony as a sacrament of the church. The joy they all experienced at their baptism and new marriage was unspeakable.

It now remained that the ambassador should depart on his embassy for Cambogia; and he ordered that the ship which was to carry him, should have a cross in its colours, and the picture of the glorious father St. Ignatius his protector, causing all the jacks and pennants to express the religion he professed. Embarking with all his gentlemen and Christian women, he had a prosperous voyage from Nuocman to Cambogia. When the squadron appeared, being well known to the people of Cambogia to be the ambassador’s, they were all astonished at seeing Christian colours set up; and therefore they imagined that the King of Cochin-China, instead of the ordinary ambassador, had sent some extraordinary Portuguese Christian; but their doubt was soon cleared, on seeing the usual ambassador land with a cross and medals on his breast among the gold chains and jewels. This sight on the one hand moved the Portuguese and Japanese Christians, who reside there on account of trade, to give shouts of joy, and bless God for this new offspring Cochin-China had produced; and on the other, the heathens could not believe that the ambassador, who before was observed to be excessively lascivious, should embrace the Christian religion, which forbids all immodesty. But the grace of the Holy Ghost soon appeared to strengthen human frailty; for though the ambassador at his palace in Cambogia, had double the number of concubines, that generally used to attend his wife, he ordered them to be all dismissed; nor did he ever lift up his eyes to look at them; which made his fame spread abroad, as of a man of singular sanctity and virtue; and being reputed a man of great knowledge, his example moved many of the most learned persons of Pulucambi to be baptized.

CHAP. VI. — *How God opened another Way to Christianity, through the Means of the learned People among the Heathens.*

GOD's infinite mercy, and his ardent desire for the salvation of mankind, discovers various means suitable to the several conditions of persons, which are as it were so many ways to direct and lead them to that end for which they were created. Thus we see he himself in person called upon his people, and complying with the inclination of the persons, invited the wise man by means of the star; Denis the Areopagite, the astronomer, by the prodigy of the wonderful eclipse; St. Augustine by the knowledge of the true light and law, and the confusion and obscurity of former errors; and in fine, he calls the ignorant multitude, by the means of prodigies, wonders, and miracles. So it fell out in the new church of Cochin-China; for when his divine majesty had by himself convinced some of the principal persons, as has been shewn, next he called not only the learned and wise philosophers and mathematicians, by means of some eclipses, as shall be explained in this chapter, but also the *omsais* or priests, who were hardened in the errors of their heathen sects, to the knowledge of the true religion, as the following chapter will make appear. And lastly in the next to that we shall set down how he opened the way of salvation to the people by means of several prodigies and miracles.

Now to come to the manner of converting the wise and learned Cochin-Chinese, reputed excellent mathematicians, by means of the eclipse. For the better understanding of what follows, it is requisite in the first place to be acquainted with a custom they have in this kingdom relating to the science of astrology, but particularly of eclipses; for they make such a great account of it, that they have large halls where it is taught in their university, and there are special allowances assigned the astrologers; as for instance, lands which pay them a tribute or stipend. The King has his peculiar astrologers, and so has the Prince his son, who use all their art to set down eclipses exactly. But wanting the reformation of the calendar and other matters, relating to the motion of the sun and moon which we have, they commit some mistakes in the calculation of the moons and eclipses, wherein they generally err two or three hours, and sometimes, though not so often a whole day; though generally they are right as to the material part of the eclipse. Every time they hit right, the King rewards them with a certain quantity of land; and so when they mistake, that same quantity is taken from them.

The reason why they make such account of foretelling the eclipse, is because of the many superstitions at that time used towards the sun and moon, for which they prepare themselves in a very solemn manner: for the King being told the day and hour a month before the eclipse happens, sends orders throughout all the provinces of the kingdom, for the learned and common people to be in readiness that day. When the time is come, all the lords in every province meet with their governors, commanders, and gentry, and the people with their proper officers in every city and liberty. The greatest assembly is at court, where the principal men of the kingdom are, who all go out with colours and arms. First goes the King clothed in mourning, and after him all the court, who lifting up their eyes to the sun or moon, as the eclipse comes on them, make several obeisances and adorations, speaking some words of compassion for the pain those planets endure; for they look upon the eclipse to be no other, but that the dragon swallows up the sun or moon; and therefore, as we say, the moon is all or half eclipsed, so they say, "Da an nua, Da an het;" that is, the dragon has eaten half, now he eats all.

This way of expression, though it be nothing to the purpose, yet it shews that they assign the same ground for the eclipse originally that we do, which is the cutting of the eclipse, that is the sun's circle and the line of the course of the moon in those two points which we call the dragon's head and tail, as astronomers well know: whence it follows, that the very same doctrine and the same terms and names of the dragon, are common to both us and them, and so they give names like ours to the signs of the zodiac, such as Aries, Taurus, Gemini, &c. And thus in process of time the people have invented fabulous causes of the eclipse, instead of the true, saying that the sun and moon, when eclipsed are drowned by the dragon; whereas at that time they are really in the head or tail of the astronomical dragon.

