

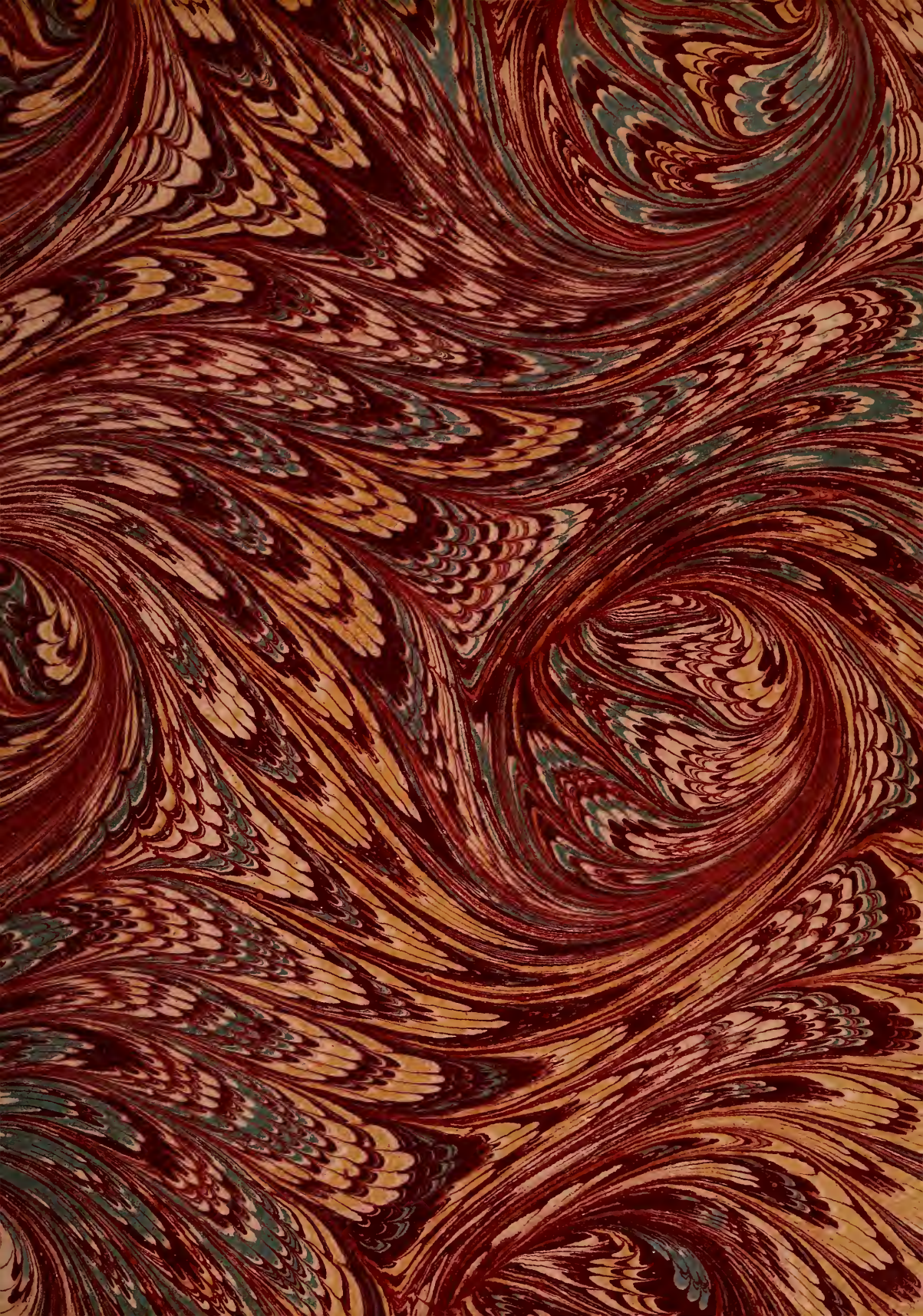
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SIR
ANTONY SHERLEY

HfS

RELATION OF HIS TRAVELS INTO PERSIA.

THE DANGERS, AND DISTRESSES, which befell him in his passage, both by sea and land, and his strange and unexpected deliuerances.

HIS MAGNIFICENT ENTERTAINEMENT in PERSIA, his Honourable imployment there-hence, as Embassadour to the Princes of Christendome, the cause of his disapointment therein, with his aduice to his brother, Sir

ROBERT SHERLEY,

ALSO, A TRVE RELATION OF THE great Magnificence, Valour, Prudence, Iustice, Temperance, and other manifold Vertues of ABA S, now King of PERSIA, with his great Conquests, whereby he hath enlarged his Dominions.

Penned by Sr. ANTONY SHERLEY, and recommended to his brother, Sr. ROBERT SHERLEY, being now in prosecution of the like Honourable Imployment.

LONDON

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1613.

To the Reader.

and industry to that King and State, as to be esteemed and called a Mirza, or Prince of Persia, and to be employed, within few monthes after his comming thither, as Embassador from so great a Potentate, in a matter of such maine consequence and trust, to many of the greatest Princes and States of Christendome.

And no lesse haue many meruailed, how, after his failing in the accomplishment of so great an enterprise, for want of due correspondence in an Instrument, hee had taken vnto him, out of that Country for his better credence, his Brother Sir Robert Sherley, whom hee left behind him in Persia, could not onely maintaine his reputation, but win so much credite with that King, as to be honoured with the Title of his Embassadour, to the Princes of Christendome, in the like employment newly reuiued.

At his late being here in England (where

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To the Reader.

hee hath beene so accepted as in the Courts of other great Princes of Christendome) a Gentleman of some vnderstanding conuersing oftentimes with him, and being desirous of true information, concerning that action (whereof he had formerly heard, and read some incoherent and fabulous reports) conferred with him often, concerning the carriage, and circumstances of their proceedings: and thereby gaue him occasion to discourse vnto him as well of the motives of that enterprise, as of many accidents that befell him and his Brother in the conduct of that affaire. Wherein, al-be-it hee receiued good satisfaction in diuers particularities; yet, because the questions, occasioning such discourse, were but incidently moued, and (by many occasions that happened) their conferences were often interrupted. On the entreaty of the said Gentleman, for the better satisfying of himselfe, and such others of

To the Reader.

his friends, as might bee desirous, out of their curiosity, to vnderstand the whole progresse, dependance, and prosecution of the said voyage into Persia, hee obtained of the Persian Embassadour, a Copy of this discourse, penned by his Brother Sir Anthony Sherley (as it seemeth) since his returne out of Persia into Europe, for the better satisfaction of his friends, and preserving the memory of so memorable an action.

To these labours of his Brother, Sir Robert Sherley himselfe as time and opportunity shall giue him leaue, hath promised some addition of his owne endeouours: which being not yet in such readinesse, as his friends haue wished and desired, This discourse being but the former part, yet containing the Register of so rare an attempt (whatsoeuer the successeth hath bene, or may bee) as hath seldome bene seene in this, or any former age, by a private Gentleman to haue bene enterpri-
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To the Reader.

zed, the same being recorded by his owne pen who hath beene the first and chiefe Actor in it, hath bene thought by men of mature iudgement, to whom it hath beene communicated, (besides the History it selfe which is pleasing and delightfull) to containe many fruitfull aduertisements.

So that hauing in it both the eleuations of a high spirit, and the obseruations of a man experienced and versed in great affaires: it is the rather vnto thee re-commended.

THE



THE TRVE

History of Sir Anthony

Sherleys Trauels into Persia,
Penned by himselfe.



INCE men are brought forth vpon the earth for good ends, the principallest of which is the glory of God, and then to better the world; in which many haue had bands, either of necessity, or other occupations, to haue lesse experience by their knowledge: I thinke, I should mightily erre, if I should not deliuer as well to others, what I haue seene and learned by my passing so many, and so strange countries; as I should haue done, if had not giuen my time and the expence of it to the first end, which was, and is, God his great glory.

In my first yeares, my friends bestowed on mee those learnings which were fit for a Gentlemans ornament, without directing them to an occupation; and when they were fit for agible things, they bestowed them and me on my Princes seruice, in which I ran many courses, of diuers fortunes, according to the condition of the warres, in

which, as I was most exercised, so was I most subiect to accidents: With what opinion I carried my selfe (since the causes of good or ill must be in my selfe, and that a thing without my selfe) I leaue it to them to speake; my places yet in authority, in those occasions were euer of the best; in which, if I committed errour it was contrary to my will, and a weakenesse in my iudgement; which, notwithstanding, I euer industriated my selfe to make perfect, correcting my owne ouer-sights by the most vertuous examples I could make choise of: Amongst which, as there was not a Subiect of more worthinesse and vertue, for such examples to grow from, then the euer-liuing in honour, and condigne estimation the Earle of *Essex*, as my reuerence and regard to his rare qualities was exceeding; so I desired (as much as my humility might answer, with such an eminency) to make him the patterne of my ciuill life, and from him to draw a worthy modell of all my actions. And as my true loue to him, did transforme me from my many imperfections, to bee, as it were, an imitator of his vertues; so his affection was such to mee, that hee was not onely contented, I should do so, but in the true Noblenesse of his minde gaue me liberally the best treasure of his mind in counselling mee; his fortune to helpe mee forward; and his very care to beare mee vp in all those courses, which might giue honour to my selfe, and inworthy the name of his friend: in so much, that after many actions, into which, peraduenture, he prouoked my owne slackenesse, The Duke of *Ferrara* dying, and leauing *Dorcesare D'Este* Inheritor of that Principality, who by his birth could, indeed, challenge nothing iustly, being a Bastard; notwithstanding, in the worlds opinion hee was most likely to haue bene established in that succession, through the long continuance of the gouernment in that name; and the Princes of that name, hauing euer through
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their temperate and iust condition of Ruling, wouen themselves into a sincere affection of that people: which was well proued, by that great league made against it in former time by the *Pope*, the *French*, and the *Venetians*, frustrated by the true deuotion of those Subiects to their Prince; besides, the great expectation, which was generally had of that *Don Cesare*, and the extreme bondage of the gouernment of the Church, which those that haue liued in another quality do ytterly abhorre. Which that excellent Earle also considering, and besides (hauing no thought in him euer separated from those circumstances, which might bring to an happy end his infinite desire of her Maiesties Honour, Seruice, and prosperous good of his Country,) iudging that the *Pope* would not giue his claime vnto the Dutchy without words, and actes; and by the impotency of both those Princes in themselves; both to make and continue so great a warre (as that was likely to haue bene by former examples) but that it must grow to great partialities: The lesser Princes of *Italy* being not likely to endure the Churches so great encrease of Temporality, which error was so greatly reprehended by them all in *Lewis* the twelfth King of *France*; And that giuing place to the right of that title, they should interesse him in the same iudgement for *Vrbine* also, and many other places: so that the war, by these reasons, in all appearance likely to bee fomented: and that the King of *Spaine*, both in hope to better his estates in *Italy* by that trouble, and by necessity to preferue those, which hee had already, and for being Vicar to the Church, and obliged for his kingdome of *Naples*, must be imbarcked fully in that action; which would haue bene both a great diuersion from his other designs, and a facillitating of any enterprize, which that generous spirit of that Earle was euer framing, and vndertaking against him: and holding opinion that the

Dukes greatest necessity at the first must bee of encouragement, and Captaines, sent mee presently (though the least amongst many) accompanied with diuers Souldiers of approued valour, and procured the Count *Maurice*; Generall of the States Army, to write him letters of as much comfort, as could bee giuen from so braue a Prince, and so famous an Estate: and though my iourney was vnder-taken in the dead of Winter, and I left no paines vntaken to accelerat it; yet before I could arriue in *Italy*, I found the Duke giuen ouer to quieter resolutions, and *Ferrara* yeelded to the *Pope*; himsele satisfying himsele with *Modona*, and *Rhegium*, of which hee now beareth the Title. Which when I had aduertised the Earle of; as he, who neuer had his owne thoughts, limited, within any bounds of honourable and iust ambition; So he also desired, that those whom he had chosen into a neerenesse of affection should also answere both his owne conceipt of them, and satisfie the world in his election of them: wherefore, not willing I should returne, and turne such a voice as was raised of my going to nothing; as vnwilling that I should, by a vaine expence of my time, money, and hope, bee made a scorne to his and (through him) to my enemies: Hee proposed vnto me (after a small relation, which I made vnto him from *Venice*) the voiage of *Persia*, grounding of it vpon two points.

First, the glory of God; to which, his excellent religious mind was euermore deuote. Then, if God would not please to choose me as a worthy instrument to that great end; yet by making a profitable experience of my seeing those Countries, limitting vpon the King of *Spaines* vniall parts; and answering to her Maiesties Merchants trades in *Turky*, and *Muskouy*; and besides, being not vnlikely but some parts might haue bene found fit for the *Indian* Navigation, then principiated in *Holland*, and muttered of in *England*.

land; It might proue a subiect to extract great and good matter out of, for the honor of her Maiestie, and the particular good of our Country: Besides, some more priuate designs, which my fortune, being of the condition, which my persecutions haue brought it vnto, counselleth mee not to speake of: though they were most worthy ones, and honourable, and honest in him, as a great Subiect, and maine Piller of that State, which hee was bound to serue by all meanes and all industry. Hauing with these Aduertisements receiued strength to my owne minde, large meanes and letters of fauour and credit to the company of Merchants at *Aleppo*; without opening the secrets of my deliberation to any, as fearing the strange humour of the world, rather inclined to mis-iudge of all actions, then to giue them onely a charitable construction: not willing to be scorned if it effected not; and assuring my selfe of all sort of reputation, if it proceeded well.

I embarked my selfe at *Venice* for *Aleppo*, in a *Venetian* ship, called the *morizell*, the foure and twentieth of *May* 1599. Fiue and twenty daies the Ship was sailing betweene *Mabnocko* the Port of *Venice*, and *Zant*; in which space one of the worst in the Ship, a passenger to *Ciprus*, vsed most scandalous speeches of her Maiesty, which being brought vnto mee, not onely moued with the dutifull zeale which a Subiect oweth to his Prince; but euen with that respect which euery Gentleman oweth to a Lady, I commaunded one of my people to giue him a fit reward for so vile an abuse: which was no sooner done, but the Shippe was all in an vprore. And though the cause of the act was iust, and so vnderstood by diuers principall Merchants, which went to *Zant*, and that the punishment was nothing proportionable to the sceleratnesse of the fact; yet through the instigation of one *Hugo de Potso*, a *Portingall* Factor,

which was going to *Ormuz* (though they shewed all to bee satisfied, because they durst do no other, yet) when wee were to haue departed in the ship from *Zant*, they would no more receiue vs, so that wee were forced to hire a *Carramosall* to carry vs to *Candy*, where wee receiued most honourable entertainement, (the coming of strangers thither being a thing so vsuall that the Duke desired to shew the Magnificence of the great Signory to vs that came first, and peraduenture should bee the last for a long time.)

From thence in the same *Carramosall* wee departed to *Cyprus*, and *Paphos*, where wee found nothing to answer the famous relations giuen by ancient Histores of the excellency of that Iland, but the name onely, (the barbarousnesse of the *Turke*, and time, hauing defaced all the Monuments of Antiquity) no shew of splendor, no habitation of men in a fashion, nor possessors of the ground in a Principallity; but rather Slaues to cruell Maisters, or prisoners shut vp in diuers prisons: so grieuous is the burthen of that miserable people, and so deformed is the state of that Noble Realme. Notwithstanding, the present power (I meane resident in that Iland, which is the instrument of that great tyranny) is so small, that if the little remnant of people, which is left there had courage; or if they haue courage, had also armes; or if the Princes Christian had but a compassionate eye turned vpon the miserable calamity of a place so neere them, rent from the Church of God, by the vsurpation of Gods and the worlds great enemy: and maintained more by the terrour, which his name hath stroke into some truely; into others no more, but that they are contented hee should bee thought terrible, for the better progresse of their owne more vniust designs; I do not see, in that small iudgement which my experience hath giuen mee, but the redempti-

on of that place and people were most facile (being but foure thousand *Turkes* in the whole Iland) and the glory would bee immortall to the Actor; besides the profite which must needs follow from so great an acquist; and the preferuing of it would also bee of no expence, nor hazard: the peoples affection binding it selfe to their redeemer; besides a necessity to keepe them vnited vnto him by the meanes of so abhorred a neighbour, from whom their vindication, into liberty, must bee maintained by their owne constancy: and his extreme weakenesse by sea, warranting all tranquility from feare of a powrefull inuasion, by which the Conquerour might be put in the least hazard. But God (who in his great iudgement weigheth mans sinnes, and appointeth, forth of his treasury of wrath, scourges for their iniquities) perhaps hath not fully satisfied his causefull indignation, yet, with the suffering of that people; and therefore blindeth the eies of the good vnderstanding, of all his great instruments, whom hee hath raised in the world to glorifie his name, to administer iustice, and, to lighten the burthen of the oppressed; that they should not see the calamities of that Country, nor that their cries should come into their eares, by which their generous hearts should be moued to condigne compassion; nor that their iudgements should be free to see their owne particular honour, and profite: So God vseth to shew man that hee is a bubble, raised onely by his breath, mouing by the same, and falling by the same, according to the will of his great providence, to which we in the pride of our nature, yeeld not the true attribution due vnto it: yet the powerfull working of it is such, that with the confusion of our foolish pride, it proueth it selfe an eternall wisedome, which will giue lawes to the world, and the bridle to all people, and guideth onely the hearts of Princes.