Now to speak of the compassion they have for those suffering planets; when the adoration is over, they begin first at the King's palace, and then throughout all the city, to fire muskets and cannon, ring bells, sound trumpets, beat drums, and play upon other instruments, even to the clattering of the kettles, and other utensils of the kitchen in all houses: and this is done in order that the dragon may be frightened with the great noise, and not proceed to eat any more but vomit up what he has already eaten of the sun or moon.

When we were informed of this custom, the first eclipse that happened was one of the moon in the year 1620, on the 9th of December at eleven at night. I was then in the city of Nuoecman in the province of Pulucambi, where was the commander of the ward we lived in, whose son was become a Christian; though the father, being proud of his own learning, despised not only our religion, but our knowledge; and we earnestly desired his conversion, hoping that if he received the Catholic faith, his example would induce those of his ward or quarter to do the same. This man came once to visit us before the eclipse of the moon happened, and in discourse we chanced to talk of it, he positively affirming there would be no such eclipse: and though we demonstrated it to him, according to our calculation, and shewed him the figure of it in our books, yet he would never believe it; alledging among other arguments for his obstinacy, that if any such eclipse were like to be, the King would doubtless have sent him notice a month before, according to the custom of the kingdom, whereas there wanted but eight days of the time by us appointed; wherefore he having no such advice, it was a certain sign there would be no such eclipse. He persisting obstinately in his opinion would needs lay a wager of a cabaia, which is a silk gown. We agreed to it on condition that if we lost we were to give him such a garment; but if we won, instead of paying the gown, he was to come to us for eight days successively, to hear the catechism and mysteries of our faith expounded. He replied, he would not only do so, but the very moment he saw the eclipse would become a Christian: for he said, if our doctrine was so certain and infallible in such hidden and heavenly things as eclipses are, and theirs so erroneous, there was no doubt but our religion and knowledge of the true God was no less certain and safe, and theirs false. The day of the eclipse being come, the aforesaid gentleman, with a great many scholars, came to our house at night, bringing them as witnesses of the event. But because the eclipse was to be at eleven at night, I went to say my office, turning up the hour glass in the meanwhile. An hour before the time these men came several times, calling upon me by way of derision to see the eclipse, thinking I had not withdrawn to say my office, but had hid myself for shame that there would be no eclipse. Yet they could not but wonder at my assurance in answering them that the hour was not yet come, till the glass was run out, which they gazed at, as if it had been some wonderful thing. Then going out, I shewed them that the circle of the

moon on that side the eclipse began, was not so perfect as it should be, and soon after all the moon being darkened, they perceived the truth of my prediction. The commander and all of them being astonished, presently sent to give notice of it to all the ward, and spread the news of the eclipse throughout the city; that every man might go out to make the usual noise in favour of the moon; giving out every where, that there were no such men as the fathers, whose doctrine and books could not fail being true, since they had so exactly foretold the eclipse, which their learned men had taken no notice of; and therefore in performance of his promise, the commander with all his family became Christians, as did many more of his ward, with some of the most learned men of the city and others of note.

Such another accident happened at the same time, though among people of greater quality, and in a more eminent place. Though the King's astrologers had not foreseen this eclipse, yet those belonging to the Prince at Cacciam, being more studious and intelligent, foretold it, but with a gross mistake as to the time: for it was not of an hour or two as usual, but of a whole day, giving out that the full moon and consequently the eclipse would be a day sooner than it was. F. Francis de Pina, who was then at court, had given notice of it to a courtier who was very great with the Prince, being his omgne; that is, similar to master of the ceremonies. The father told him, that since the eclipse was not to happen as their astrologers said, but as F. Christopher Borri affirmed, the following night, he should give the Prince his master notice of it. But the omgne not giving entire credit to the father would not do that duty of his office at that time. The hour appointed by the astrologers being come, and the Prince having notice of it, he went out with his whole court, according to custom, to see and help the moon, that as they said was to be eclipsed; but finding he was deceived, and growing angry with his mathematicians for their mistake, he ordered they should forfeit the revenue of a town, according to the custom before mentioned. Hence the omgne took occasion to acquaint the Prince that the European father had, before this happened, told him the eclipse would be the night following. The Prince was mightily pleased that the fathers should hit right, where his mathematicians had miscarried.

The omgne repaired immediately to the father, to know the precise time of the eclipse; who having shewed him that it was to be exactly at eleven the following night, he still continued doubtful of the truth of the matter, and therefore would not wake the Prince till he saw the beginning of the eclipse. Then he ran to rouse him, and he coming out with some of his courtiers, performed the usual ceremonies and adorations to the moon. Yet he would not make the matter publicly known, for fear of utterly discrediting their books and mathematicians, though all men conceived a great opinion of our doctrine, and particularly the omgne, who from that time forwards for a whole month came to hear the catechizing, diligently learning all that belongs to our holy faith. However he was not baptized, wanting resolution to overcome the difficulty of the multiplicity of women, as the ambassador Ignatius had done before. He forbore not nevertheless with much fervour publicly to declare that our doctrine and law were true, and all others false, and said he would certainly die a Christian, which excited many others to desire to be baptized.

Having mentioned the eclipse of the moon, we will conclude with another of the sun, which happened on the 22d of May 1621, and which the King's astrologers foretold was to last two hours; but having conceived a great opinion of us as to this particular, for their own greater security they came to ask our opinion concerning it. I told them it was true there would be an eclipse of the sun, the figure of which I shewed

in our ephemerides ; but I purposely forbore to let them know that it would not be seen in Cochin-China, by reason of the moon's parallax to the sun. Now they know not what the parallax is, which is the reason they are often deceived, not finding the just time by their books and calculations. This I did, that their error being observed, our knowledge might appear the more : I therefore demanded time to find out the precise time, saying, in general terms, it was requisite to measure heaven by the earth, to discover whether that eclipse would be visible in their country ; and I delayed the answer so long, till the time of making known the eclipse being come, the astrologers, satisfied that our book agreed with their opinion, without farther reflection, concluded the eclipse was most certain, and advised the King to publish it after the usual manner. When the astrologers had spread their false predictions throughout the kingdom, I gave it out that the eclipse would not be seen at all in Cochin-China. This assertion of ours was communicated to the Prince, who being doubtful in the matter, sent his mathematicians to me to ask my opinion, and argue the point. This dispute had no other effect on them but only to increase their doubt, and hold the Prince in suspense, whether he ought to send his orders throughout the kingdom, as the King his father had done, or publish the contrary ; for, on the one hand, it wrought upon him to see that both their books and ours granted the eclipse, wherefore he thought it would be a dishonour to him in case he happened not to have sent the usual advice ; and, on the other hand, he had a great opinion of us on account of the antecedent eclipse of the moon. Hereupon sending to consult me again, I answered, that having calculated the eclipse very exactly, I found it could not possibly be visible in his kingdom ; and therefore he need not take any care to send advice about the country, for I would be answerable for his and his astrologers' reputation, against the King and his mathematicians. He at last relied upon my words, and took no care to give notice in his liberty of the eclipse ; the whole court and King's astrologers wondering at it, and they enquiring into the cause of the Prince's neglect, were answered, that he had better mathematicians in his court than the King his father : by which they understood that some of our fathers being there, he forsook the opinion of the natives for theirs. However the publication they had made being irrevocable, the usual preparations were made against the day of the eclipse, till the hour being come, they experimentally perceived their error. The day was clear and not a cloud to be seen, and though it was the month of May, when the sun is there in the zenith, and the time of the day about three in the afternoon when the heat is violent, yet the King did not omit to go out with his courtiers, enduring all the burning sun for a long time ; but finding himself imposed upon, and being much incensed, as well on account of the great heat he endured as at the ignorance of his mathematicians, who had put him to that trouble without any reason, he reprimanded them severely. They alleged for their excuse that there would be an eclipse infallibly, but that they had made a day's mistake as to the conjunction of the moon, and therefore it would be seen the next day at the same hour. The King submitted to his astrologers, and coming out the next day at the same hour, suffered the same inconvenience of heat, to the great shame of his astrologers, who escaped not unpunished ; for he not only took away their revenues, but ordered they should kneel a whole day in the court of the palace bare-headed, exposed to the heat of the sun, and to the scorn of all the courtiers. To return to the Prince who had got the better in this point, he wrote to his father in a jesting manner, that though he was his son, he had outdone him as to the eclipse, and had more learned men at his court.

It is not to be imagined how much reputation this accident gained us among the learned, insomuch that even the King's and Prince's mathematicians came to us,  
earnestly

earnestly begging we would receive them as our scholars; and upon this account the fame of the fathers was every where so great, that not only our knowledge in astronomy but our religion was extolled above their own; they arguing from the heavenly bodies to things above the heavens, as I said before.

CHAP. VII. — *How God opened another Way to Christianity, by means of the Omsaiis, or Heathen Priests.*

GOD in his infinite wisdom foreknowing of how great consequence it would be for the conversion of those heathens, that some of their priests or omsaiis should be converted, because of the great authority they have among all the people, it pleased his divine majesty to open even this way to his holy faith. An omsaii, whose name was Ly, lived near to our house, and had the charge of an idol temple, and being a neighbour had frequent opportunities of conversing with us, and of coming to some knowledge of our rules, actions, and course of life. This pleased him so well, that proceeding still farther, he would needs be informed as to the law of God, whereof we gave him a full account; and coming to discourse of the resurrection of our Lord, shewing him how he rose again, that he and all men might rise again the last day, he was so pleased at it, that being inspired by God, he asked to be baptized, which was accordingly granted to him and all his family on Christmas night, which he spent on his knees in prayer with floods of tears, uttering these words: "*Tuii ciam biet;*" that is, "I knew not:" as if he would have said, "Forgive me, my God, for till now I knew you not." Then continuing some time very still, as it were contemplating, he repeated the same words, making a sweet harmony to the new born infant. After baptism he took such an affection for us, that he resolved to come to us with all his family, that he might live under our rule; but being informed that could not be done, because he was married, he resolved to live nearer to our house, that he might regulate his actions by the sound of our bell, even to saying the long litany in his oratory, at the time we used to say it every day, according to the custom of the society. And it is remarkable, that observing us at a certain hour used to say our beads walking, he would walk at the same time, to the amazement of his countrymen, who look upon walking as a strange and ridiculous action, for they never going a step but what is about business, or to some diversion, regarded our walking as idle, because we went to a place for no other purpose but to return; so that the people flocked to see us walk, and admiring the strangeness of it said, "*Omsaii di lay;*" that is, "the father goes and comes, goes and comes." Yet their gazing did not make omsaii Ly leave off his custom, which tended to nothing but to be like us in all points. He had but one wife, and had lived about thirty years, which was his age, so strictly up to the law of nature, that he had never, as he said, to that time, knowingly deviated in any matter of consequence from what was just and upright; and his adoring of idols was because he thought it contrary to reason not to adore them. This shews how true that doctrine of divines is, namely, that God never fails to have baptism administered, either by the hands of men, as this was, or the ministry of angels, to a heathen who lives a good moral life, according to the dictates of reason and law of nature. This omsaii Ly wholly devoted himself to the service of God, and after providing for the maintenance of his family, all he and they could earn was bestowed upon our church, taking special care of its neatness and decency, and of adorning the altars.