From *Paphos* we went to the *Salines* in a litle hired barke, where

A strange deliuerance.

where wee found the *morizell*, in which wee came to *Zant*. The Portingal, and his complices presently went on shore to the *Subbassa* of the place (for so is called the gouernour there) and told him diuers Pirats, who had lost their Ships, were come into the harbour in a small Boate, amongst whom were some boies, and youths, worth much money; besides, I know not what iewels and treasure wee had amongst vs; with the which he would giue him a good present also, if hee would send some of his Souldiers, and take vs.

At this Oration of his, were present certaine *Armenian* passengers, who had knowne vs in the ship, which moued with the enormity of so vile an act (that Christians should sell and betray Christians to Turkes, and that vpon no cause of offence, which they were witnesses of, wee should be persecuted with such a kind of inhumane cruelty) with all speed possible hired a Boate, themselves, for *Alexandretta*, came with it vnto vs, prouided in it victuals for vs, and the Maisters themselves to loose no time; and beseeched vs, with teares in their eies, to flye from thence with all speed possible; relating vnto vs the scelerat treason conspired against vs, and our imminent perill. Wherefore we instantly changed into that Boate, and perceiuing a Fregat a farre off, rowing towards vs, for hast, left most of our things behind vs, and yet could not make so much speed, but that the *Ianizaries*, which were in the Fregat, and chased vs, bestowed some shot vpon vs, and had peradventure ouertaken vs, if the night had not ended their chasing vs, and our dangers.

This Boate, in which wee were, was an ordinary passenger betweene *Ciprus* and *Alexandretta*, a small way of onely a night and a halfe sayling, and halfe a daies sayling: So that by reason the Maister was vnlike to mistake his way, much lesse so iust contrary as hee did, towards two
houres

houres in the night, we met another passage-Boate, put off from *Famagusta*, holding the course which wee intended: The night was faire, with the shining of the moone and star-light; yet, by reason of the difference in sayling, wee first lost sight of that Boate, then by our different course, the Maister of ours, instead of *Alexandretta*, going for *Tripoly*, which, certainly, was a great worke of God to preserve vs. The other Boate, at breake of the day, being taken at the entrance of the port of *Alexandretta*, by certaine Turkish Pirates, who put all to the sword, that were in it, and hearing of vs, we had rowed so far into the Riuer *Orentes*, before they could recouer vs, that they durst no further prosecute that prey.

There we found a goodly Country, repleat euen naturally with all the blessings the earth can giue to man, for the most part vncultiuated, here and there, as it were, sprinkled with miserable Inhabitants, which in their fashion shewed the necessity they had to liue, rather than any pleasure in their liuing.

From thence wee sent our Interpreter to *Antiochia*, to prouide vs horses to bring vs thither, which hee returned within two daies after, and with them wee proceeded thither, full of great care how we should escape from thence: The Turke hauing giuen certaine scales to trade in, out of which, as it was vnlawfull for any to conuerse; so it must needs be an vneuitable perill for so great a company, when the same great Prouidence, which at first defended vs from the former hazards, gaue vs the good hap to meete with two *Ianizaries*, *Hungarish-runnegates*, who vnderstanding that we were Christians, compelled against our dispositions into that place, our intention to be a visitation of *Ierusalem*, and withall our feare of some great preiudice by our being arriued out of the distinguished places for all Christians; hauing told vs first, that they themselues had bene

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Christians,

Christians, and though they had, for reasons best knowne to themselves, altered that condition; yet they wished well to those which still were so, and especially to all of those parts: and afterwards cheerefully comforting vs, inuited vs to lodge in their house, securing vs, by a number of protestations, from all dangers; which as they courteously offered, so (if I may giue so faire a terme, to such a people) they honourably performed: For being by the *Cady* of *Antiochia* required to present vs vnto him, they did not onely deny vs, as bound vnto it by the lawes of hospitality, in respect of their promise, as they themselves said; but called fifty other *Ianizaries* of *Damasco*, their friends, to defend vs, if the *Cady* should haue offered violence.

And now that I haue had occasion to speake of the *Ianizaries* of *Damasco*, which by likely-hood, of that they presumed to do in that point, must bee men of great authority, both in power and estimation: It will not bee amisse, to vse so fit an opportunity to discourse of the Turkes whole gouernement of those parts, which I did not behold with the eyes of a common Pilgrime, or Merchant; which passing onely by goodly Citties and Territories, make their iudgement vpon the superficiall appearance of what they see: but as a Gentleman bred vp in such experience, which hath made me somewhat capable to penetrate into the perfection and imperfection of the forme of the State, and into the good and ill Orders by which it is gouerned. And though it bee true, that my weakenesse in iudging may rather doe harme then good, to such as will fauour me with too much beleefe; yet it will euer bee a helpe of some feeling to those which know lesse: *Our duties being to further all, and chiefly those who haue most need.*

The Originall of the Turkes many haue written well of; the maintaining of their state hath bene their Subects true, and deuote adherence to their religion, without schisme

Schisme or Faction; and obedience to their Princes. They increase the same religion also, (which continually instigateth them to the propogation of it) and the reason of their beginning, which was Armes; they, induced by a confidence in them, haue euer desired to vse them. And to detaine such a stirring disposition from ciuil dissentions, their Princes haue euer with forraigne enterprises, led them to the exercise of them. The meanes of the preservation of their States so great, and so many acquisted, haue bene the securest of any other: the Princes personally inhabiting of the most dangerous; and ruinating, and possessing by Colonies actually, though in another name, the rest. So that where the Dominion ioyneth with the power of the Christian Princes; his presence keepeth those parts from danger of innouation: Where hee is further separated, his *Tymarri*; (which are certaine to whom he distributeth so much land for their desert in vertue, which was their first institution; and by that tenure are bound to finde him their persons, and so many horses in his warres) they, I say, hauing their estates soly depending vpon his gouernment, assuring him from all perill of alteration. And besides, to strengthen himselfe the more, hee hath not onely destroyed the Noble bloud of the Countries; but in most places the Citties, Townes and Houses, to remoue from the very memory of men, by the renewing of those spectacles the apprehension of their former condition of liuing: and since the gouernment of those states were so far separated, least the minde of him, to whom he gaue such an administration, might lift it selfe vp to higher thoughts, he changeth them continually from time, to time, without any prefixed order; and giueth them by the ancient forme, which the vertuouser Princes enacted; but to men of great merite: besides, so dissolueth all strength from their supreme authority in case of absolurenesse, that without a speciall

commissiō for some speciall cause, the *Bassa* hath nothing to do with the Souldiory, but those are ordered in their function, by either one *Agam* or *Sarda*, the *Bashawes* ends directing themselves to the ciuill gouernment; from the iust administering of which, they were learned heretofore, by terrible examples, not to decline; their faults being brought speedily to the Court, the emulation of which as speedily presented them to the Prince; the maine point of whose estate droue him to execute rigorous remedies to confirme his awfulnessse and obedience, by which hee did subsist among his Subiects.

Those *Ianizaries* of *Damasco*, amongst other Garrisons were appointed as those of *Cairo* against the inuasions of the *Arabs*: who are, through all those Prouinces, a people disperfed, liuing in Tents, without a certaine place of abode, remoouing their habitations according to the seasons, and their owne commodities: part of which, who are remoued on that side of *Euphrates*, which is of *Mesopotamia*, now called *Diarbech*, are peaceable to the Turke, and not much infestious to Trauellors; their King being a *Saniacke* of the Turks, and by that title holding *Ana* and *Der*, two Townes vpon the Riuer, which pay him his stipend.

The other, vpon the other side, towards *Egypt*, through all *Arabia*, *Petra*, and *Deserta*, and spreding as far as the limits of *Arabia Felix*; being in multitudes, and not possible bee brought to a quiet and wel-formed manner of liuing; are dangerous to strangers, and continuall spoylers of those parts of the Turkes Dominions, which euery way border vpon them: for the safety of which, as I said, those two garrisons of *Cairo* and *Damasco* were instituted, the first of 12000, the other of 1500 *Ianizaries*. Neither must it bee thought, since these of *Damasco* doe not onely defend that part, but are also distributed through other Citties of *Soria*, As *Aleppo*, *Antiochia*, & further in *Ierusalem* also, that 1500 men

men are able to sustaine, and answere well to such a charge. But these being both *Ianizaries*, and by great seruices heretofore done, proceeding also to be *Tymarrie*, haue many followers, which do augment mightely their number, and euery yeare were accustomed (besides those which staid to preferue the countrey) to send great troupes, not onely warlikely, but pompously prouided, into *Hungary*: but now that through the incapacity of this Princc presently reigning, there are extreame corruptions growne through all the members of his estate: his subiects generally taking example of his weakenesse, and particularly his great ones, making their profite thereof. As vertue is generally forgotten, so they which haue authority, are so farre from industriating themselues to replant it, that they, making a commodity of the ill, are euer desirous it should increase, to increase with it their gaine. For as places of gouernement, and of all sort of administration, were anciently giuen vnto those, who by their worthinesse grew to a condigne estimation with the Prince; This time hath brought things to another condition; that now men are weighed by the aboundance of their fortune, not of their vertue: who buying their authority of the Prince, like Merchants, must make their profite of the people vnder their charge; wherein they rather desire to be vile, base, and offenders, then to haue them of better, fitter, and honester spirits: the gaines being small, if the people were good, by a iust caring for them; and greatest, as they are by punishing, by extortion, and oppression, and also as ill as they are by many wrongs: which the people also finding, and withall that mischief increaseth, rather then diminisheth; taking example from so great patternes, adde by those more wickednesse to the badnesse of their owne dispositions. And as they are all made a prey to the greatest, so euery one according to his power, doth

deale with the lesser; like a forrest of wilde beasts, liuing all vpon rapine, without any sence of humanity, more then an appearance.

This violent humour in them hath brought disobedience (*Couetousnesse, and Luxury, dissolving the bonds of all respect; our willes euer carrying vs from our selues, from all awfulesse, and all Lawes, when they are ouer-maistered by those two mighty enemies to perticular men, much more then to generall states,*) So that the Princes commandement is no more esteemed in any part, farre removed from his owne presence, then it fitteth with the honour and profite of him to whom it commeth. From whence haue growne so many and so dangerous rebellions, so huge waists in Countries; and caused through all those parts those *Tanizaries* (which were appointed for the safety of the prouinces, and had their first priuiledges, not onely for a reward to their vertues; but to binde them by such rewardes, to answer the Princes confidence in them) to obey no authority which calleth them to other warres: but by combining themselues in a strength together, to tyrannize the Countries committed to their charges: in such a sort, that they are not onely Princes, as it were, ouer the people, but do also terrific the greater Ministers. And though this be a great weakenesse in the very *Basis* of so huge an estate (which can by no meanes be held together but by such an vnite compactiō as may iustly, and euer moue by the heads intentions; lest it should sway this way, or that way; and so either breake, or bend by his owne great weight, or bruisse it selfe, which in so ouer-growne a body must come to dangerous vlcers, where no care is taken for the curing of the parts) Yet it doth not onely shew, that Gods iudgement hath determined it a thort time of continuance, by that one great signe, but by many other: as their *negligence of the main-taining*

*taining of a strength by Sea; ; which did (as it were) knit together many great parts of it, farre diuided; and gaue an essentiall strength in force and reputation to his whole state: His want of necessary provision for the warres in all those parts; not speaking of those for peace, sithence the ruine of the Prouinces, for the most part, and the misery of those poore flocke of people, which doe liue in the parts inhabited, are onely the meanes to giue him peace. Yet the negligence of the Princes Christian will not make vse of these extreame defects of his to amplifie their Dominions, to eternize their Honours; and (that which is the greatest) to glorifie God, which hath made them Princes, onely to execute his iudgements; (none of which now can bee more iustly inflicted vpon any, then vpon that great blasphemers against his Holy one, and tyrant of the world) giue peace to their inique passions, which giue cause to the very earth to sigh, to all good hearts to groane, and kinde Gods indignation against them, and their people: and turne first their aspects to that which they owe to God; and then to the true ambition of a Prince, to doe great and iust things; which with their honour might also bring profite to their present estates; and are of such a condition, that the effecting of them is vtterly without danger, or difficulty: seeing with the very sight of a compleat Armie, his Souldiary, in those parts, would be terrified, through their inability, to resist; and the people, who cannot change possible to worse fortune, would all follow those Ensignes, which their extremity doth already force them to wish for. And let all iudgement, giue themselues but a small time of truce, with other passions; and wee shall see, not onely *what shame it is to the very Name of Christianity, to suffer that great Sepulcher of our Redemption to bee possessed, to our eternall ignominy, by his**

professed.

professed enemies, who vouchsafed to giue his deereſt bloud, to buy vs from perdition. *Religion is that which euer moueth the blindeſt hearts of men to the moſt reſolute enterpriſes: and an awfull loue hath euer bene the ſtrongeſt band to binde men to their Princes, to their Countrey, and to common ſociety.*

Romulus, when his people fled before the *Sabines*; ſo that the victory ſhewed it ſelfe vndoubtedly on their ſide, and ouerthrow on his: the very remembering them of leauiſg *Iupiter*, and the reſt of the Gods in the Capitoll, to the poſſeſſion of their enemies, was ſufficient to turne that deſperate fortune. And when the *French* had ſacked and burnt a great part of *Rome*; the ſame awfull reuerence to their Gods, and loue to their Countrey, could binde them rather to re-build their ruined Citty, then to go to *Vejes*, a Towne ready, and magnificently builded. But we can leaue, in the Turkes poſſeſſion, not onely the Countrey of our Sauour, (which ſhould be dearer vnto vs then our owne, for his great name ſake;) but this the Sepulcher of his precious bloud, which he gaue freely an oblation, to giue vs, by that ſacrifice, that which is aboue all, eternall life; without compunction of loue or Religion. So much are our hearts hardened againſt the appearing mercies of God, which hath made him for a great, a weake enemy; to giue vs corage by ſuch an vn hoped fore-ſigne, to produce that ſupreme act of our duties. Where are thoſe generous ſpirits of the fore- paſſed Princes, and men; which againſt all humane reaſon, to reuenge iniuries, and wrongs done to the holy name of God, thruſt themſelues into moſt dangerous enterpriſes, onely truſting in the true worthineſſe of their cauſe, which they iudged God would miraculoſly proſper; being vnder taken with ſo good and true hearts for him? The ſucceſſes of which alſo, we may reade to haue bene moſt proſperous: God ſtriuing in
mercy

mercy with mans intentions : And though it be true, that the dayes of Visions, and such apparant Miracles are finished ; yet let vs not, by too great precisenesse, mistake the things which indeed are : but take this for a great miracle, in regard of our manifold finnes, which deserue all bitter vengeance, and no good ; that God yet hath pleased, (whilst we deuoure one another in this poore small: flocke of Gods Church; and by our cruelly resolving to our ciuill destruction, do open the breach for the common enemy) to enlarge his power and greatnesse by his onely breath to shake him with such infection, that his ouerthrow is most facile, if we will vse the time pointed vnto vs by his mercifull finger: which also may turne vnto vs as heauy a iudgement, if we do not, with the best councell, and most desirous affection of our hearts, and soules, embrace the beames of his compassion. But since Princes hearts are in the hands of God, and he turneth them either for their own chastisements, or for those of the people, to a certaine secret point of direction, from the which they cannot diuert; as those which are too great iudgements for me to penetrate into, I will leaue them, and speake of my *Ianizaries* rare disposition vnto me; who did not onely performe their promise in defending me in *Antiochia*; but deliuered me safely from them into our *English Consuls* hands in *Aleppo* : from whom, and from all the Merchants there abiding, I receiued such an entertainment, with so carefull, so kinde, and so honourable a respect, as I must needs say, they were the onely Gentlemen, or the most benigne Gentlemen that euer I met withall : For my company being so great, that it was no light burthen vnto them; besides, gaue an occasion to the Turkes condition of getting to make quarrels for that end : so that they were not onely at expence by defraying me and mine; but at more by preseruing vs from oppression amongst them. I

had not beene fully one moneth expecting a commodity of passage by *carrauan* into *Persia*: but that the *Morizell* arriued, who presently had the aduice of my being at *Aleppo*: And though that *Hugo de Potoso* threatned as much as an ill mind, and great purse could make him hope to preuaile against me by; and questionlesse had raised some great trouble against me, if he had come safe to *Aleppo*: Yet euer the first prouidence, which saued me before, determined so well also for me then, that foure miles from *Aleppo* he dyed: By which meanes I was preserued from perill; and those honest Merchants, my friends, from great trouble. Neither do I speake of these strange escapings with a vaine ostentation of pride, as though I would haue the world iudge more of my person, then of a most ordiery fellow; but onely to example to other how much it pleaseth God to fauour good intentions: that those which put themselues into the worlds dangers, may euer arme themselues with them, as the onely preseruatiue against all fort of Inconueniences. For though in the corruption of our nature, generally, and weakenesse of our faith, wee cannot possibly hope to be defended by such a strong working-hand, as God useth for the safety of his Saints: yet no question good intentions haue such a sympathy with Gods owne disposition, that he will both assist them which haue them, for their better encouragement, and for others example, being one of the chiefe means by which he instructeth the world. After 6 weeks staying in *Aleppo* (a wearisome time to my selfe, being drawne from thence continually by the instigation of my desire, which longed for the accomplishment of the end, that I proposed to my selfe: and as chargeable a time for my friends, which would needs make me a burthen some guest vnto them) the *Tasterdall*, which is the Treasurer, and the great *Cady*, which is, as it were, the Lord chiefe Iustice of *Babylon*, arriued at *Aleppo*, from thence to go by the riuer of

Euphrates

A happy deliuerance from danger.