Nor was this all God required of this his beloved servant; for he so inflamed his heart, that he applied himself to preach the faith of Christ publicly, making the mystery

of the resurrection the usual subject of his discourse, whereby he attracted and converted abundance not only of the common sort, but several omfais; and though he was none of the most learned, yet his fervour so well supplied that defect, that among those who came to desire baptism there was one of the most learned and famous men of the kingdom, whose authority, he himself proving the falsity of the heathen sects, immediately increased the harvest of the church. This man therefore took upon him to oppose the other gentiles, easily confuting them, as being well acquainted with the grounds they went upon; hereby very much easing our fathers, who not being so well acquainted with their sects, could not so well oppose them.

And in truth there was need of this assistance; for there is such variety of omfais in that country, that it looks as if the devil had endeavoured among these gentiles to represent the beauty and variety of religious orders instituted by holy men in the Catholic church, their several habits answering their several professions; for some are clad in white, others in black, some in blue, and other colours; some living in community, some like curates, chaplains, canons, and prebends; others profess poverty, living upon alms; others exercise the works of mercy, ministering to the sick, either natural physic or magical charms, without receiving any reward; others undertaking some pious work, as building bridges or such other things for the public good, or erecting temples, and going about the kingdom, begging alms to this purpose, even as far as the kingdom of Tonchin; others teach the doctrine of their religion, who being very rich, have public schools, as universal masters. There are also some omfais who profess the farrier's trade, and compassionately cure elephants, oxen and horses, without asking any reward, being satisfied with any thing that is freely given them. Lastly, others look to the monasteries of women, who live in community, and admit of no man among them but the omfai who looks after them, and they are all his wives.

There are vast temples with beautiful towers and steeples, nor is there any town, though never so little, without a temple to worship its idols, which are generally very large statues with abundance of gold and silver shut up in their breasts or bellies, where nobody dares to touch it, till extreme necessity obliges some thief to gut the idol, without regard to so great a sacrilege as that is accounted among them; and what is very remarkable, they have chaplets and strings of beads about their necks, and make so many processions that they outdo the Christians in praying to their false gods. There are also among them some persons resembling abbots, bishops, and archbishops, and they use gilt staves not unlike our croziers, insomuch that if any man come newly into that country, he might easily be persuaded there had been Christians there in former times: so near has the devil endeavoured to imitate us. This will give us an opportunity of here adding a chapter of the sects in Cochin-China, to give some light how we may draw that people out of such darkness, and bring them into the light of the gospel.

#### CHAP. VIII. — *A short Account of the Sects in Cochin-China.*

THE end of all sects is either the god they adore, or the glory and happiness they expect; some believing the immortality of the soul, others concluding that all ends when the body dies. Upon these two principles the eastern nations build all their sects; all which took their origin from a great metaphysician of the kingdom of Siam, whose name was Xaca, much more ancient than Aristotle, and nothing inferior to him in capacity, and the knowledge of natural things. The acuteness of this man's wit

exciting him to consider the nature and fabric of the world, reflecting on the beginning and end of all things, and particularly of human nature, the chief lady of this worldly palace; he once went up to the top of a mountain, and there attentively observing the moon, which rising in the darkness of the night, gently raised itself above the horizon to be hid again the next day in the same darkness, and the sun rising in the morning to set again at night, he concluded that moral as well as physical and natural things were nothing, came of nothing, and ended in nothing. Therefore returning home, he wrote several books and large volumes on this subject, entitling them, "Of Nothing;" wherein he taught that the things of this world, by reason of the duration and measure of time, are nothing; for though they had existence, said he, yet they would be nothing, nothing at present, and nothing in time to come, for the present being but a moment, was the same as nothing.

His second argument he grounded on the composition of things: let us instance, said he, a rope, which not being naturally distinguished from its parts, inasmuch as they give its being and composition, so it appears that the rope as a rope is nothing; for as a rope it is no distinct thing from the threads it is composed of, and the hemp has no other being but the elements whereof its substance consists; so that resolving all things after this manner into the elements, and those to a sort of *materia prima* and mere *potentia*, which is therefore actually nothing, he at last proved, that the heavenly things, as well as those under the heavens, were truly nothing!

In the same manner did he argue as to moral things: that the natural happiness of man did not consist in a positive concurrence of all that is good, which he looked upon as impossible, but rather in being free from all that is evil, and therefore said, it was no other thing but to have no disease, pain, trouble, or the like; and for a man to have such power over his passions as not to be sensible of affection or aversion, to honour or disgrace, want or plenty, riches or poverty, life or death, and that herein consisted true beatitude: whence he inferred, that all these things being nothing, they took their origin as it were from a cause not efficient but material, from a principle which in truth was nothing but an eternal, infinite, immense, immutable, almighty, and to conclude, a God that was nothing, and the origin of this nothing!

As a prelude or introduction to his sect, this philosopher gave some account of the making of the world under two metaphors. The one was that the world came out of an egg, which stretched out so vastly that the heavens were made of the shell; the air, fire and water of the white; and of the yolk, the earth and all earthly things. The other metaphor he took from the body of a vast great man, whom they call Banco, whom he would call Microcosm; saying, that the mass of the world came from him, his skull extending to form the heavens, his two eyes making the sun and moon, his flesh the earth, his bones the mountains, his hair plants and trees, and his belly the sea; and thus applying all the limbs and parts of man's body to the fabric and ornament of the world, he added, that the other men spread about all the world, were made of this great man's lice!

Having established this doctrine of nothing, he gathered some scholars, by whose means he spread it throughout all the east. But the Chinese, who knew that a sect which reduced all things to nothing was hurtful to the government, would not hearken to it, nor allow there was no punishment for wicked men, or that the happiness of the good should be reduced only to the being free from sufferings in this world, and the authority of the Chinese being so great, others following their example rejected his doctrine. Xaca dissatisfied that he was disappointed of followers, changed his mind, and retiring wrote several other great books, teaching that there was a real origin

origin of all things, a lord of heaven, hell, immortality, and transmigration of souls from one body to another, better or worse, according to the merits or demerits of the person; though they do not forget to assign a sort of heaven and hell for the souls of departed, expressing the whole metaphorically under the names of things corporeal, and of the joys and sufferings of this world.

This second doctrine being made public, the Chinese received it, and above others the bonzes, who are generally the meanest and most inconsiderable people in Japan, who being zealous for their spiritual advantage admitted this doctrine, and preserved it in twelve several sorts of sects all differing from one another, though that which is most followed and esteemed is the opinion and sect that believes all to be nothing, which they call *gensu*. These sometimes go abroad into a field to hear a sermon, that is, a discourse of bliss made by a bonzo, who treats of no other subject but to persuade his congregation that human bliss is nothing, and that he is happy who values not whether he has children or no children, whether he is rich or poor, sick or well, and the like; and the bonzo preaches this doctrine with such strength of argument and vehemence, that the audience being fully bent upon the contempt of all things, which in themselves they look upon as nothing, suffering themselves to be in a manner transported, they express their satisfaction and happiness in this manner, often crying out with a loud voice, "xin, xin, xin," that is, nothing, nothing, nothing, accompanying their voices with certain bits of boards they clap between the fingers of one hand, striking them together with the other (as boys play on their snappers), and with this noise they are quite beside themselves, as if they were drunk, and then they say they have done an act of bliss. The Japanese and others making so great account of this opinion of nothing, was the cause that when Xaca the author of it approached his death, calling together his disciples, he protested to them on the word of a dying man, that during the many years he had lived and studied, he had found nothing so true, nor any opinion so well grounded as was the sect of nothing; and though his second doctrine seemed to differ from it, yet they must look upon it as no contradiction or recantation, but rather a proof and confirmation of the first, though not in plain terms, yet by way of metaphors and parables, which might all be applied to the opinion of nothing, as would plainly appear by his books.

But it is time to return to our Cochin-Chinese, who not receiving this most foolish and vain doctrine, which denying the substantial form, reduces all things to nothing, they generally throughout all the kingdom hold the immortality of the soul, and consequently eternal rewards for the just, and punishments for the wicked, yet mixing a thousand errors with these truths. The first of which is, that they do not distinguish between the immortal soul and the demons, calling both by one and the same name *Maa*, and attributing to them both the same practice of doing mischief to the living. The second is, that they assign one of the rewards of the soul to be transmigration from one body to another more worthy, nobler, and in greater dignity; as from one of the common sort to a King, or great lord. The third, that the souls of the dead stand in need of sustenance and corporeal food, and therefore at certain times in the year according to their custom, the children make plentiful entertainments for their dead parents, men for their wives, and friends for their acquaintance departed, waiting a long time for the dead guest to come and sit down at table to eat. We one day confuted these errors with arguments, which philosophers call *à priori*, and therefore told them, that the soul was a spirit, and had no mouth or other material part to eat, and therefore they were deceived to think they could feed. And then *à posteriori*, for

in case they did eat, the dishes would not be so full after they had done as they were before. They laughed at these arguments, saying, these fathers know nothing; and to solve both difficulties, answered, that meat consisted of two parts, one the substance, the other the accidents of quantity, quality, smell, taste and the like. The immaterial souls of the dead, said they, taking only the substance of the meat, which being immaterial was proper sustenance for the incorporeal spirit, left only the accidents in the dishes, as they appear to our corporeal eyes, to which purpose the dead had no need of corporeal parts, as we said. Any wise man may by this false answer discover the acuteness of the Cochin-Chinese philosophers, though they absolutely err as to the reality of the argument.