Euphrates to the place of their regiment. With those, as diuers others went, so did I also, for the more security of my voyage (their company being euer defended, besides with the respect of their persons, with a good company of *Ianizaries*) to *Birr*, which is the place of imbarment. Diuers of our Merchants brought me, and left me not vntill I was boated. Thirty dayes we were going vpon the riuer to *Babylon*, resting euery night by the shore side: In all which way we found few townes; onely *Racha*, *Ana*, *Derrit*, and otherwise as little habitation, except here and there a small village: and one of better reputation, which is the landing place, thirty miles from *Babylon*, called *Phalugium*. To tell wonders, of things I saw, strange to vs, that are borne in these parts, is for a Traueller of another profession then I am, who had my end to see, and make vse of the best things; not to feed my selfe, and the world, with such trifles, as either by their strangenesse, might haue a suspicion of vnttruth: or by their lightnesse adde to the rest of my imperfections, the vanity, or smallnesse of my iudgement. But because I was desirous to certifie my selfe truly of the estate of the Turke in those parts, through which I passed, vnderstanding, where wee lodged one night, that the Campe of *Aborisci*, King of those *Arabies*, which inhabite the desert of *Mesopotamia*, was a mile off; I hazarded my selfe in that curiosity, to go into it; and saw a poore King with a ten or twelue thousand beggerly subiects, liuing in tents of blacke haire-cloth: yet so well gouerned, that though our clothes were much better then theirs, and their want might haue made them apt ynough to haue borrowed them of vs; we passed notwithstanding, through them all in such peace, as we could not haue done, being strangers, amongst ciueller bred people.

That day, as it happened, was the day of Iustice amongst them, which was pretty, and warlike: Certaine chiefe

Officers of the Kings, mounting on horse-backe; armed after their maner, with their stauces, targets, bowes, and arrows; and so giuing iudgment of all cases, which the people brought before them. The King gaue vs good words, without any kinde of barbarous wondring, or other distastfull fashion. But when wee returned to our boat, wee found the maister of his house, maister of our boat, with a sort of his *Arabs*: and in conclusion, we were forced to send his maister three verstes of cloth of gold, for beholding his person. This is that King of the *Arabs*, which I said before, was a *Saniake* of the Turkes; and for that place held of the Turke, *Ana*, and *Dirr*, two Townes vpon the riuer.

As soone as we came to *Babylon*, hauing put the stocke which I had all into Iewels, and Merchandize, to carry the fashion of a Merchant; at the *Dogana*, which is the Custom-house, all (whatsoeuer) was stayed for the *Bassa*: and (as I perceiued) not so much for any great vse which hee meant to make of those things; as for the suspition which he had of me, and mine extraordinary company bearing much cause thereof with it; and because I gaue out I had more goods coming with the *carrauan* by land, to bind me not to start from thence. In the meane time, by very necessity, hauing left me nothing in the world; what extreme affliction I was in, by that means, for the present; and in what iust cause of feare, for the future, euery man may easily iudge. I had my brother with mee, a yong Gentleman; whose affection to me, had onely led him to that disaster; and the working of his owne vertue: desiring in the beginning of his best yeares, to inable himselfe to those things, which his good minde raised his thoughts vnto. I had also fiue and twenty other, Gentlemen, for the most part: the rest, such as had serued me long; onely carried with their loues to mee, into the course of my fortune.

I had no meanes to giue them sustenance to liue, and lesse hope to vnwrap them from the horrible snare, into which I had brought them; being farre from all friends, and further from counsell, not vnderstanding the language of the people, into whose hands I was falne; much lesse their proceedings: onely thus much I knew, they were Turkes, inhumane in their natures, and adicted to get by all meanes iust, and vniust.

A hard distresse.

But I will leaue my selfe a little in that great straigh; and speake of *Babylon*; not to the intent to tell stories, either of the huge ruines of the first Towne, or the splendor of this second: but because nothing doth impresse any thing in mans nature more, then example, to shew the truth of Gods word, whose vengeance, threatned by his Prophets, are truely succeeded in all those parts; which were once so swolne with the pride of the greatnesse of their state, which they possessed, with their felicity, their magnificencie, and their riches; that as they were the heads of the world, by their power, and by their excellency; so were they, by that opinion in themselues, blowne vp to a concept of eternity: As though any earthly foundation, let it be grounded neuer so firmly vpon councell, vpon force and reputation, could possibly be perpetuall.

Niniuy (that which God himselfe calleth, that great City) hath not one stone standing, which may giue the memory of the being of a Towne: one English mile from it, is a place called *Mosul*, a small thing; rather to bee a witnesse of the others mightinesse, and Gods iudgement, then of any fashion of Magnificency in it selfe. All the ground on which *Babylon* was spred, is left now desolate, nothing standing in that *Peninsula*, betweene the *Euphrates* and the *Tigris*, but onely part, and that a small part, of the great Tower; which God hath suffred to stand (if man may speake so confidently of his great impenetrable Counsels)

for an eternall testimony of his great worke in the confusion of mans pride; and that Arke of *Nebuchadnezar*, for as perpetuall a memory of his great idolatry, and con-digne punishment: nothing else shewing the figure of any thing, which hath bene, either of ornament, or of great-nesse, or of place inhabited: So truely doth God iudge the huge finnes of the world, and maintaineth so iustly the credit of his Messengers; that though they speak great things, they neuer speake vaine things.

The Towne, which is now called *Bagdat*, and is on the other side of *Tigris*; towards *Persia* (onely a small suburbe in the *Peninsula*) but remoued from any stirpe of the first; to which men passe ordinarily by a bridge of Boates, which euery night is dissolued, for feare either of the *Arabs*, or some storme vpon the Riuer, which might carry away the Boates, when there were no helpe ready. The buildings are after the *Morisco* fashion, low, without stori-
 es; and the Castle, where the *Bassa* is resident, is a great vaste place, without beauty or strength, either by Art, or Nature; the people some-what more abstinent from offend-
 ing Christians, then in other parts, through the necessity of the trade of *Ormuz*: vpon which standeth both the per-
 ticular, and publique wealth of that State. Victuals are most abundant, and excellent good of all sorts, and very cheape; which was a mighty blessing for Mee, which had nothing but a generall wardrope of cloaths, not in our Coffers, but vpon our backes; which wee were forced to make mony of by peece-meale, according to the falling of the lot, and our necessity; and with that liued: and if feeding-well had bene all, which wee had cause to care for, we also liued well. But after one month was past, and time fastned euery mans eies more firmly vpon vs; One day a *Florentine* Merchant (whom I had onely knowne in the way betweene *Aleppo* and *Babylon* by a riding acquaint-
 tance)

A hard dis-
 tresse.

A strange pro-
 uidence.

tance) came vnto mee, and after a little other discourse, told me, that there was a great muttering amongst diuers great men there, what I was, and what my designes might bee; that hee found me to bee dangerously spied after: and wished me to haue regard, (if not to my selfe) yet to so many, which he did imagine were impawned in that misfortune by my meanes. And though it were true, that hee came vpon the motion of an honest, pious, and charitable heart; yet I was so fearefull of an *Italian* Merchant, that I did rather imagine him to be the spy, then lightly to haue bene an instrument of his preuention. Therefore agreeing with him in the complement onely, I answered determinately in the rest; that I knew no iust cause of perill, therefore I feared none; and if there were any curious eies vpon me, because of the number of my company, the *Carauan* comming, they should see good vse made of them all: and vntill that time I would haue patience with their looking and speaking. Him I thanked for his kindnesse, and offered my selfe largely vnto him, as though I had least suspected him; though in truth I did most: and most vniustly. For, two daies after hee returned to me againe, and as a man moued in his very soule with anguish, told mee that within ten daies, the *Carauan* of *Aleppo* would arriue; in the meane time, beseeched mee, not to couer my selfe longer from him, who did truely wish me well, not so much for my person (which hee could know little) but because his conceipt was, that I would not haue hazarded my selfe in such a iourney, but for some great end, which he did beleeue well of; and besides, in charity to a Christian, and so many Christians with me: saying, that there was a *Carauan* of *Persian* Pilgrimes, arriued two daies since from *Mecca* without the Towne, who were forced to take that way (though the longest) by reason of the Plague, which raigned very exceedingly in those places, by which they should

A strange and
extraordinary
kindnesse of a
Florentine.

should haue passed. He was not ignorant of my wants, for which hee also had prouided; and taking me by the hand, beseeched me againe to beleue him, and to go presently with him to the *carravan*: which I did, not being able to answere, through admiration of so generous a part in him, and an amazement, with a thousand diuers thoughts spread vpon me. When I came there he brought me to a *Vittorin*, of whom he had already hired Horses, Camels, and Moiles for me; and I found a Tent pitched by his seruants: and then opening his gowne, hee deliuered me a bag of *Chakins*, with these very words: The God of heauen blesse you, and your whole company, and your enterprife, which I will no further desire to know, then in my hope, which perswadeth mee that it is good; My selfe am going to *China*, whence if I returne, I shall little need the repayment of this courtesy, which I haue done you with a most free heart; if I die by the way, I shall lesse neede it: But if it please God so to direct both our safeties with good prouidence, that we may meete againe, I assure my selfe, that you will remember mee to bee your friend; which is enough, for all that I can say to a man of your sort. And almost, without giuing me leasure to yeeld him condigne thanks (if any thankes could be condigne) for so great and so noble a benefite, he departed from me: And as I heard afterward from him by letters from *Ormuz*, hee receiued much trouble after my departure, through his honourable desire to perfect the kindnesse which hee had begone. For imagining, that by the continuall spies, which claue to my house, that my flight could not be secret: he had no sooner left mee in the *Caravan*, but that hee changed his lodging to mine, saying that I had done the like to his; and went to the *Cady*, telling him that I was sicke, desiring his Physition to visite mee, knowing well enough that the *Cady* had none, but onely to giue colour to my not appearing

appearing in the Towne: The *Cady* answered, he was sorry for my sickenesse, and would send to the *Bassa* for his Physition, which *Signior Vittorio Speciero* (for so was this honourable *Florentine* called) would by no meanes; hoping, as he said, that my sickenesse would not bee so great, as would require the trouble of his Highnesse. By this meanes five daies passed before I was missed; and when I was once discovered to bee gone, Fifty *Ianizaries* were sent after mee, to bring mee backe againe: the *carauan* hauing diuided it selfe by the way, whereof one part went a visitation of a *Santon* in the deserts of *Samarone*; & the other passed the right way for *Persia*, by the Mountaines gouerned by a Prince of the *Courdines*, called *Cobatbeague*. The *Ianizaries* hearing of them to be past, and thinking that all had bene so they returned: and that noble-minded *Florentine* was forced to pay five hundred Crownes, to make his peace with the *Bassa*.

And though it bee a miserable thing for a man to grow an example in cases of affliction, yet it is necessary that some men should be so; and because it pleaseth God, that I should bee one, and a great one of these: So I may also be taken, for as great a one of his infinite mercies, and through them his direct pleasure in what sort; hee will haue men gouerne themselves. For hauing fastened my mind to that good purpose, and intermingled some particular intentions of mine owne ambitions: as God shewed a sensible disposition to fauour the one; so by humbling me to the very pit of extremities, he taught me to cast away the other; and to haue my sole confidence in him, disposing my minde to his pleasure; not to the counsell of my owne frailty, which founded in the perfectest man, moueth to continuall errors: not that man doth not more desire to intend good then euill; by a naturall reason, (vertue being the health of the mind, and vice the

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sickenesse,)

sickenesse, and all natures abhorring sickenesse, and the destruction of nature. But the great enemy of man-kind cousoneth our weakenesse with a shadow, and colour of good, in the very extremest ills; and so induceth vs to embrace, and desire, them masked in the appearance of good: The true effect of which we afterward feele in the desperate working of the poison, when it hath (for want of due prouision) so possessed our vitall parts, that were left both to our selues, and to the world, (to whose benefite the vertues and good parts of good men are appropriated) and (that which is most) to God; which is the great, and onely good, to which the end of our life is, or ought to bee directed.

Neither must man thinke that for many burthens, which God layeth vpon him, that hee is wholly abandoned, and so leape from an awfull humility to a direct despaire of his mercies: Since God, like a great Prince, will haue men his Subiectes, so truely his, that all their thoughts shall depend vpon his authority, and not vpon the swolne bubbles of their owne hearts. which if they erre in, humility is the true reconciliation of their offence, before that great Iudge: and desperation, a manifest token of a maine rebellious spirit; which, reposed vpon a vaine assurance of himselfe, plungeth him in that extremity, vpon the contrary proceeding of his intentions: which are so farre from power to effect themselves by any ability in himselfe, that himselfe can no longer subsist, then Gods prouidence is hee should.

Finally, God is not as man, whom we may abuse, by hauing diuers propositions mingled of good and bad ends: the bookes of our hearts being laid open before him, in which he readeth our most inward thoughts; for which wee must continually giue an account, feeling the reward of our good motions by the magnificency of his mercies; and our bad by the infliction of calamities; which wee may auoide, if wee will vnderstand God
and

and our selues; which we may euer do by making the best use of the wisedome which wee haue borne in our selues; by learning of other; and exercitation; which are the acquisters of all Sciences: amongst all which, none is so great in it selfe, nor so greatly importing man. And though many, in the mis-*understanding* of the world, are accounted learned and wise without it; let them know, that such are like vntimely fruite, which carry with them a temporall wonder, raised through the ignorance of other, which put no distinction betweene the effects of the world, and the workings of God, when there is so great a one, as permanency in the last, and no more but apparition in the other, shewing it selfe, and dissoluing without, almost, any memory, that any such thing was: which should make the iudgement of men not to proceed to their absolutenesse, by beholding the present fortune of any; but first see the end which God hath appointed him vnto; and then to giue a diffinitive sentence; in which they cannot erre, drawing their iudgement from his, who neuer erreth. Of most part of which things (as I said) I may bee a most present, and a most certaine example, both of the mutablenesse of fortunes workings, of the causes, (which I confesse freely) of Gods infinite mercies, and of his order of gouernement, vnder which hee disposeth mens actions. And though I had, through the fencible apprehensions of such great lessons, giuen mee by so diuers iudgements, throwne away all other opinions, then those, which had their aspects onely turned to the promotion of his glory: Yet my frailty gaue me a continuall terrour during those thirty daies in which we wandered with that company of blind Pilgrimes through the Deserts; not knowing what God had wrought for my security, and those which were with mee, by that good man, Signior Vittorio. At the end of which wee arriued in the King of Persia's dominions, hauing first passed a great tract of good and ill Countries, the desert places of which be-

ing onely sand, gaue no meanes for inhabitants to liue: the fruitfuller parts were vsed by certaine people, called *Cowdines*, liuing in Tents, knowing no other fruit of the earth, but what belonged to the sustenance of their cattell, vpon the milke, butter, and flesh, of which they liue, ruled by certaine particular Princes of their owne, which giue partly an obedience to the *Turke*, and part to the *Persian*, as they are neereft the Confines of the one or the other. Yet in that simplicity of liuing (not being without that contagion of all Mankind, of all Prouinces, and of all States, ambition of getting superiority, and larger Dominion) some wars daily grow in amongst them, euen to the extirpation of a whole Nation: As wee found freshly, when wee passed by one of those Princes, called *Hiderbeague*, all whose people were deuored by the sword, or carried away captiue, by *Cobatbeague*: and himselfe remained, onely with some twenty soules, in certaine poore Holdes in a Rocke.

The precise summe, which I receiued of the *Florentine*, I set not downe, to prevent the scandales of diuers, who measuring euery mans mind by the straightnesse of theirs, will beleue no act, which doth not symbolize with themselves: but so much it was, that being thirty daies vpon the way to the Confines; then fifteene from the Confines to *Casbine*, where wee attended one month the Kings arriuall; it was not onely sufficient to giue vs abundant meanes for that time; but to cloth vs all in rich apparell, fit to present our selues before the presence of any Prince, and to spend extraordinarily in giftes, by which wee insinuated farre into the fauour of those, which had the authority of that Prouince, during our abode, and expectation of the Kings comming: In which time wee were well vsed, more by the opinion, which they had, that the King would take satisfaction by

vs, then by their owne humors; being an ill people in themselves; and onely good by the example of their King, and their exceeding obedience vnto him. The Governour visited me once; *Marganabeague*, maister of the Kings house, (whom I had won vnto me by presents) came oftentimes to see me: besides (as it seemed) being more inwardly acquainted with the Kings inclination, fitted himselfe more to that, then others did, which knew it lesse.

And now that I am in *Persia*, & speak of the kings absence; since he is both one of the mightiest Princes that are, and one of the excellēttest, for the true vertues of a Prince, that is, or hath bin; and hauing come to this greatnesse, though by right; yet through the circumstances of the time, & the occasions, which then were, solely his owne worthinesse, & vertue, made way to his right: besides, the fashion of his gouernmēt differing so much from that which we call barbarousnesse, that it may iustly serue for as great an *Idea* for a Principality, as *Platoes* Common-wealth did for a Government, of that sort. I hold it not amisse to speake amply first of his person, the nature of his people, the distribution of his gouernment, the administration of his iustice, the condition of the bordering Princes, & the causes of those warres, in which he was then occupied; that by the true expression of those, this discourse may passe with a more liuely, and more sensible feeling.