They also err in respect to the souls themselves, adoring those of men who were looked upon as holy in this world, adding them to the number of their idols, whereof their temples are full, placing orderly according to their several degrees, in rows along the sides of the temples, the least first, and so bigger and bigger till the last are extraordinary large. But the high altar being the most honourable place in the temple is purposely kept empty, behind which is a vacant dark space, to express that he whom they adore as God, and on whom the pagods call, who like us were visible and corporeal men, is invisible, wherein they think the greatest honour consists. Such a multitude of idols, by them accounted gods, giving us occasion to endeavour to demonstrate to them, that there can be but one only God; they answered, they agreed to it, supposing those that were placed along the sides of the temples, were not they that had created heaven and earth, but holy men whom they honoured, as we do the holy apostles, martyrs, and confessors, with the same distinction of greater and lesser sanctity, as we assign among our saints. And therefore to corroborate their assertion, they added, that the vacant dark place about the high altar, was the proper place of the creator of heaven and earth, who being invisible, and quite remote from our senses, could not be represented by visible images of idols, but that under that vacuity and darkness, due adoration was to be given him as to a thing incomprehensible, using the intercession of the idols, that they may obtain favours and blessings of him. And although, according to what has been hitherto said, they seem to have an efficient and intellectual cause for God, yet upon mature examination of the matter and their books, we find that they certainly adore a predominant element.

CHAP. IX. — *How God opened another Way to the Conversion of the meaner Sort by miraculous Means.*

IT remains that we shew how God acted conformably to the mean vulgar people of Cochin-China, who were accustomed to see phantoms, visions, and apparitions, the devil often appearing to them, was pleased to shew some miracles, to the end that declining in their opinion of diabolical prodigies, they might own the only Lord and singular worker of true wonders. The devils appear so frequently among those heathens, that not to speak of the oracles they deliver by the mouth of idols, which are in great esteem among the wretched gentiles, they walk about the cities so familiarly in human shapes, that they are not at all feared, but admitted into company; and this is carried so far that there are abundance of Incubi and Succubi. And among great people those husbands account themselves happy who know their wives to have such familiars; for generally they have to do with none but married women, publicly boasting that they are worthy to mix with a nature so much above their own as is the devils. It happened in my time, that a woman of great quality, mother of two sons  
who

who were Christians, envied by her neighbours, not so much for her beauty, as for her dishonest familiarity with a devil, positively refusing to become a Christian, happened to die in labour, and by the assistance of the devil brought forth two eggs. Now it being held as most certain among them, that the devil her Incubus was god of the rivers, they did not bury the body in a cave, building a chapel over it, as is the usual custom, but carrying it in solemn procession to a river, cast it, into the deep, together with the two eggs, saying, "let her go to the lord of the river since she was worthy to have to do with him when living." Among the common sort this filthiness is not esteemed an honour, but they rather account it a grievous distemper when their women are thus molested by the devil, as we should their being possessed. These women therefore understanding that the religion of the fathers was altogether opposite to the devil, they imagined they might have some medicine against this distemper, calling holy things, as the water of baptism, Agnus Dei's, and the like medicines, and therefore came to our house to beg such medicines; and by the grace of God all those that carried away with them any bit of Agnus Dei, were never more molested by the devil, yet with this difference, that those who were not Christians saw the Incubus come to the bed-side, but had not power to lay hold on or touch their persons, whereas the Christians perceived that he could not come near the chamber door, which occasioned several to be baptized.

Though these Incubi devils appearing in human shapes do no harm to the body, yet sometimes there are others that appear in horrid and frightful shapes, and the Cochinchinese who have often seen, describe them after the same manner as we paint them, for example, with a cock's face, a long tail, a bat's wings, a hideous look, bloody flaming eyes; and when they appear in such shapes, they are much feared, being then generally hurtful to men, sometimes carrying them up to the tops of houses to cast them down headlong. We once heard a wonderful noise of people in our street, crying out very loud, "Magui Maco," that is, the devil in a monstrous shape; whereupon some gentiles came running to beseech, that as we had weapons against those evil spirits, we would go relieve those distressed people who were infested by them. Having recommended ourselves to God, and armed ourselves with crosses, Agnus Deis and relics, two of us went to the place where the devil was, and came so near, that we only wanted turning round a corner to be upon him, when he suddenly vanished, leaving three prints of feet upon the pavement, which I saw, and were above two spans long, with the marks of a cock's talons and spurs. Some attributed the devils flying to the virtue of the holy cross and relics we carried with us.

These frightful apparitions God has made use of to attract many to his holy faith, yet not denying them good visions, as will appear, by the following accidents, which happened before me in that kingdom. The first was, as we were one day in our own house, we saw a procession of a vast multitude of people in a field, making towards us, and when they came, being asked what they would have, they answered, that a most beautiful lady came from their land through the air, on a throne of bright clouds, who bid them go to that city, where they should find the fathers, who would shew them the sure way to bliss, and the knowledge of the true God of heaven. This made us give thanks to the blessed Virgin, whose great benefit this was acknowledged to be, and having catechized and baptized the people, sent them home well pleased.