His person then is such, as a well-vnderstanding Nature would fit for the end proposed for his being, excellently well shaped, of a most well proportioned stature, strong, and actiue; his colour somewhat inclined to a man-like blacknesse, is also more blacke by the sunnes burning: his furniture of his mind infinitely royall, wise, valiant, liberall, temperate, mercifull, and an exceeding louer of Iustice, embracing royally others vertues, as farre from pride and vanity, as from all vnprincely signes, or acts; knowing his

power iustly what it is; and the like acknowledgement will also haue from others, without any gentilitious adorati-
 on; but with those respects, which are fit for the maiesty of
 a Prince; which foundeth it selfe vpon the power of his
 state, general loue, and awfull terror. His fortunes determi-
 ning to make prooffe of his vertue, draue him (in his first
 yeares) into many dangerous extremities; which he ouer-
 coming by his vertue, hath made great vse of, both in the
 excellent increase of his particular vnderstanding, and ge-
 nerall tranquility, strength of his countrey, & propagation
 of his Empire. For the lawes, and customes, or both, of that
 kingdome, being such, that though the king haue a large
 increase of Issue, the first borne only ruleth; & to auoyd all
 kind of cause of ciuill dissention, the rest are not inhuman-
 ly murdered, according to the vse of the Turkish govern-
 ment, but made blind with burning basons: & haue other-
 wise all sort of contentment and regard fit for Princes
 children. *Xa-Tamas* King of *Persia* dying without Issue,
Xa Codabent, his brother, was called blinde to the king-
 dome; who had Issue, *Sultan Hamzire Mirza* the eldest,
 who succeeded him, and this present King called *Abas*. In
 the fathers time *Sinan Bassa* began the enterprise of
Persia (which the Turkes euer reserue in their times of
 peace with the Christians, to keepe their souldiary in acti-
 on, and their armes from rusting) Before he could attempt
 any important action, hee was called to the port, and ad-
 uanced to be principall *Viseire*: and *Mustapha Bassa* was
 appointed his successor, whose industry and valour was ac-
 cōpanied with good fortune, in a short space taking *Van-
 nes* and *Tiphelis*, two strong fortresses, & importing much
 for the entrance of *Sciernan*; which he with the like felicity
 conquered. Notwithstanding *Synan* taking aduantage of
 some sinister accident, happened him by ouer-sight (which
 is euer most incident to those which sway all things with a
 happy

happy course of fortune) and being his enemy, bearing his suppositions also against him, by the strength of his authority, caused him to be re-called in the faire course of his victory; and being within some few dayes trauell of *Constantinople*, whether the cause grew from the pride of his heart, which despised to liue after such an iniury receiued from his enemy, whose fortune being so great, gaue him neither meanes, nor hope of reuenge; or else for feare of death & disgrace together, at the Port, he poisoned himselfe. Into whose place was aduanced *Osman Bassa*, a great Souldier (borne of that *Mamaluckes* bloud, who had been last *Sultan* of Egypt) in great estimation with the generality of the Turkes, and as much with the Prince himselfe; not only through his owne valour, which in truth did merit it; but by his mothers fauour, who was great with the Prince, and with the *Sultana* his mother. He instantly acquitted all disorders growne, either by the death or negligence of *Mustapha*; and intending vterly to subdue all *Persia*, and to extinguish the reigne of the *Sophies*; iudging that the shortest way was to begin with the best parts, went presently against *Tauris*: and though he were long impeached from taking of it, both by the resolute valour of the Defendants, which was all the obstacle in the place, the walles being only of mud, without art, or strength, and by continual attempts of the king of *Persia*, sometimes in person (though he saw nothing) but most by his eldest son to succour it: Finally after many victories, and sometimes losses, his fortune concurring with his obstinate resolution, he got the place; in which he had no sooner established a meet garrison, and an order of gouernment in the countrey about it, which followed the fortune of the place; but hauing all his care fixed vpon his designe, for the through accomplishment of his prosperous begun victory, he also died, as it is said, poysoned by *Cicala*. Whiles the mother
cried

cried out at the port for iustice; and the ambition of other competitors for so great a place; and so large a breach, already made to enter into honour by; the time ran so far in length, that the peace brake between the Emperour & the Turke, and the warrs reuiued in *Hungary*: so that the age of the king of *Persia*, his being broken with those first troubles, and suspition of intestine, answering iust to the desire of the Turke; there was a truce concluded betweene those two potentates vpon no other condition; *But that each should be contented with that they had.* The eldest son of the king remained at the Court of his father, administring all that, which his fathers defect of light vnabled him to doe. *Abas* the second sonne, twelue yeares of age, vnder the gouernment of Tutors, held the prouince of *Rasde*; and (as Courts are full of rumors, and suspition neuer wanteth in Princes, especially which haue such imperfections, as they are cōpelled to take knowledge of) the vertues of *Abas*, by which he bound to him the hearts of his prouincials, spred themselues further, and so to the Court; where they were increased to such a condition, as altered the father, & brothers reioycing in them, to an opinion that his winning of the affections of the people, proceeded not from any other worthinesse, but artifice; which had the intent of it stretching to the Crowne; which tooke such hold in the fathers mind, worne with age, and grieffe, and sore with his late misfortunes, that hee resolved secretly his death: The newes of which being brought to *Abas* speedily by the meanes of secret friends, not onely to himselfe, but to his Gouernors (which as they were the greatest of the state, so they were not vnfriended in the Court) being so farre from any such designe, that he had no sort of prouision at hand to defend himselfe; he fled to the king of *Corasán*, a countrey of the *Tartars*, limiting vpon the east of *Persia*, euer infestuous to that state, not more in their owne disposition,

(being

(being a people giuen to spoile, vnquiet, and which cannot liue in rest) then through their depédance vpon the *Turke*, whose religion they professe, (which the *Persians* do not, but much altered) and whose petnionaries they were, by which they were bound in all seasons, when the *Turke* was tied to the Christians wars, to diuert the *Persian* from looking to the commédity of such a time; besides, on occasions, the *Turke* vsed to transport great forces of them ouer the *Caspian* sea into *Sirvana*; and from thence passed them into *Hungary*; either the longer way by land, or the shorter by sea, ouer *Negropont*. To this king *Abas* was exceeding welcome, and cherished, and honored like his owne sonne. Shortly after the flight, the father died, and *Sultan Hamzire Mirza*, his sonne, succeeded him, who renued the truce with the *Turke*, through the necessity which he had to vse the most, which his strength and power could yeeld him, to suppress a great rebellion of the *Turcomans*: whom, at the last, he so brake with diuers battels, and all other sort of afflictions, that they deliuered him vp their Princes, and then themselues. Their Princes he beheaded, and of them, slue twenty thousand of the ablest for the warres, assuring his peace with them by their extremest ruine; and as he was, by all reports, a most braue, & warlike Prince, hauing pacified his owne state, and desirous to recouer, not onely what was freshly lost; but all which was formerly taken from the *Sophies* kingdome, by the power of the *Ottomans*; vnited all his thoughts, and all his Councils to that one great end; which all finished with his life, ending it selfe by treason of his Princes (not without perswasion of the *Turke*) when he had fit yeares, mind, and courage; and meanes ioined with ocasiō, to haue made himselfe the greatest Prince of many ages: all which though they made his death miserable, yet the manner was more miserable; being vilely slaine by his Barber, retiring halfe drunke from a banquet, to which he

was prouoked by the conspirators, which presently parted the state between them; euery man making himselfe absolute Prince of those prouinces, which they had in gouernment; and parting the royall treasure amongst them for their reciprocall maintenance, disposed themselues vnitedly to resist the comming in of *Abas*; whom notwithstanding they did not much feare, hauing promise of the *Turke* that he should be detained in *Corassan* where he was refuged: & knowing that he had neither men nor money, nor years to giue him any incoragement to attempt against them, who had soone confirmed themselues, both with giuing good satisfaction to the people, and with liberality to the Souldiary; and their entrance into the state being without opposition, and so, without offence, inade the foundation both more sure and more facile.

The *Turkes* Councell also was exceeding good for his ends; for hauing dissipated the vnite power of that great dominion into so many branches, which though he knew could continue together to maintaine their wrong against the true kings right; yet that their owne ambitions in short time would stirre them to debate amongst themselues: by which, as he was out of doubt of perill, during the trauels of his warres, so he was assured that at his conuenient occasion, either by their owne quarrels, or by his power, they should be all subiected to him.

Abas in the meane time, whose iust Title made him king, assured himselfe that both the murder of his brother, and this parting of the state, had the *Turkes* counsell concurring with those Princes impiety: and not doubting but the king of *Corassan* was also perswaded to deteine him, resolved notwithstanding by his necessity, began to deale boldly with him for his assistance against his rebels, laying before him how preiudiciall the example was to all Princes; and most to him who was chiefe of all those *Tartar* Princes, rather

ther by their voluntary election, then his states surpassing them in power; that as ambitions were vnlimited generally, so were they euer most in those, which had most power to vse them largely; that all the states of the *Tartars* were held by great Princes, and absolute, which had obeyed him so long, rather because they would, then they could do no other. If this rebellion of naturall subiects proceeded to a happy course, much more would they bee animated to do the like which were Lords, and no subiects: besides, though the counsell of the *Turke* had not palesated it selfe openly, yet in all iudgement it might be perceiued, that he had onely raised this, as a Pageant, to fill the world with gazing, whilest hee fitted his designes to impatronize himselfe of the state; which if he should do, how terrible a neighbour he would be to the King of *Corassan*, he submitted to his wise consideration. For himselfe, that he had bin so bound to him in his first calamity, that without other reasons, he did not doubt but the same royall and generous spirit, which moued him then to take compassion of him, would also moue him to the like now: And the more, hauing greater hopes of meanes for a gratefull acknowledgement from him; which hee which had the management so long of his disposition could not doubt of; and if he had begun to perswade him with other reasons, hee did it rather in the duty of a true friend, to lay before him his owne interest, then in any diffidence of his free inclination to his good. Whereupon the king of *Corassan*, though pre-occupied by the *Turke*, yet desirous to bee his friend a farre off, and also doubting the successe of *Abas*, neither hauing yeares, nor experience, nor friends; In fine, beeing destitute of all reasonable hope, not to moue the *Turks* displeasure vpon such a disadvantageous condition, was notwithstanding contented to see whether some thing might be moued by such a helpe as should not appeare to

giuen by him, but rather voluntary followers of *Abas* his fortune: hee gaue him three thousand horse onely to put him in possession of that state, which by his vertue, and fortune, is growne now so great, that it hath deuoured all the states of the *Tartars*, extended it selfe so farre as *Cabull* to the East; the *Arabian* gulse downe to *Ballsarack* on the South; within three dayes iourney of *Babylon* on the West; and to *Tauris* on the North; embracing the whole circumference of the *Caspian* sea vnto *Astracan*, which is the vttermost of the *Moscouites* Dominion, and *Seruane* of the *Turkes*, which lyeth vpon that sea: an Empire so great, so populous, & so aboundant; that as it may compare with most of the greatest that euer were, so is it terrible to the *Turkes*, which is the greatest that now is; though I doe thinke verily, *That in Asia the Persian hath as great an extent of Territories, as the Turke, and better inhabited, better gouerned, and in better obedience, and affection, I am sure he hath.* With this small troope, the King of *Persia*, guided by his infinite Royall courage, entred *Persia*. But as those which are wicked, are euer so well instructed in the Art of their profession, that they neuer want instruments in themselves to deuise, and in others to act those counsels which must euer bee working, to maintaine what they haue gotten by their sceleratenesse: So their Spyes hastened, with such diligence, to giue those Rebels notice, of their Kings beeing on foote, that the next of them to him, had time to arme great forces, and incountred him in a Prouince, called *Sistan*: and though his inuincible spirit, without any sparke of feare, made him aduenture to fight vpon so vn-equall termes, as was three thousand against twenty thousand; hee found by his experience, that *Maiesty and right, is nothing without power to beare them vp: and that no exquisite vigour of the minde, can resist the violence*

lence of sinister fortune, nor oppression of many hands. Yet did fortune so much care (for so great vertue) that shee gaue him way to escape to the Mountaines, all the rest of the small troupe being cut in peeces.

This victory assured the Rebels (as they thought) from all further danger; supposing that these small forces, were all, which then their King could, or hereafter should be able to lead against them: Imagining that the King of *Corrasan*, if hee would haue succored him indeed, that hee would neuer haue cast away those few, to increase the strength of their foundation, and to diminish the others reputation, which is so effectually in a not well confirmed Princes first actions, especially in a Prince who must come to his right by his vertue and fortune. But the King of *Persia*, whose owne minde euer comforted him, with a stedfast assurance of his greatnesse, to which hee is now growne, hauing recouered the Mountaines, liued amongst the Heardef-men for three months, vnknowne, changing continually, from place to place, without any certaine abode, accompanied onely with ten or twelue followers, which were of his first Gouvernours, and other yong Gentlemen brought vp with him from his child-hood.

But being now no longer able to temporize with his great desire, resolving to proue the last, and the vttermost of his fortune, and remembring how much loue and affection those of *Rasd* had shewed towards him in the time of his gouerning them, and how much he had truely deserued of them, determined to shew himselfe in that Province; and proue what effect the Maiesty of his person, the iustice of his cause, and former obligation would worke in them: which, though it were a foundation proued euer false, almost by all experiences, *The peoples affections euer raising mens hopes, and ruining their persons*: Yet it proued otherwise with this King; who was no sooner cer-

tainely knowne in those parts, but numbers of people came flocking to him, armed and appointed for the wars: in such sort, that before any prouision could bee made against him (this being an accident so farre remoued from all sort of suspition) he had a power together, too strong to be easily suppressed; which was no sooner heard by *Ferrat Can*, a great Prince, and discontented with the alteration of the gouernement (to whose share none of that partition had fallne, his fortune being such, that at the time of the other Kings death, he had none of the Prouinces to administer, and they were parted onely betweene them, which held them) he I say, with his brother, and a company of some ten thousand, came and ioyned themselues to the forces of the King. Neither were the men so welcome, as that *Ferrat Can*, being a wise Prince, and a great Soldier, grew a party, and such as the King also stood in need of: Neither did the King loose any sort of opportunity, but hearing of the Assembly which certaine of the Princes were making in the neereſt Prouinces vnto him, with all speed fell vpon them, and ouer-throwing them followed them as farre as *Casbin*.

In the meane time, those of *Shyras*, *Alphaan*, *Cassan* assisted by the Kings of *Gheylan*, and *Mazandran*, gather mighty forces; the Turkes armed at *Tauris*, and the Prince of *Hamadan*, hauing called in a strength of the *Courdiues*, to his assistance, was marching also towards *Casbin*: So that the King was likely to be so inclosed with all these Armies, that his first victory would rather haue proued a snare to his intrapment; then important, as he hoped, to the some of his affaires: Whence he resolved to helpe, with Art, that which he was much too weake to accomplish by strength. Wherefore he leaueth *Ferrat Can*, in *Casbin* with some fīue thousand men, accompanied with *Zulpher* his brother; and himselfe, with the rest of his power marched
towards

towards the *Can* of *Hamadane*. *Ferrat Can*, according to the deliberation taken betweene the King and him, shewed himselfe altered from the Kings part, writeth to the Rebels, which were all, in a grosse, aduanced as farre, as the mid-way betweene *Cassan* and *Casbin*, and offereth not onely to ioyne that strength which hee had with them, but to mutine the Kings army, which was lodged in the Mountaines towards *Hammadane*, in a shew to keepe those straights, to giue impeachment to the passage of that other Army; but indeed to protract time onely, and to expect the euent of his other counsels. The other *Cans* rebelled easily and desirously imbraced *Ferrat Cans* proposition, hasted the Army towards *Casbin*, which they entred without difficulty, both by the nature of the place, which is not of any strength, and conueyance of *Ferrat*.