The second was at another time, F. Francis Buzome and I returning homeward together, such a multitude of people came to another place, who having paid us very much respect, told F. Francis Buzome, they were come to him to teach them what he promised them the night before when he was in their town. The father was astonished

at

at their demand, having never been in the place they spoke of; but examining into the matter, I found that God of his infinite mercy had caused some angel in the father's shape, or in a dream, had given those people some knowledge of our holy faith. The fame of these miracles being spread abroad, such numbers of people were converted, that the church given us by the governor was too little, and we were obliged to build one larger, his wife, children and kindred, with many other Christians, contributing towards it.

CHAP. X. — *Of the Churches and Christians of Faifo, Turon and Cacchiam.*

F. FRANCIS de Pina being gone to Faifo, a city of the Japanese, as before mentioned, he there joined F. Peter Marques, and they did great service in that city. The latter, who was master of the Japanese tongue, in a short time reformed some of those Christians who were become libertines and kept women, and converted many pagans. The other, who understood the language of Cochin-China, made many Christians, and having convinced some bonzos and omfais, by that means drew over many more to the holy faith; so that between the Japanese and Cochin-Chinese, that church for number and religious observance might be compared with many in Europe; such was their piety, zeal, frequenting of the sacraments, and other godly works. The church of Turon, which we mentioned in the second chapter of this book the heathens burnt down during the first persecution, was by God's permission rebuilt by means of the fathers of the society, who gained many Christians in that city.

Abundance of people were likewise converted to our faith at Cacchiam; which good work was much forwarded by the Omgne, who, on account of the father's foretelling the eclipse so certainly, as was before observed, publicly affirmed there was no other true religion but that which the fathers taught. This was the state of affairs there, when I came away out of that country for Europe, which was in the year 1622.

Afterwards, by the annual letters sent me by those fathers my companions left there cultivating that vineyard, I understood that there were still about a thousand converted and baptized in a year, and that Christianity flourished more than ever it had done, at Cacchiam particularly. But now of late they write, that the King had forbid any more becoming Christians, and threatened to expel the fathers out of the kingdom, because the Portuguese trade failed. Yet it pleased God this persecution went no further, the King being satisfied, provided one of the fathers went away to Macao, to endeavour to persuade the Portuguese to continue the trade, as it seems was afterwards done; so that things are now quiet, and the fathers continue gaining new Christians as they did at first.

CHAP. XI. — *Of the Kingdom of Tunchim.*

WHEN the superiors of Macao sent me into Cochin-China, they told me they did not absolutely intend I should continue in that mission, but only to learn the language, that I might afterwards discover the kingdom of Tunchim. For this reason, during the five years I dwelt there, I almost made it my business to enquire into and obtain certain information of the affairs of that kingdom, the language being the same, as formerly it was but one kingdom. I will therefore mention as much of it as any way concerns Cochin-China, which has some dependence upon Tunchim, and this accord-

ing to the accounts given me by natives of Tunchim, who came to the province of Pulucambi, where I resided most part of my time; the rest I will leave to the news we shall receive from our fathers, who are there still making further discoveries.

This kingdom, besides Cochin-China, which belongs to it, contains four other provinces, all extending equally in length and breadth. In the very centre of them is the royal city of Tunchim, from which the whole kingdom takes its name; there the court is kept and the King resides, being encompassed on all sides by those four provinces, composing a square four times as big as Cochin-China. On the east side of this kingdom is the gulf of Ainam, into which falls a great and navigable river that runs down eighteen leagues from the city Tunchim, and Japanese ships called jonks go up it. This river generally overflows twice a year, in June and November, drowning almost half the city, but it does not last long. On the south are the frontiers of Sinuva, the court of Cochin-China, as has been already observed. On the north of it is China, without the defence of a wall, the trade and commerce between the Chinese and Tunchinese being so mutual and constant, that it will not allow of walls and gates shut as they are against other foreigners. This is the reason that induces the fathers of the society to attempt the entrance into China that way, knowing they shall not on this side meet with all those impediments that strangers meet with throughout all the rest of the kingdom, and more especially about Canton. Lastly, on the west it borders on the kingdom of Lais, into which F. Alexander Rhodes of Avignon made his way through Cochin-China: and this kingdom I am of opinion cannot but border upon that of Tibet, newly discovered; which I am apt to believe, as well by reason of the extent and length of the land of Tibet and borders of Lais, as by the greatness and compass of these two kingdoms, it seems impossible that any other land should lie betwixt them; as also much more on account of what the same fathers who were there, relate of Tibet, who report that the farthest province of Tibet eastward borders upon and trades with a people who sell them raw silk and fine dishes, like those of China, and such like commodities, which we know Tunchim abounds in, and sell them to the Lais.

As to the government of this kingdom it is hereditary, and ruled as follows:—The supreme regal dignity resides in one they call Buna; but he of himself does nothing at all, every thing being left to his favourite, whom they call Chiuua, whose power is so absolute both in peace and war, that he is come by degrees to own no superior; the Buna remaining in his royal palace, quite cut off from all management of the public affairs, satisfied with an exterior respect due to him as a sort of sacred person, and with the authority of making laws, and confirming all edicts. When the Chiuua dies, he always endeavours to have his son succeed him in the government; but for the most part it falls out that the tutors of those sons aspiring themselves to that dignity, endeavour to murder them, and by that means possess themselves of the dignity of Chiuua.