There were many daies spent in Counsell, and at last it was concluded, since the suppression of the King was certaine, being abandoned by him which was his onely Capitaine and Counsellour; by so great a part of his strength; and vpon the confidence which *Ferrat* gaue them to mutine the rest; that it would proue too dangerous, to call in those forces of the Turkes, which were in readinesse for their succour; Not knowing whether they should so easily free themselves of them againe, if they were once entred: They feared the Turkes purposes, and as much feared to know them; therefore to auoide the danger of being compelled to experience them, they determined to write to the *Bassa* of *Tauris*, that the war was so certaine to bee finished, by themselves, that they would reserue his fauour till a more vrgent opportunity: and with that deliberation a principall man was dispatched with a present for the *Bassa*. Of this, the King had present aduice, by a confident messenger, and also that few nights after, the principals
of

of the Army were to meete together at *Ferrats* house, invited to a great banquet; which being vnderstood by him, electing five thousand of his best men, and best horring, with great, and close iourneies, he came to *Calbin*; where hauing secretly disposed his people, in the Mountaine, couered with the quarter of *Ferrats* troupe, hee expected the signe which was to bee giuen him. The Prince (as it was appointed) failed not of comming, nor hee of his signe to the King, nor the King to accomplish his resolution: For *Ferrat* hauing protracted the banquet the most part of the night, when the whole company was heauy with wine and sleepe, the King was receiued into the house with three hundred men, where without any vp-roare, he slew all those which were invited, to the number of three score and ten; the seruants and Pages being so suddenly taken hold of, and with such dexterity, that without any mouing of other rumors, the same fashion of feast of singing and of dancing, continued all the night; and in that space all the rest of those people, which the King had with him, were appointed, in the breaking of the day, to make the greatest shew, and the greatest noise that they could vnder the foote of the Mountaine, as though all the Army had bene there, marching to the Towne. When the Alarum beganne to bee hot in the Towne, and euery man fell to his Armes, and repaired to *Ferrats* lodging, where they supposed their Princes to haue bene; the King hauing disposed his three hundred men which were shut fitly in the house, and *Zulpher* hauing his five thousand all in a Troope, in the great place, the threescore and ten *Cars* heades were shewed all laced vpon a string, and hung out of a Tarras; vpon which the King presently shewed himselfe, accompanied with *Ferrat* *Car*; whereas the Maiesty of the King, the terrour of the sight, represented before them,

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the feare of the Army, which they saw (as they thought) at hand, *Zulpher* and *Ferrat Cans* power amongst them, which they perceiued turned against them; their being destitute of Commanders, and the guiltinesse of their owne consciences, for their rebellion, stroke them into so dead an amazement, that they stood ready, rather to receiue all mischiefe, then that they had either courage, or mindes, or counsell to auoide it.

The King, as though he had a while aduised with himselfe what he would both say and do; at last, after a good pause, seeming that his royall mercy had preuailed against his iust indignation; hee told them, that the wickednesse of their vniuersall conspiracy against him, was such, that hee was distracted in himselfe, what to say or doe against them: for though they might excuse themselues vpon those Princes which had seduced them; yet they knew, that the others authority, had no more force vpon them then their own willing obedience, which called as great a punishmēt vpon the one, as the other. What cause they should haue, generally, to desire such an innouation of gouernement, as they, by their owne conuenience had erected amongst them, he could not deuise; his Grand-father, Father, and Brother, hauing euer guided the Helme of their State, with that integrity of iustice, and that vniuersall satisfaction, that it was not to be wished, of any, to find more tranquility, for those which desired to liue onely quietly; nor more iust measure of honour, or due reward, then was magnificently giuen to those which had deserued them; and why they should haue lesse hope of him, he knew not, neuer hauing made, willingly, any other demonstration of his minde, then such as might be proportionable to their best expectations. But since his true feeling of humane frailty, made him well vnderstand how easie mens mindes are to be abused by others artifice, and their owne corrup-

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tion,

tion, hee tooke so great a compassion of the calamity into which they had, (either wilfully, or misled by others errors) cast themselves; that if he could haue any confidence, that they would truely repent of their past wickednesse, and bend their mindes to serue him with a perfect heart, hee could also easily perswade himselfe to change the seuerity of the iudgement, which they had merited, into mercy, forgiuenesse, and forgetfulnesse of their offence; and content himselfe, that this iniurious great disorder (which had hapned, as all other of that kind do, through the ignorance of many, and malice of few) should also be expiated by the bloud of those few, who had already concluded the greatnesse of their vsurped authority, and their long hopes with a short and iust death.

This being spoken, by the King, with courage and maiesty; and being so far from that which their guilty consciences did cause them to apprehend, easily brought forth the ordinary effectes of a multitude, which being easily inclined to hope more then they should, and to suffer lesse then is fit, as though the King, with his royall mercifull speech, had giuen them as great a present good, as if hee had discharged them from the terrour of the punishment of almost an unpardonable offence: cryed out, let the King liue, let the King liue; we are all King *Abas* his slaues, and will not suffer to liue any of his enemies: and there was more trouble to defend the poore people of *Casbin* from sacking by them, (their Towne euer hauing bene a wel-disposed harbour for the Rebels) then to turne their heartes and armes to the Kings parr. Besides the succours which the Kings of *Gheylan* and *Mazandran* had sent the Rebels, were with great difficulty saued, and returned to their countries by the King of *Persia*, with commandement to tell their Masters, that as the poore men were not culpable, which obeyed their Princes authority, by whom they were sent
against

against him, and for that innocency, hee had giuen them their liues; so that hee would not bee long from seeking his reuenge vpon their Maisters, which had more iustly deserued it, by his neuer prouoking them to any offence. And when hee came with his Army thither, hee would proue, by those mens acknowledgement vnto him, whether they could discerne by the benefites they had already recieued of him in the gift of their liues, which they had forfeited vnto him, by bearing Armes with Rebels against him, what better hopes they might conceiue of him, if they would dispose themselues to deserue good of him.

In this meane time, the fame of this great successe, flew to both the Armies about the Mountaines of *Hamadan*: which, as it comforted the Kings with exceeding ioyfulnesse; so it entred into the others with such a terror, that they presently vanished, euery man retyring to his best knowne safe-gard, that part of the warre ending with the blast onely of the fortune of the other, with little expence of time, labour, and bloud: which being vnderstood by the King, hee raised *Oliuer-Dibeague* to the title of a *Can*, and sent him, with those forces which hee had, to *Hamadan*, to settle the Country in a good forme of gouernement, and to ease it from the oppression of the other dispersed troupes. *Zulpher* hee also called *Can*, and sent him to *Ardouile* which frontireth vpon *Tauris*, with an Army consisting of twenty and foure thousand men, in shew to quiet the Country, but indeed, to preuent any moouing of the *Turkes*. And because hee knew, that as his state stood then weake, raised (as it were) freshly from a deadly sickenesse, it was not fitte for him (at that time) to bind himselfe to wrastle with such an enemy, by taking knowledge of his ill disposition towards him; hee dispatched

dispatched Embassadours to *Constantinople*, to *Tauris*, and to the *Bassa*, of *Babylon*, to congratulate with them, as with his friendes, for the felicity of his fortune; and to strengthen himselfe, by alliance, also the more firmly, against the proceeding of any thing which the *Turke* might designe against him; either then or in future time; he required the daughter of *Simon Can*, one of the Princes of the *Georgians*, to wife, which was, with as ready an affection performed, as demanded.

Whiles that Lady was comming from her father, the King vnderstanding that the *Cans* sonne of *Hispphaan* held yet strong the Castle, and whether he gaue it out to amaze his Army, which now beganne to looke for satisfaction, for the great trauels and dangers which they had passed, or whether hee had heard so indeed, true it is, that hee gaue out, that the most part of the treasure of the former Kings of *Persia*, was, by the consent of the Rebels, for security, kept together in that Castle: to receiue the which, and to chastice that Rebelle, the King marched thither with a part onely of his Army, leaving the rest at *Casbin*, which was Frontier to *Gheylan*, against which his purpose carried him. Without much trouble, hee expugned the Fort at *Hispphaan*, being a large circumference onely of Mud-wals, some what thicke, with Towers, and certaine ill battlements, and suppressed that Rebelle; but Treasure hee found none, for the indignation whereof, hee made the world belecue, he dismantled the Castle. His own necessity to content the Army, and his Armies necessity to aske contentment, drew him suddenly back from thence to *Casbin*, where he had not stayed many daies, (for daily satisfaction with hope hauing no reall meanes) but that the Queene arriued, honourably aecompanied with 2000 horse, and *Byraicke Myrza* her brother. The Marriage was soone dispatched, those countries vsing few ceremonies in such

such cases: and God blessed them both so happily, that within the tearme of lesse then one yeare, shee brought him a gallant yong Prince who is now liuing, called *Saphir Mirza*.

The King vnwilling to oppresse his countrey, and desiring to reuenge himselfe vpon the kings of *Gheylan*, and *Mazandran*, to enlarge his Empire, and to content his Souldiers; hauing a flourishing Army, both in men, and the reputation of his present victory; resolued, all vnder one, to increase his state, honour himselfe, ease his countrey, and satisfie his Souldiers with the enemies spoyles. *Gheylan* is a country cut off from *Persia*, with great mountaines, hard to passe, full of woods (which *Persia* wanteth; being here and there onely sprinkled with hils, and very penurious of fuell, onely their gardens giue them wood to burne, and those hils, which are some fagots of Pistachios, of which they are well replenished) betweene those hils there are certaine breaches, rather then vallies; which, in the spring, when the snow dissolueth, and the great abundance of raine falleth, are full of torrents; the *Caspian* sea includeth this Countrey on the East: betweene which and the hils, is a continuing valley, so abounding in Silke, in Rice, and in Corne, and so infinitely peopled, that Nature seemeth to contend with the peoples industry; the one in sowing of men, the other in cultiuating the land; in which you shall see no peece of ground which is not fitted to one vse or other: their hils also (which are rockes towards *Casbin*) are so fruitfull of herbage, shadowed by the trees, as they shew, turned towards the sea, that they are euer full of cattell, which yeeldeth commodity to the countrey, by furnishing diuers other parts. In this then lay the difficulty most of the kings enterprize, how to enter the countrey: for the rest there were great reasons of his hopes, the kings of those countries being amazed with

these first great successes of the king of *Persia*, their people discouraged, many Princes, which though they might unite themselves against a common enemy, yet their deliberations could not be so speedy, as from one alone, nor so firme; many accidents happening, which might either absolutely dis-ioyne, or diuert them one from the other, or cast suspicion amongst them, which might giue the way to a good occasion against one, by which the victory against the other might be also facilitated: Besides, his owne Army was so much raised in courage by their last happy successes, and those so animated, through an opinion in themselves, of that reputation which had first followed the King, and the rest so desirous to wash away the ignominy of their offence, by some great and good act, ioyned to the hope of rich preyes; that there could be almost thought of no obstacle able to withstand their valour and willingnesse.

Yet before the king would enter into this action, remembering, that before he had better settled himselfe in his owne state, that he thrust himselfe vpon a cast of fortune, to seeke after the winning of others; yet since hee was forced vnto it, by a certaine great necessity, hee resolved to take the best wayes for the securing all dangers which might rise against himselfe at home; and setting his countrey in a reposed state, from so many tempests, which had contrarily moued it, as well as to make due and confident prouisions for his intended warres. First then he called vnto him to *Casbin*, all gouernors, & all administrators of Iustice, whosoever had occupied those functions, during the vsurped rule of the *Cans*, through all his prouinces; with the kinsmen, friends and children of the said *Cans*: besides, that all men of power, as *Mirzaes*, *Cans*, *Sultans*, and *Beagues*, which are principall Titles of Dukes, Princes, and Lords, should reaire thither, without

without excuse of age, sicknesse, or any other pretence whatsoeuer: which being done, he appointed new Governours and Officers of all sorts; he cleared all his prouinces for three yeares, from paying any tribute-custome, or any other ordinary or extraordinary exaction whatsoeuer. His chiefe *Viseire* he made one *Haldenbeague*, a wise man, excellently seene in all affaires, of great experience; but such a one as was onely his creature, without friends or power: him hee commanded to passe through all his prouinces, accompanied with the *Xa-Hammadaga*; who is, as it were, Knight Marshall, to cleare them from vagabonds, robbers, and seditious persons. *Ologontie*, which had followed him in all his aduersity (a man of great worthinesse) he made bearer of his great Seale, which is an office there, liker the Lord priuy Seale, then Chancellor (The place of the *Viseire* comprehending in it, the office of Chancellor, and high Treasurer) him he also aduanced to the dignity of a *Can. Bastana*, an ancient approued man, both for fidelity and other worthinesse, he made principall *Agà* of his house; which is as great Chamberlaine. *Curtchibasschie* Captaine of his Guard, which is a general-ship of twelue thousand shot, who attend at the Port by turnes, two hundred and fifty euery quarter; except when the King goeth to the warres, that they are all bound to be present. *Ferrat Can* hee made his Generall.

Thus hauing wisely and prouidently placed, through all his estates, those who must be most assured to him, their fortunes depending onely vpon him, hauing no more strength, nor authority in themselues, then they receiued from him: and hauing all the great ones in his Army with him, or such of them as could not bee able to follow him, either by their few, or many yeares, or sicknesse, so securely left at *Casbin*, that they could not by
 themselues

The means by which K. *Abas* settled the quiet of *Persia*.

themselves, or any other, moue any innouation. And moreouer, hauing dispatched all those, and keeping their persons with him which had any obligation to the former *Cans*, secured by that meanes (as much as the counsell of any man could secure him) from perill at home: hauing called *Oliuer di Can* from *Hamedan*, and appointed him a successor for that *Gouernement* with ten thousand new men; hee set himselfe forward to his enterprize, with his old Troopes, and great part of his rebelled Army, with no greater courage and counsell then fortune: for those men which were remitted by him to *Gheylan*, and *Mazandran*, (as those which had beene somewhat exercised in the warres) hauing, with some more, adioined vnto them the guard of the straights, from which the maine Army of the Kings was some foure leagues remoued (remembering the benefite of the King, better then their faith to their Princes) at the very sight of the first Troopes, retired themselves from the places left to their confidence in charge; which aduantage being followed by *Ferrat*, with the Alarum giuen, fell so iustly vpon that Army, that what with the vnexpected terror of the straights abandoning, and their being surprised in disorder, the Army was facily broken, with the death of two of the Kings, and an infinite slaughter of people, which had beene much greater if the woods had not couered them from the fury of their enemies. The greatest of those kings hauing escaped with much difficulty (accompanied euer with the terror of the perill from which he had escaped) neuer ended his flight, vntill hee came into *Seruane*; and from thence went to *Constantinople*, to desire succour from the *Turke*, where he yet liueth. The other, which remained, being but one, without any great difficulty, or alteration of fortune, was suppressed.

The Countrey being first spoiled, and ransomed at a great rate, which they might well beare, by reason of their great riches, which they had gathered together through a long peace, and the Kings Army excellently well satisfied; he dispatched, instantly, Embassadours to the *Turke*, the *Georgians* and his old friend, the King of *Corassan*, to giue them an account of this new victory: not doubting, but as it would bee exceeding pleasant to some; so it would bee as bitter to others: and leauing *Ferrat Can* to gouerne the Countrey, and *Oliuer Dibeague*, as his assistant, but to bee commanded by him, hee returned himselfe full of glory, and great victory into *Persia*, disposing himselfe to reduce his state to that excellent forme of gouernment which now it hath.

First then, after his arriual in *Casbin*, hauing heard by his *Viseire*, & the relation of *Xa-Hammadaga*, of some who had not onely spoyled the Subiects in their substances; but the country of all orders, & iust forme of gouernement, which now it hath; and giuen them, by that meanes, more matter of dis-vnion; then vnion; insomuch, that they were full of theeues, of vagabonds, of factions, & such like insolencies: he iudged it fit, to reduce it the more peaceable and obedient, to giue it in those cases, a good condition of gouernment: Whereupon, he presently dispatched that *Xa-hammadaga*, a terrible, and resolute person, with full power and authority, for the reformation of those disorders; who in short time, though with most terrible examples, reduced all the Prouinces to a vnite tranquility, with mighty reputation.

Whilst hee was busied in that administration; the King, to shew that it was necessity, that counselled to giue him that excessiue authority, and to preserue it from being odious to himselfe, appointed in the chiefe city of euery Prouince, a Gouernour elected of those of most valour: to

him he ioyned two Iudges of criminall and ciuill causes, a Treasurer, two Secretaries, with an excellent president, and two Aduocates generall, for the causes both particular and generall of the whole Prouince; Besides the particular Aduocate of euery City, which should be resident in that Metropolis. These determined all causes within themselves of those Prouinces in which they had the administration; and because they should neither be burthensome to the Prouinces, nor corrupted in paritializing; the King paid them their stipend, enioyning them vpon paine of life to take no other sort of reward. And because such things, and causes might fall out, as by reason of the importance of them, or appellations of the parties might be brought before himselfe, because hee would euer know what he did, and be continually informed, not onely of the generall state of the Prouinces, but of their particular administration; hee ordained Posts once euery weeke from all parts, to bring all sort of relations to the Court; for which cause also hee willed that one of the two generall Aduocates should euer be resident there, who receiuing those relations presenteth them to the *Viseire*, and hee to the King. The *Viseire*, sitteth euery morning in counsell about the generall state of all the Kings Prouinces, accompanied with the Kings Councill, Aduocates resident, and the Secretaries of State; there are all matters heard, and the opinions of the Councill written by the Secretaries of State; then after dinner, the Councill, or such a part of them as the King will admit, present those papers, of which the King pricketh those hee will haue proceed; the rest are cancelled; which being done: the Councill retire them againe to the *Viseirs*, and then determine of the particular businesse of the Kings house. The King himselfe euery Wednesday, sitteth in the Councill publicly, accompanied with all those of his Councill, and the

the fore-said Aduocates: thither come a flood of all sorts of people, rich and poore, and of all Nations without distinction, and speake freely to the King in their owne cases, and deliuer euery one his owne seuerall Bill, which the King receiueh; pricketh some, and reiecteth other, to be better informed of. The Secretaries of State presently record in the Kings Booke those which he hath pricked, with all other acts, then by him enacted; the which booke is carried by a Gentleman of the Chamber, into his Chamber, where it euer remaineth: and woe bee to his *Viseires*, if after the King hath pricked, Bill, or Supplication, it bee againe brought the second time.

When he goeth abroad to take the aire, or to passe the time in any exercise, the poorest creature in the world may giue him his Supplication: which hee receiueh, readeth, and causeth to bee registred; and one request, or complaint, is not, ordinarily, brought him twise: and though these bee great waies, wise waies, and iust waies, to tye vnto him the hearts of any people; yet the nature of those is so vile in themselues, that they are no more, nor longer good, then they are by a strong and wisely-tempered hand made so: The Countrey not being inhabited by those nobly-disposed *Persians*, of which there are but a few, and those few are as they euer were: But being mightily wasted by the inundation of *Tamberlaine*, and *Ismael* afterward making himselfe the head of a Faction, against the *Ottomans*, and by that reason, forced to re-people his Countrey to giue himselfe strength of men against so potent an Aduersary, calling in *Tartars*, *Turcomans*, *Courdines*, and of all scum of Nations; which though they now liue in a better countrey, yet haue not changed their bad natures: though as, I said, so carefull and true Princely a regard of the King for the establishment of good and iust orders, for the gouernement of this Countrey, in

equity, generall security, and tranquility; had beene of sufficient ability to haue bound the hearts of people vnto him: Yet knowing what his were, and to leaue no meanes vnacted which might both assure them more, and himselfe with them; because he knew, that their owne dispositions, which were euill, would neuer, rightly, iudge of the cause of many rigorous examples that had passed, which by that fault in them, had ingendred him hatred amongst them; to purge their minds from that sickenesse, and gaine them the more confidently, hee determined to shew, that if there were any cruell act, brought forth, it did not grow from himselfe, but from necessity. Wherefore hee displaced, by little, (finding particular occasions daily against some or other) all the whole *Tymarri* of his estate; as though from them had growne all such disorders, as had corrupted the whole gouernment, sending new ones, and a great part of them *Gheylanders* to their possessions, with more limited authority, and more fauourable to the people; the old ones part he cashierd, part he distributed in *Gheyland* and *Mazandran*, which he had new conquered: so that by that Art, the people began to rest exceeding well satisfied, and himselfe the more secured; those which succeeded them being bound to his fortune; and those which were remoued also, being disposed in the new conquered Prouinces, which they were bound to maintaine in security, for their owne fortunes, which depended onely vpon their preferuing them for the King.

When all these things were done, and the King began to thinke himselfe, throughly established, for a long time, both from intrinsicke and extrinsicke dangers, The *Turkes* forces being so occupied in the warres of *Hungary*, that hee had no leasure to looke to his increasing; the *Tartarres* of *Corrasan*, his friendes, by the old hospitality which hee had receiued from their King; and if not his
friends.

friends, yet cold enemies, such as would bee long resolving, before they would attempt any thing to his preiudice: There fell out a new occasion to trouble, both the peace of his minde and Countrey, if it had not beene prevented with great dexterity, celerity, and fortune. For *Ferrat Can*, not regarding his benefites done to the King, knowing too well his owne worthineffe, and attributing vnto that, the successes of all the kings fortunes, and for so great causes, not being able to limit his mind within any compasse of satisfaction, nor resting contented with the place of Generall, nor Gouvernement of *Gheylan*, nor with the honour to be called the Kings Father, but despising that *Haldenbeague* should bee *Viseire*, and not himselfe all; which had giuen the king all; began to take counsell, to innouate, and alter things with the *Bassaes* of *Seruan*, and *Tauris*. So dangerous are too great benefites from a subiect to a Prince, both for themselves and the Prince, when they haue their minds only capable of merit, and nothing of duty.

These practises of his, were most dangerous, for which hee did more assure himselfe, to haue layd a strong foundation for the discontentment of those *Timari* which the King had sent into his Gouvernement; and so had they beene, questionlesse, if *Oliver di-Can*, through his true zeale to his Maisters seruice; and, perhappes, a little enuy at the others greatnesse, had not made him so watchfully diligent, that hauing gathered his intentions by very momentuall circumstances, hee gaue the King, from time to time, notice of them; which at the first were negligently receiued, and rather taken as matter of emulation, then truth: But when those very same aduertisements euer continued, and *Oliver di-Can*, was not at all terrified from sending of them; neither by the kings neglecting them, nor rebuke, and that

Mahomet Shefia was also secretly arriued in the Court, with more particular and certaine aduice, that the *Bassa* of *Seruan* had sent a great summe of money to *Ferrat*, which was receiued on a certaine day, and in a certaine place. The king hereupon presently sent *Xa-Tamascoolibeague*, his chiefe fauourite, to will *Ferrat Can*, for very important affaires, for the determining of which his presence was requisite, to repaire to the Court; which hee excused, through his indisposition, which he said to be such, that he could not possibly trauell: so that persisting in that deniall, when *Xa-Tamas Coolibeague* perceiued that he would not be perswaded, he returned with all expedition to the king; who assuring himselfe the more by the denial, of the former related accusations, instantly commanded his guard of twelue thousand *Courtchies* to be in a readinesse, with which, and a thousand of the *Xa-Hammagaes* he vsed such celerity, that he preuented the newes of his comming, and was sooner arriued at *Ferrats* house then he had almost opinion that his messenger had beene returned: yet, although amazed with his owne guiltinesse, and the kings sudden comming, he made shift to make great shew of the indisposition which hee had so long counterfeited.

The king, as soone as he came vnto him, said; that hee had taken a great iourney to visit him in his sicknesse, and to bring him the cure thereof; and hauing commanded all out of the Chamber, but themselves onely alone (as the king himselfe told me) he vsed such like speeches vnto him: Father, I do acknowledge, that first from God, then from you, these fortunes which now I haue, haue receiued their being; And I know, that as a man, I may both erre in my merit to God, and in my well deseruing of your seruice. But my intention, I can assure you, is most perfect in both: the time of my establishment in my estate, hath beene so small,

The kings gracious speech to *Ferrat*.

small, that I could scarce vse it sufficiently to performe my generall duty towards my people, ouer whom (by Gods permission) I am appoynted; much lesse to prouide for e- uery particular satisfaction, as I mind, and will doe; which you principally, as a Father to me, both in your yeares, and my election should haue borne withal. But since some ill spirit hath had power to mis-leade your wisdom, so far as to make you forget your great vertue; you shall once re- ceiue wholesome counsell from me, as I haue done often from you: And because that *all counsels, as well in publicke, as priuate deliberations, require a reposed spirit, free, and pure from wrath, feare, all perturbation or perticular interest; for a troubled mind is more apt to erre, then to aduse iustly, and hath more need of proper medicines for it selfe, then it hath properly in it selfe to apply any comfort to others; and is fitter to receiue, then to giue counsell: from which, as from a great and violent current, are caried all those errors and disorders, which are brought vpon rash deliberations; the which haue euer long repentances, and disasters, as the perpetuall memo- ries of their hauing bene; and are most of all detestably blame- able, when such an imprudency is accompanied with that infi- nite damage, as to thinke of alteration in a state, which can- not proceede without in-iustice, sceleratnesse, bloud, and a thousand mischieses: an act in it selfe wonderfull difficult, wonderfull wicked; and proceeding from an incomparable vile quality. But hee that can restraine himselfe from being transported by vntemperate appetites, and can dominate his passions, and giue a iust rule to himselfe, to his cupidities and desires, doth euer giue the best time to all deliberations, by mit- tigating heat and fury; and so altereth all counsell, from that nature which it receiueth, from an vnquiet and troubled mind: Which if you had done, you would not haue entred into a thought onely of so dangerous an action against your selfe, nor so dishonourable as to haue machinated the*

ruine.

ruine and trouble of your owne King, Friend, & Country; which though it be palefated, it is but to my selfe only, who rather desire to chastice you as a friend, with good admonition, then by rigour. Therefore, though it be *ever incident to all men, to haue this great defect, to feare chiefly nearest dangers, and to esteeme much lesse, then they ought, of the future*: Yet bee you most assured, that the perill which you might feare from my person, is much lesse then that which you had throwne your selfe into, if you had, or should prosecute your enterprizes. From my person you shall neuer, (except by great constraint from your selfe) looke for any thing of other condition, then a true Princely loue, and a Royall regard of your seruices: In the other course, you called against my will, vpon your selfe, the rigor of Iustice, and fury of the sword, which in the warre consumeth all alike. And because *in that aduersity which a mans minde bringeth vpon himselfe, the feares and terrours are ever greater then the euils which concurre with them*; be you of good comfort without the feeling onely of any such conditioned thing, and call strength from your minde to your body, that you may endure to go with me to *Hispnaan*, where you shall haue cause to digest all these melancholies. *Ferrat* neither excused, nor confessed; but indifferently answered the king, as sory to haue giuen cause of offence, and infinitely reioycing (as hee seemed) that the king had so royally pacified himselfe with him: and not daring to refuse to go with the king, desired him to vse some few daies in the visiting of the Countrey; in which time, hee hoped that God, and the comfort of his presence, would raise him from his infirmity. The king certainly (as I before said) was by all necessity in the world, either forced to execute him, or to recōcile him perfectly vnto him: for any midle course had but made him desperate, and aggrauated all sort of perill, which he might haue feared from him; his seruices

uices already done, his valour and vertue were of great moment to perswade the king to the easier way; being ioyned to his owne excellent mind, which I haue seene the rarest proofes of, that may bee brought forth by Prince, or man liuing.

But *Ferrat Can* (who knew, that true iustice neuer weigheth offences, and deserts, but seuerally, and without intermingling them together, rewardeth the one, and chasticeth the other; and that benefites are more easier forgotten, then iniuries) feeling the weight of his offence, and measuring the kings heart by his owne, gaue the wickednesse of his minde power ouer his vertue; And, though hee seemed altered to all good intentions, yet his heart was still swollen with that poyson which shortly brought him to destruction. The king hauing staid some eight, or ten dayes in the Countrey, was sooner hastened thence, then hee thought, by the newes of the Queenes death, who was deceased by a sudden and violent sicknesse, after his departure: so that with great speede, taking *Ferrat* with him; and leauing Lieu-tenant in the Countrey, for *Ferrat*, *Mahomet Shefia*, he returned to *Hispmaan*; where, after some dayes spent in sorrow, for his great losse, hee sent to *Alexander*, the other *Can* of the *Georgians*, to demand his daughter, by that meanes to binde againe that league, which might haue beene dissolued by the death of the other Queene: In that Embassage went *Xa-Tamas Coolibeague*, who returned with the Lady within few moneths.

In the meane time, the brother to that king of *Corasan*, who had so royally and carefully brought vp the king of *Persia*, when he fled from the wrath of his father, rebelled against his brother, slue him, and all his children; but onely one; whose tutors fled with him into the mountaines, & so escaped the present danger, & persecution of that tyrant.

Diuers other also, as they had been in estimation or fauour with the old king, fearing for that, the violence of the present authority, and others, onely discontented with the alteration, and the wicked meanes of it, fled into *Persia*; by whom the king hauing largely and perfectly vnderstood the state of things, hauing so faire a way both to shew an infinite royall point of gratitude to that one poore posterity of the murdered king, for great obligations to the father; and withall, to assure himselfe in future times and occasions, from that certaine enemy, which had euer hung, like a dangerous cloud ouer his state, vsually breaking into terrible tempests, as it was, or should bee carried against him by the breath of the *Turke*: though he knew those *Tartars* so obstinate enemies to his Gouvernement, and Religion, that if they had the most odious reasons of dis-union amongst themselues, yet that they would combine against him; without reposing himselfe vpon any hope to be holpen by those partialities, which the refuged vnto him seemed to promise; but confident onely in the iustice of the cause which he intended, in his owne force, vertue, wisdom and fortune; hee resolued to gather his Armie, and to goe for those parts; to which hee was, besides his owne disposition, mightily instigated by *Ferrat Can*, whose feare & ambition, being without meanes of end, gaue him assurance, by the place of Generall which hee held, to haue some faire opportunity giuen him to end them, with the kings ruine, and without his owne danger.

Thirty thousand men the king tooke with him for that warre, twelue thousand Harquebusiers, which bare long peeces, halfe a foote longer then our Muskets, sleightly made; the bullet of the height of Caliuer, which they vse well and certainly: and eightteene thousand liorse, which may seeme a smal troop in these places, where the wars are carried with innumerable multitudes. But the king of *Per-*

Sæes iudgement agreeth with that of the best experienced Captains, that multitudes are confusers of orders, & deuourers of time, and of those meanes which nourish the wars; and are good for no other use, but to make a war soone breake off, and to consume the world. This Armie being chosen out from all his forces, of elected good men, hee carried into *Corasæn* with wonderfull expedition; & had taken it vterly vnpro- uided, if *Ferrat Can*s aduertisement had not preuented his celerity; who had not onely giuen notice to them, but to the *Bassa* of *Tauris*, of the kings purpose, and his owne resolution, promising them a certaine victory, and the deli- uery of the kings owne person. A dayes iourney the king passed peaceably into the Countrey, without the sight onely of an enemy: himselfe with fiue thousand of the best men, accompanied with diuers of the principallest, was a kinde of vauntguard to the rest, which followed with *Ferrat Can*, *Zulphir Can*, and *Oliuer di-Can*, which marched softly. The king by that meanes, was farre aduanced; and being almost assured in himselfe, that through the celerity of his comming, he should find yet no enemy sufficiently able to resist him, & more confidently, by the perswasion of *Ferrat Can*: some fixe hundred horse, vnder the leading of *Vseph-Aga* (which were sent to discouer before the kings troope) fell vpon fifty thousand of the enemy; vpon which sight he would faine haue retired: but being so farre enga- ged, that he could not, and vnable to resist so great a force, with the losse of almost all his cōpany, he was beaten back to the Kings grosse: who by the dust rising a farre off, and the great noyse following, imagining what it was indeed, with a great & ready courage provided himselfe ready to fight, and dispatched Messenger vpon Messenger, to command *Ferrat Can* to aduance vnto him. To the first *Ferrat* answered, that it was but a troope of some few ras- cals, and desired the king to march on, and not trouble

himselfe nor his Army, and to diuers the like. At the last, when yong *Hassan-Can* came from the king, and told him the kings danger, and that certainly the whole force of the enemy had charged him; he began to shew feare, & to call a Councell of the Commanders, then to know what they were best to resolute of, for the sauing of the Army; since the king had so rashly lost himselfe. Which when *Oliuer di-Can* heard, vpbraiding him of treason, called vpon all those which loued the king to follow him; and putting spurs to his horse, being followed by *Courtchibassa*, & most of the kings Guard, & many other, with all possible haste, speeded to the king; who, by this time, was forced to sustaine, and retire, as well as he could, without disorder, or shew of feare. But when this Troope, of *Oliuer di-Can* was seene, his men receiued new courage; and the enemy, which depended more vpon *Ferrats* treason, then their owne valour, began to be exceeding amazed, doubting that it had bin the whole Army, and that *Ferrat* had exchanged his treason from his Maister to them: Wherefore slackning their first fury, and rather standing at a gaze, then fighting, the king commanded *Vseph-Aga* to charge them throughly afresh, and not to giue them time to take new courage: which hee did, with so good fortune, that lighting vpon the vsurper of *Corasan*, and his sonne, hee slue them both with his owne handes; from which grew the first maine flight of the enemy, and the beginning of the victory for the king. The chase was desperately followed, so that in that battell, & the chase were slain 30000 men, with the vsurper king and his son; and diuers of the principall of the country taken. That night the king pitched his Tents in the place of the battell; and being informed, by *Oliuer di-Can*, and the whole army, which cried out, with open mouth, of *Ferrats* treason, tēpering the outward shew of his indignation with a compassionat feeling

of mans errours, and frailty; excused the constraint, and necessity, of the iustice which he was forced to do: protesting, that though for his states, and owne preservation he was at last compelled to giue his iustice place, aboute the power of his loue, and obligation: yet what the father had rent from himselfe, by the violence of his owne misdeeds; his sonne should find ripened for him, who should bee heire of what his father had well merited by his former seruices, as he hoped he would be of his vertue; praying God, that his fathers vices, onely, might die with himselfe. Which when he had said, he gaue *Oliuer Di-Can* the Generallship of his Army, and appointed him to do execution vpon *Ferrat*, who being resolued of that iudgement, which his double offence had brought vpon him, attended ready in his Tent, without feare, to die, or desire to liue; and there receiued that punishment, which was vnworthy of his excellent parts, if hee had made that true vse of them which he should.

Zulpher Can, his brother, knowing that he had as highly and as much offended as his brother had, yet wanting the same courage to receiue the iudgement, which he had to offend, fled to the port of the Kings Tent, and there prostrated himselfe on the ground; whence being called by *Oliuer Di-Can*, he denied to die any where, but there; that the King when hee should come forth, might tread vpon that blood, which had so vilely, and vnderferuedly offended him: which being brought to the King, by a Page that wished well to *Zulpher*, and had some good hope of the Kings nature, that hee might doe the poore Prince some good; after a little pause, the King came forth, and beholding *Zulpher* lying grouelling on the ground, pittied him, and despising, withall, his little valour: Behold, said he, to those which stood by, how weake a foundation reputation hath, which is not erected from a mans owne vertue.