The Chiuua's power is so great, that, agreeable to the largeness of the kingdom, he is able to bring into the field three or four times the number of men as the King of Cochin-China, whose army, as mentioned above, amounts to eighty thousand men. Nor is it any difficult matter for the Chiuua, as often as he pleases to raise three hundred thousand armed men or more, because the chief lords of his kingdom, such as among us, dukes, marquises, and earls, are obliged in time of war to furnish them at their own expence. The Buna's strength is not above forty thousand men for his guard. Yet he is always owned as superior to the Chiuua of Tunchim by the King of Cochin-China,

and by that other Chiua we observed in the first book to be fled into the province bordering upon China, though these are continually at war against one another; and the King of Lais bordering upon Tunchim pays him a certain tribute.

Therefore when we say this crown is hereditary, it is to be understood only in reference to the Buna, whose children always succeed, the royal race being continued in his family. This is as much as I thought fit briefly to say of the kingdom of Tunchim, from what I could learn of it till my return into Europe.

Since then I have been informed, that F. Julian Baldinotte, an Italian born at Pistoria in Tuscany, was sent into that kingdom to make some way for the gospel, and arrived from Macao at the city Tunchim after a month's sail. As to what the said father found in that country, what passed between the King and him, the solemnity of his reception, and the first foundation he laid for Christianity, I refer the reader to the account given lately by that father himself; and we are still expecting fresh advices from the other fathers, as F. Peter Marques, a Portuguese, and F. Alexander Rhodes of Avignon, who we said before had been in Cochin-China, and are there still gaining Christians. We therefore hope both these kingdoms of Tunchim and Cochin-China will soon be united to the flock of the church, acknowledging and giving the due obedience to the universal pastor and vicar of Christ our Lord on earth.

#### *The Conclusion.*

IT is impossible but that such as have least inclination to the discovery of the world, and are most affected to their own countries and homes, must be excited by this short account to desire to see not only the variety but the truth of such strange things, which, though they be not supernatural, may yet be termed miracles of nature. Such are those I have mentioned I saw in Cochin-China, a land as to its climate and seasons of the year habitable, on account of the fruitfulness of its soil abounding in provisions, fruit, birds and beasts, and the sea in choice and delicious fish; and most healthy because of the excellent temperature of the air, insomuch that these people do not yet know what the plague is. It is rich in gold, silver, silk, calamba, and other things of great value, fit for trade on account of the ports and resort of all nations; peaceable because of their loving, generous and sweet disposition; and lastly secure, not only by the valour and bravery of the Cochin-Chinese, accounted such by other countries, and their store of arms, and skill in managing them; but even by nature, which has inclosed it on the one side by the sea, and on the other by the rocky alps and uncouth mountains of the Kemois. This is that part of the earth called Cochin-China which wants nothing to make it a part of heaven, but that God should send thither a great many of his angels, so St. John Chrysoptom calls apostolical men, and preachers of the gospel. How easily would the faith be spread abroad in this kingdom of Cochin-China, where there are not those difficulties which we fathers of the society dispersed about the east meet with in other countries; for there is no need here of being disguised or concealed, these people admitting all strangers into their kingdom, and being well pleased that every one should live according to his own religion. Nor is it necessary before preaching to spend many years in studying their letters and hieroglyphics, as the fathers in China do, for here it is enough to learn the language, which as has been mentioned is so easy, that a man may preach in a year. The people are not shy, nor do they shun strangers, as is practised in other eastern nations, but make much of them, are pleased with their persons, prize their commodities, and commend their doctrine.

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They do not lie under that great impediment to receiving the grace of the gospel, that is, the sin of sodomy, and others contrary to nature, which is frequent in all the other eastern countries, the very name of which the Cochin-Chinese naturally abhor. In short, these people may very easily be taught the principal mysteries of our holy faith; they, as we have shewn, in a manner adoring but one only God, accounting the idols as inferior saints, allowing the immortality of the soul, eternal punishments for the wicked, and blifs for the just, using temples, sacrifices, processions, so that changing the objects, it would be easy to introduce the true worship. That there will be no difficulty in making out the mystery of the holy eucharist may appear by the distinction they make between the accidents and substance of the meat they provide for the dead, as before mentioned in this second book. All these things inflame the minds of the children of the society, who, though recluse and shut up in the colleges and provinces of Europe, have an ardent desire to convert the world. And though many of them put it in practice with the assistance of the holy see apostolic, which with a fatherly care relieves the mission of Japan, as also by his catholic majesty King Philip, and his council of the Indies, who so frequently with incredible bounty supply the East and West Indies with ministers of the gospel; yet it is impossible that these two great pillars, which support other mighty weights, and bear almost all the world on their shoulders, can sufficiently supply all that daily occurs and is discovered. I therefore trust in God that his divine providence will rouse up some generous soul, inflamed with the zeal of God's honour, to send and maintain some evangelical ministers, who, satisfied with a religious and poor sustenance, may convey the food of the gospel, not only throughout Cochin-China, but unto the great kingdom of Tunchin, founding a church and Christian flock that may be compared with the most renowned in the world.

END OF THE NINTH VOLUME.







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