This man was so great yesterday, that you all honored him, and now lyeth despised before you all, through his owne wickednesse. He hath bene aduanced by me, for his brothers vertues, and with the death of his brother, he doth shew you all, that no worthinesse of his owne, but that which abounded in his brother, if hee could haue made good vse of it, gaue him courage also to seeme capable of those honours which I bestowed on him. *Zulpher*, God forgiueth mee as great sinnes hourelly, which I commit against him, as thy fault can be to me: and since it hath pleased him, that I hold so great a place by him here, I will also vse the example of his infinite goodnesse, for the patterne of this mercy, and referre my vengeance to him, and giue thee time to repent; and the rather, because thy abiectnesse taketh all apprehension from me of cause to doubt thee: *Hee neuer dareth hurt a King, which feareth to die.* And remember that this is the first day of thy life, in which thou must take more vertuous waies, then thou hast hitherto walked in, that I may haue honour by the mercy which I haue shewed thee, and profite by thy good seruices; and thy selfe, maist cast away farre from thee, by honest and good deedes, the shamefull memory which men will haue of thy past wicked Treason. This was the end of that great and foule conspiracy, which gaue great hope to the Kings enemies; and ending by such a prouidence, was the meanes of the Kings greater and better security, which could neuer haue bene perfect so long as so great a man had liued, both hauing cause to feare, & by that giuing continuall cause to be feared. Next day, the King marched farther into the Countrey, and so daily aduanced on without obstacle; the keyes of all their Townes meeting him by the way; and at the last, an Embassage from the whole state, with a generall submission: which when hee had receiued, hauing spent some time, in the settling of such

such a gouernement as was securest for himselfe, and hauing receiued the yong Prince, sonne to the first King, and diuers others of the principall of the Countrey, hauing left order with *Xa-Endibeague*, whom hee left there with the best part of his Army, which he increased afterwards to 30000 men, to extirpate all those which were likeliest, either through their obligation to the vsurper, or through their owne particular interest, to make innouation, he returned with that yong Prince, and those prisoners into *Persia*.

The most part of this time I was at *Casbin*, courteously vsed by *Marganobeague*, the Maister of the Kings house, and not amisse by any. When the King was come within fixe miles of *Casbin*, he stayed there, some three dayes, to the entent to make his entry with such an estimation of his victory, as was fit for so great and happy a successe of fortune: and, in truth, I thinke that hee did it most, to declare the greatnesse of it to vs that were strangers, by such a strange demonstration. The night before hee entred, there were 30000 men, sent out of the Towne on foote with horse-mens staues, vpon which were fastened vizards of so many heads: All those in the morning, when we were commanded to meet him, (the Gouvernour hauing prouided vs horses) we found marching in battell aray towards the Towne; and before the two heads of the King, and his sonne, foure Officers of Armes, such as they vse, bearing in their hands great Axes of shining Steele, with long helues; after those battalions, followed the *Xa-Hamma-dagaes* horse-men; after those, a number of Gentlemen of the Kings Court; after those, a 100 spare-horses, with as many of the Kings Pages; after those, the prisoners, accompanied with *Bastan-Aga*; then a great rancke of his chiefe Princes; amongst whom, were all the Embassadors, which vsed to bee resident in his Court; then followed

The Kings
Triumphant
entry into *Casbin*
after his
victory.

lowed the yong Prince of *Corazan*, accompanied with *Xa-Tamas-Coolibeague*, the Kings principall fauorite; and then the King himselfe alone; and after him, some fiue hundred Courtiers of his Guard. *Marganobeague* was with vs, and making vs large passage, through all those Troupes.

Sir Anthony
Sherleys first
salutation, and
speech to the
King.

When we came to the King, we alighted, and kissed his Stirröp: my speech was short vnto him; the time being fit for no other: That the fame of his Royall vertues, had brought me from a farre Countrey, to be a present spectator of them; as I had beene a wonderer at the report of them a farre off: if there were any thing of worth in mee, I presented it with my selfe, to his Maiesties seruice. Of what I was, I submitted the consideration to his Maiesties iudgement; which he should make vpon the length, the danger, and the expence of my voyage, onely to see him, of whom I had receiued such magnificent and glorious relations.

The Kings an-
swere.

The Kings answere vnto me was infinite affable: That his Countrey, whilst I should stay there, should be freely commanded by mee, as a Gentleman that had done him infinite honour, to make such a iourney for his sake; onely bid mee beware that I were not deceiued by rumors; which had, peraduenture, made him other then I should finde him: It was true, that God had giuen him both power and mind to answere to the largest reports which might bee made good of him; which if hee erred in the vse of, hee would aske counsell of me, who must needs haue much vertue in my selfe, that could moue mee to vndergoe so much, and so many perils to know that of another. And that hee spake smiling, willing me to get on horse-backe: which when I had done, he called *Haldenbeague*, his *Viseire*, and *Oliver Di-Can* his Generall, and commanded them to take my brother and me betwixt them; and my company

was

was disposed by *Marganobeague*, amongst the rest of the Kings Gentlemen of his Court: and in that order, the King entred *Casbin*, and passing to the great place, he alighted with the cheifest of his Princes & Officers, whō he caused to bring vs with them, & went into a kind of banquetting house, in which there were staires to ascend by into a *Tarras*, where the King fate down, & the greatest of those Princes, & we among thē. This *Tarras* looked vpon the place, where after we had ben a litle, & beheld some of the Court exercising thēselues at *giuoco-di-canna*, that great troupe was suddenly vanished, so without all sort of rumor, that it bred infinite wonder in me, cōsidering how much tumulte we made in these parts in the disposing of a far lesse cōpany. Whilst we fate there, the King called me againe vnto him; & when I had confirmed in more words, the very same I had before said vnto him: Thē, said he, you must haue the prooffe of time to shew you, either the errors, or the truth of these rumours, since you can make no iudgement of what you haue yet seene, which is but the person of a man, and this eminēce which God hath giuen me, for any thing you know, may be more through my fortune, thē my vertue. But since your pains & trauel hath had no other aspect, but to know me, we must haue a more intrinsicke acquaintance to perfect that knowledge; & how you wil indure the fashions of my cōuntry, you can iudge best your selfe which are maister of your owne humor: This I will assure you of, you shal want no respect frō my people, nor honor from my selfe; & therewith bid me fare-wel, for that present, comitting me & my cōpany to *Bastan-Aga* to be conducted to my lodging.

Next morning I sent the King a present, of sixe paire of Pendants of exceeding faire Emerauldes, and meruailous artificially cut; and two other Iewels of Topasses, excellent well cut also; one cup of three peeces, set together with gold inameled; the other a Salte, and a very

Sir Anthony Sherleis present to the King of Persia.

faire Ewer of Christall, couered with a kind of cutworke of siluer and gilt, the shape of a Dragon; (all which, I had of that Noble *Florentine*) which his Maiesty accepted very graciously: and that night, I was, with my brother, inuited by him to a banquet, where there was onely *Byraticke Myrza*, and *Sultan Alye*, with *Xa-Tamas-Coolibeague*, his cheife Minion; there he had diuers discourses with mee, not of our apparell, building, beauty of our woemen, or such vanities; but of our proceeding in our warres, of our vsuall Armes, of the commodity and discommodity of Fortresses, of the vse of Artillery, and of the orders of our gouernement: in which, though my vnskillfulnesse were such, that I knew my errours were greater then my iudgement; yet I had that felicity of a good time, that I gaue him good satisfaction, as it seemed. For in my discourse, hauing mentioned the hauing of certaine Models of Fortification in some bookes at my lodging, which were onely left me in the spoile which was made of me at *Babylon*: Next day, after dinner, he came thither, with all the principallest of the Court, where hee spent, at least, three howers in perusing them, and not vnproperly speaking of the reasons of those things himselfe. Next night hee sent for mee againe, into a place which they call *Bazar*, like our *Burze*; the shops, and the rooffe of which were so full of lights, that it seemed all of a fire. There was a litle Scaffold made where hee sate, and as euey man presented him with diuers sorts of friuts, so hee parted them some to one, some to another, and there hee continued some foure howers; in which time, hee tooke mee aside, with my Interpreter, and asked mee, very sadly, whether I would content my selfe to stay with him; not for euer, for that were too a great wrong to my friends, who should loose mee from their comfort, being diuided so farre from them; for my owne fortune hee would not
speake

speake of, but onely thus much; since I had told him I was a subiect to a Prince, he knew, that then my fortune also must depend vpon the will and fauour of that Prince; and hee assured himselfe, that he was as able, and more desirous to do me good then any: therefore if I would resolue to giue him that litle satisfaction; he should perswade himselfe the more confidently, that the cause of my comming was such, as I told him, the loue of his person and nothing else. I answered him, I could say no more to his Maiesty then I had already done; that a report, onely, of his excellent vertues, had brought mee thither, that a better experience had bound me so fast to him and them, that as he was Maister of my minde, so hee should bee of my person and time, which were both subiect to his command. For those things of fortune, they were the least things that I regarded, as his Maiesty well saw by my great expence thither, onely to satisfie my sight: but as I knew my selfe infinitely honoured by his Maiestie vouchsafing to serue himselfe of mee; so that was to me about all other fortunes and satisfactions. His Maiesty seemed wonderfully well content with my answere; and that night began to shew me extraordinary publicke fauour, and so continued all the time of his being in *Casbin*, daily increasing by some or other great demonstration.

Six weekes hee stayed there, giuing his accustomed audience to the people; In which time I saw the notablest example of true vnpartiall royall iustice, that I thinke any Prince in the world could produce. The Gouverner of *Casbin* was appointed to that administration, in the maine seruice of the Kings state when the Rebels were first suppressed; A man exceedingly and perticularly fauored of the King: he taking the adantage of the time, which being troubled, gaue him liuely colour, to make great profite vpon the people, and confident in the Kings fauour,

A memorable
punishment of
extortion.

abused both the one and the other by extreme extortions; thinking (because of his owne greatnesse, and the Countries offence against the King, the memory of which euery man would feare to receiue) that what he did by violence and force should by as great power of terrour remaine vnknowne: but some, to whō he had offered so much that they thought no extremity could happen them of a worse conditiō, made desperate through that hazard to put vp lamentable supplications to the King; who hauing read them (as his fashion is) commanded the parties to speake freely; with this caution, that they should beware that they charged nothing falsely; for as he would not that any minister of his should abuse his authority, by any vniust burthen, vpon the worst of the people; so hee would also prouide by seuerer example, that none should presume to impose false accusations vpon any, whom he had thought worthy to carry authority vnder him. Notwithstanding, those poore men did not onely mainetaine their accusations, but brought forth diuers witnesses; and others, perceiuing so iust a course held by his Maiesty, emboldned by it, laid before him also, in their humble sort, their owne oppressions, suffered by the like violence: Vpon which hee commanded *Marganobeague* to be sent for, who was the Master of his house in *Casbin*, demanding of him whether he had heard of those things; he answered no, being private acts of the Gouvernour, (publicke causes, which were brought before the President, Iudges, Aduocates, and his Maiesties Councell, appointed for the good of the Prouince, hauing euer taken those direct waies which were fit for his Maiesty, and benefite of the Prouince) if the Gouvernour, in his particular acts, had taken counsels with his particular appetites, and executed them according to the same, neither he, nor any of the Councel were blameable; neuer hauing heard a voice onely to that effect: which
those

those men also, (who were a great number) falling downe vpon their faces, confessed to the King; and that their long silence had giuen the Gouvernour the more boldnesse to vse the vtermost of extortion, and tyrannous exaction vpon them.

The Gouvernour denied some, maintained other to bee done vpon iust causes: but all so confusedly, and with so vnstable a fashion of proceeding, as hee bewrayed his owne guiltinesse: notwithstanding the king stayed his iudgement, either of him or the causes, vntill another day of hearing.

In the meane time hee appoynted *Marganobeague*, *Bastan-Aga*, and one *Muxausebeague*; (which is, as it were, Treasurer of his house) to take some secret wayes to finde the true carriage of the Gouvernour, during the whole time of his function; Which they did with great vprightnesse and dexterity. And hauing related what they had approuedly found, there were so many, and so great causes brought against him, I meane of wresting of Money, bribery, monopolizing, and such things, as more could not bee imagined: which had beene small matters in a Princes state, whose fauours and graces are priuiledged aboue the common good of the people; and who change by their owne conniuece, their Royall estate to a tyranny of fauourites, and a few Counsellors: who concurring in the spoyle of the people, concurre also in so cruell a suppression of their iust cryes, that their lifting vp their voyces, for Iustice, is as great a sinne, as almost a perfect Rebellion: and the same Iustice, which should protect them against inique oppression, inflicteth seuerer chastisement; onely for presuming to palestate such oppressions: *A miserable calamitie for the poore focke, where the Shepheard sheareth the wooll, and the Brambles rent the flesh.*

But this King (whom wee call barbarous, though from his example wee may learne many great and good things) knowing *that the true care of a Prince, must bee ever the publique good; and the capablenesse of his ruling, would bee iudged by his true Iustice, and election of his Ministers, and distribution of his fauour upon the worthiest (which also should make a worthy use of it)* The next day that hee sate in iudgement, hee called the Gouvernour: then hauing told him that hee which had liued with him in the time of his greatest calamity, must needes bee so well acquainted with the inwardnesse of his disposition, that all the world would imagine, *as Princes euer are examples of good or euill to their subiects; so they are most to those which are neereliest conuersant with them.* And according to that opinion, hee had giuen him his authority, for the great fauour and confidence hee reposed in him, that hee knew well the errour which they had both committed, the one not making a true iudgement of the others disposition. *That the transgression of Lawes, and Orders in any State, was the first naturall corruption which grew in it: to provide for which, good Princes did both watchfully industriate themselves, and dispersed part of the care, which grew too great for themselves, to the trust they had in the vertue of their Ministers, who should euer, as the very greatest and truest causes, beware of those courses of Iustice, which should bee of least terrour, and procure themselves and their Princes most hatred; which was to pill the subiects goods: a thing of no example, but to euill, and of infinite odiousnesse, especially when there was no iust cause why any sort of punishment should bee inflicted.*

And because these acts, of so great a Minister, as hee was, both for the place hee held of authority, and fauour with him; might giue the world cause to suspect his owne inclination; the which since no former example could

could make him knowe, hee would now shew the world, and teach him, that the *wickednesse of Princes, and great Men, are worse in the example, then in the fault; since, by the euill custome of the world to follow them, they generate great corruptions by the imitation of others.* And because in a man of his place, there could bee no more wicked acts then hee had committed; nor, in a Prince, nothing more proportionable with his place, nor fitter for his security, then the chastisement of such wicked acts; And if hee should pardon so great extortions, and scelerate wronges as hee had inflicted vpon the poore people, committed to his charge, besides, that hee should verifie the worst suspicions men might haue of him, he should, by so ill a president, trouble the mindes of his whole state, cast many good men, and their goods, into ruine; multiply the like, or worse scandals, oppressing the causes of Iustice; and so draw into the world, without shame or feare, all sort of excesses: this should bee his iudgement; That all his Goods, and Lands, should bee sold, for the satisfaction of those men, whom hee had spoyled: And if any thing wanted, since the King, by giuing him that Authority, was partly the cause of those excesses, hee condemned himselfe to pay the residue out of his Treasury. That if any thing aduanced, it should be giuen to his Children, with a grieuous Edict, that no succour should bee ministred vnto himselfe. For that, since Death was a concluder of his offence, shame, and the memory of it, hee should not dye; but goe, during his life, with a great yoke, like a Hogges-yoke, about his necke, haue his Nose and Eares cut off, and haue no charitable releefe from any, but what hee gained with his owne hands: that he might feele in himselfe the misery which poore men haue to get, and what a sinne it is to rent from them by violent extor-

The King of
Persiaes iudgement vpon an
Extortioner.

tion, the birth of their sweat and labour.

This Iudgement strooke a mighty amazement into all the great men present, and gaue an infinite ioy and comfort to the people. The *Turkes* Embassadour, which was there, after he had stood silent a great while, as a man halfe distracted, swarc publikely, that hee saw before his eyes, his maisters ruine: being impossible that such fortune and vertue, as the king was accompanied with, could receiue any obstacle.

That night hee made *Marganobeague* Governour of *Casbin*, beeing well admonished by that great example of his duty. *Constantino*, a braue yong Gentleman, being a Christian of *Georgia*, hee called *Mirza*, and gaue him the gouernement of *Hispmaan*; and mee also hee called *Mirza*: telling mee, that hee would prouide condignely for mee. And because hee had an vrgent occasion to goe post to *Cassan*, I should receiue his pleasure by *Marganobeague*; who brought mee, the next morning, a thousand *Tomanas*, which is sixteene thousand Duc-kets of our Money: fortie horses all furnished; two with exceeding rich Saddles, plated with gold, and set with Rubies and Turkeesses, the rest either plated with siluer, or veluet embroidered, and guilt; sixteene Moyles; twelue Cammels, laden with Tents, and all furniture both for my house and voyage; telling mee withall, that this was but a small demonstration of the Kings fauour, by which I might (notwithstanding) conceiue what better hopes I might gather: And that it was his Ma-iesties pleasure I should follow him to *Cassan*: In the house where I was I should leaue a keeper, beeing his Maiesties pleasure to bestowe it on mee: and that there were ten *Courtchies* which should attend me the next morning, to serue mee in my iourney.

All this while I moued nothing to the King of that
which

Sir Anthony
made a *Mirza*.

The rich pre-
sent sent him
by the King.

which was the maine purpose of my comming, both because I had no fit opportunity; and if I had, yet it was too soone: and besides, it was too great a businesse to expose, without such an occasion as might helpe my good intention, with the goodnesse of it selfe.

Moreouer, though I knew little; yet so much I knew, that in handling with Princes especiall affaires, of such momentuall importance, I ought not so much to repose my selfe vpon the good, and iust property of my proposition, as in the direct knowledge of the nature of the Prince; who either might grow icalous of the hazard, or hauing his ambitions turned to other ends, might mistake, or not regard my aduertisements. Both which would haue beene the ruine of what I intended: *A businesse hardly rising againe, and recovering grace, which hath beene once foiled.* Therefore I rooke time to deeme by the proceeeding of other deliberations, of the way which I should take; and to make my selfe learned in the purpose of his actions, by his nature, and inclination; besides, not onely to get, first a kinde of possession in his owne affection, but of all his great men; especially of those whom I did imagine would bee best and strongest assisters of my purpose: which I did iudge to bee *Oliuer di-Can*, his Generall, and *Xa-Tamas Coolibeague*, both which were *Georgians*; and though they were made *Mahometans* by the father of the King, to whom they were brought young, yet they had euer Christians hearts, and infinitely well-inclined to all those things which might promoue the Christians enterprizes, publique-ly wishing well to their proceedings, and taking all offered occasions, to giue them honour and reputation.

Then *Constantino Mirza*, who was a Christian, and in great fauour with the King: Yet for all this, that I meant

to make those the maine helpers of my designe, I left no sort of fashion forgotten which might procure mee fauour from all the other: though I soone found their appearances answered not with their mindes, which were onely contained from ill demonstrations against mee, by the Kings fauour to mee, and their feare of offending him; not onely through the ordinary enuy which followeth all Courts, but by the great hatred which they had to the very name of a Christian, beeing in their foules *Turkes*: though not daring to palesate it for their owne certaine danger.

For the king knowing how potent a vniter of mens mindes the selfe-same Religion is for the tranquility of an Estate: and the like dis-vniter seuerall Religions are for the disturbance of the peace of an Estate, hee is exceeding curious and vigilant to suppress, through all his Dominions, that Religion of *Mahomet*, which followeth the interpretation of *Vssen* and *Omar*, and to make his people cleave to that of *Aly*: Not (as I iudge) through any Conscience, which carrieth him more to the one then the other; but first to extirpate intrinsicke factions, then to secure himselfe the more firmly against the *Turke*, who beeing head of that part which followeth *Omar* and *Vssen*, should haue too powerfull a way into his Countrey, if his peoples hearts were inclined vnto him by the force of Religion. Therefore hee doth not onely striue to roote it out, but to defile it, and make it odious; hauing in vse, once a yeare, with great solemnity, to burne publicquely, as maine Heretiques, the Images of *Vssen* and *Omar*: then doth hee cause his great men publicquely (in scorne of their institution) to goe with a Flagon of Wine, carryed by a Foote-man, and at euery Village, or where they see any Assembly of people, to drinke; which himselfe also vseth

vseth, not for the loue of the Wine, but to scandalize so much more the contrary Religion: that by such a kinde of prophaning of it, they may weare the respect of it out of the peoples heartes: Which when it fayleth with reuerence in Religion, the pillars thereof are vtterly broken. Yet (as I say) there are of the very greatest, exceeding precise *Turkes*, if they durst do other for their owne fortune sake, then couer, with all artifice, that infection.

Ten dayes I was betweene *Casbin* and *Cassan*, where arriued, I receiued more gracious demonstrations from the King, then I could hope for, or wish: beeing farre beyond my present merit, and my iudgement how to deserue it at all.

Foure dayes his Maiestie stayed there, after my coming; in which time there passed many Triumphes at *giuoco-di-canna* in the day, & good fire-works in the night: at which I was euer present with him selfe, with no lesse respect, then if I had been his brother, as he also called me, and continued that name afterward, all the time of my being in *Persia*.

The second day of his Iourney, from thence, towards *Hispnaan*, hee called mee vnto him, my Brother and my Interpreter; and (after some few discourses) hee began to tell vs the whole history of those his fortunes which I haue discoursed: and ioyned that hee vnderstood, the *Turke* had sent him a faire sword (hee did beleue) to cut off his head withall, if *Ferrat Cans* treason had well succeeded: for after the Messenger arriued at *Tauris*, vnderstanding how God his great prouidence, had not onely mightely preferued, but giuen him that famous victory ouer his enemies, he had sent for new order to *Constantinople*, which came to no other end, but to call him back againe. But the best was, the more

the Prince hated him, the more his subiects loued him, hauing receiued newes at *Cassan*, of ten thousand soules of *Courdins* which had abandoned their possessions vnder the *Turke*, and required some waste land of him to inhabit in; which he had giuen them.

And though this discourse opened somewhat largely the Kings heart vnto mee, I durst bee no bolder, at that time, then to say, It was euer, almost impossible to preferue a quyet amity betweene two so great Potentates, as himselfe, and the *Turke*; especially beeing so neere neighbours: that I doubted not, but his Maiesty, in his great wisdome, prouided his Counsell and strength alwayes ready against any danger which might grow from him, of which there was no present doubt, as long as hee was so powerfully diuerted by the warres of *Hungary*; which if they were ended, I saw no Obligation of faith, or any thing else; which could secure his Maiesty from those Armes, which had beene euer so ready against his State, in all occasions; especially now that his Maiesties vertue, and fortune ministred to the *Turkes* will too great maine causes; First to stop the course of his too fast rising greatnesse, which hee could by no reason willingly suffer; Then to recouer his reputation, which his Maiesty had taken from him, by assubiecting the *Tartars*, which were vnder his protection. And if with both these hee saw his subiects also fall from him to his Maiesty, in so great troopes, it might bee a mighty effectuall working-reason to hasten him to a conclusion, vpon indifferent tearmes of those warres in *Hungary*; his Maiesty being much more dangerous vnto him, not onely through his power, the reputation of his late victories, and such a floud of fortune, ioyned to his great vertue and wisdome, but also by the symbolizing of religiō, which would more facilitate an entry into his state, then the sword, when there should

should grow no more mutation in the maine points of gouernement, lawes, nor orders, but the person of the Prince onely. The obstinate warres, and resistances of the progresse of the one and the other, betweene the *Turkes* and the *Christians*, grew from the maine alterations of all Lawes, Orders, and forme of gouernment, with the vtter ruine of the conquered, being so diuerse in all those; and more in the principall point of religion, by which he was euermore assured of vs, generally infestuous to the very apprehension of his Subiects. But his Maiesty, from whom there was none of these generall dangers, was, questionlesse, the more perticularly feared by him: *And euer hee that is feared wrongeth his iudgement, if hee line into great and carelesse security.* I concluded, it would please his Maiesty to pardon me that I said so much, that if I had erred, it was in my iudgement, not in my zealous affection vnto him; neither had I presumed to looke into such high matters, if his Maiesty, by his discourse, had not directed my sight; which if it had bene amisse, his Maiesties benignity and great wisdome could pardon the fault, for the true affection which caused it.

He answered, that he was so far from misliking my liberty of speech that he thanked me for it, desiring me to continue it. *For Princes (said hee) are, indeed more then men, when they find faithfull friends which will freely advise them; and lesse then men when they are without such: the brightnesse of their greatnesse so dimming their sight, that they haue much more neede of helpe, then private men; who being conuersant in all things, gather experience of euery thing, which a Prince cannot haue; Nature, onely, bringing forth a man, his perfection following by his owne vertue, learning and experience; the two first a Prince might haue, the last hardly, and euer vnperfect.* Which made him euer carefully desire such, friends, as might minister a

faithfull helpe to that defect; but because we are now in iourney we shall leaue those things for a more reposed time, to be spoken of at *Hispnaan*, where we shall haue leasure enough both to deliberate and resolue of some good things; and with that called some other, who entertained him with discourses of Hunting, and Hauking, in which he is much delighted, and vseth them with great magnificence: Neuer going to any of those sports, but that he carrieth forth aboue five hundred dogges, and as many Hauks, nothing rising before him but it is game. For flies he hath sparrowes; for Birds, Hobbies and Marlins; for the greatest sort some Hawke or other; and for Roedeare Eagles; hee hath particular *Agaes* for his Hawkes and Dogges, and other Officers to them a great number.

The King of
Persia his Hau-
king and Hun-
ting.

The next day, I singled out *Oliner Di-Can*, with whom, (after a few complements) I communicated the Kings discourse with me, of his first troubles, and latter fortunes; extolling his Maiesty as it was fit; and besides, giuing the greatest honour to himselfe, without flattery, that I could deuise; then I told him of my answere to the King, and on purpose I said, I feared, that it might turne to my harme, being newly planted in the Kings fauour, subiect to the enuy of the Court, and wanting a tongue to speake for my selfe: and that to entermeddle in so great and perriolous matters, it could not choose but awake some couered malice, to take occasion to worke me some damage. But my confidence was such, first in the Heroycke minde of the King himselfe, then in the generous disposition of his excellency, that I should bee protected from perill for this fault, as I would preserue my selfe with more cautel heereafter.

Hee answered me, that the Kings affection vnto me was such, that no man durst lift vp a thought against me: which the Court knew well. For himselfe, as he knew not
the

the conditions of our Courts, so I might mistake those of theirs: if enuy bare so great a sway with vs, wee had lighter Princes, and men of more presumption. In this Court there was not a Gentleman but the King: the rest were shadowes which moued with his body. But in this which I had said to the King, if I had entended it, to moue him to warre in so fit a time against the *Turke*, I had done well; and assured mee that both he, and *Xa-Tamas-Coolibeague* would with all their powers concurre with me to bring it to an essentiall deliberation; though, said he, there be three dogges, *Haldenbeague*, *Bastan-Aga*, and *Courtchy Bassa*, that will mainely oppose themselues against it: yet in the conscience of my duty, which I owe to his Maiesty, I assure my selfe, that there is no secure way, either for the preseruatiō of his person, or state, but that. Therefore since you haue begunne in so happy an houre, to breake the Ice of so great and so good an enterprize, follow it without feare, since God will prosper your good intention in it, and we will second you, with all the strength and industry which wee haue. This was all which I desired, to be assured of some friend; especially such a one, as might haue both opinion and credite of wisdome and fauour with the King. For being a stranger, if I had vndertaken the bearing of so weighty a businesse my selfe alone, I should hardly haue escaped the being ouer-weighed with it, knowing *that the best propositions haue euer oppositions, mens humours neuer concurring all to one end, and the nature of men being alwaies opposite to a strangers aduancement*: Which since it must proceed in such a place from a speciall act of his owne vertue, which could neuer be produced without a subiect to worke by, the next way to wash away insensibly such a growing reputation, was to keep me from any other meanes of establishment, then base *Fauor, which as it is very transitory in private*

men,

men, so is it much more in Princes; the volubility of whose natures maketh them easily glutted, and most mutable in their kinds of satisfaction: and if once I had declined in the height of my fortune, I knew there was no bayting place, betweene mediocrity, and precipitation: so dangerous are the waies of Princes, and all men so foolish to strive to runne in them.

The Kings entrance into *Hispphaan* was there of the same fashion that it was at *Cassan*; differing onely in this, that for some two English miles, the waies were couered all with Veluet, Sattin, and cloth of Gold, where his horse should passe. After hee had bene settled there foure-teene daies, remembring what *Oliuer Di-Can* had said vnto me, I determined to loose no more time, but to try the vttermost of my fortune, in bringing to a resolution, that enterprise; the imagination of which, had cost mee so much time, and so much danger; and was the chiefe mouing-cause at the first, and now the onely mouing cause of comming thither. And I was the more encouraged to do it by the fresh memory of God his mighty providence ouer me past, and by the exceeding great fauour of the King; which I knew to be his great worke, who moueth the hearts of Princes to make them instruments of his iudgements, which by all apparant demonstrations, I conceiued, determined against the Turke: Therefore taking the opportunity of the Kings being alone with me and my brother in a Garden, with my Interpreter onely and *Xa-Tamas-Coolibeague*, I spake vnto him to this effect; That my affection, growne onely vpon the fame of his Maiesty, had guided me from a farre Countrey into his presence; by which I found his royall vertues, so far exceeding the relation which I had heard, that as I did admire them, so I had a kind of forceable mouing in my nature to desire condigne fortunes to accompany them: Be-

Sir Anthony
Sherleys per-
swasine to the
Persian, to
make warre
against the
Turke.

fides, my particular obligation to his Maiesty was so great, that I was bound, not onely, to say what I thought fit for his seruice; but to do as much, as my life might accomplish for the same. More-ouer being emboldned by his royall gracious answer vnto me vpon the way, (which I did take for a kind of commandement) I would presume to say some-thing more largely then I did then, of that which I tooke to concerne his Maiesty, as much as any thing else could. Neither would I speake any thing of other condition, then such, as he in his great iudgement should find so well grounded; that nothing could bee added, either to the iust cause, honour, vtility, or facility of the enterprise, which I would propose. And because I would cleare all clouds, which might hang about it, my selfe which propounded it, was such, that I was onely a shadow, which, by the vrging of my owne nature, and delight, should follow the body of his victories, rather then haue, or hope, for any other perticular interest in them my selfe. For the first points, *There could no deliberation bee grounded vpon a greater foundation of equity, then that which had his end onely directed to the recovery of that, which was by force and violence vsurped from his State: nor nothing more honourable for a Prince then to bee able, without hazard, not onely to reuenge priuate and publicke wrongs; but to recover their members againe to his seates, by his wisdom and vertue, which haue bene separate either by the defect, or fortune of his Predecessors;* All this, both publicke and priuate profite, followed so great an encrease of State (increasing in all points the force of his State) and his poore Subiects, which were throwne out of their possessions, either through their true deuotion to his Maiesty, which could giue them no peace vnder another gouernement, or through the extreme tyranny of the *Turke*, should be recovered againe to their owne, with his infi-

nite glory, and vtility. The facility shewed it selfe diuers waies; principally in his owne fortune, wisdom, and vertue; against which, there was no likely resistance, especially when there was no equall obstacle; then the reputation of his late victories; ioyned with the other, would find, or make a way through all difficulties; then his *Militia* which was fresh and vncorrupted; then the incapacity of the *Turke*, his corruptions of gouernment, want of obedience, sundry rebellions, and distractions from any possibility of being able to make any potent resistance against his Maiesties proceedings, by his warres in *Hungary*, which his Maiesty might assure the continuance of, if it pleased him to inuite the Princes Christian to his amity, which hee should offer vpon that condition: by which also, hee should receiue one other worthy benefite fit for such excellling parts, as hee was most richly abundant in, not to conclude the true knowledge of them, in that one corner of the world: but with making these great Princes knowne vnto himselfe, hee should make his owne worthinesse, like-wise, knowne vnto them. Neither, (as I said at the first to his Maiesty) though these were great points to moue so high a spirit, intending to glory, and great things, as his was, that they were so important as other were. For these might either be deferred, or not at all acted, being bound vnto them by no greater necessity then his owne will, counselled by good reason. But his case was such, that hee must resolue, both for the security of his estate and person, to make or endure a warre.

As I was proceeding, *Haldenbeague* the *Viseire*, *Bastan-Aga*, and *Oliuer Di-Can* came in: the King presently called them, and told them what I was propounding vnto him; vpon which, the *Viseire* swelling against me, answered instantly.

Your

Your Maieſty may now perceiue that true which ſome of your ſeruants haue beene bold to tell you, at the firſt coming of theſe *Chriſtians*, and many times ſince, that they were ſent to diſquiet your Maieſties tranquility of your ſtate; and to embarke you in dangerous enterpriſes for others interreſſes. For what likely-hood was there, that a Gentleman of quality, without ſome great diſaſter fallen him, ſhould take ſuch a voyage, ſo full of dangers and expences, vpon a ſame of a Prince, ſpread by ordinary Merchants? Since I know, hee could neuer haue ſpoken with men of better quality in thoſe parts, which could haue knowne your Maieſty: And if it were true, that ſuch a motion, onely, had brought him; why ſhould hee not giue time to the growing of his better fortunes, by your Maieſties Munificencies and fauours; without drawing himſelfe into the danger, to bee a perſwader of a perrilous enterpriſe: then which, hee cannot bee ſo ignorant, as to vnderſtand no way to bee ſo precipitious for himſelfe; But becauſe it is inioyned him, hee muſt do it; without regard to your Maieſty, to whom hee is onely, newly, bound, for preſent benefites; which hee careth but to enioy, vntill he hath intangled you in his deſignes: and then will hee relye vpon thoſe, to whom hee oweth greater obedience, for more permanent benefites, and greater through ſo great a merite. God keepe your Maieſty from giuing eare to his perſwaſions, which carry nothing with them but extreme peril: The *Turke* hauing bene a heauy neighbour to your Maieſties ſtate, when it was found through a long peace, and when your Predeceſſours were aboundant in money, which is the heart of the warres, and the ſinewes which bind together an eſtate. Your Maieſty hath now a certaine peace with him, and that the more certaine through his neceſſity, which aſſureth you of time to gather treaſure

The Viſeires
diſſwaſiue op-
poſition.

fure, and all kind of strength against him, if hee should
 breake the faith of his truce, or moue against you hereaf-
 ter. That it is iust, honourable, and profitable for your
 Maiesty, perhaps I may agree; though it bee a question,
 whether it be iust, or honourable, to breake a peace, with-
 out a iust occasion giuen. But howsoever, it is more wise-
 dome for your Maiesty to find a better, and more fit time
 which shall furnish you with all necessary prouisions for
 so great an enterprize: And further, I say, if the *Turkes*
 gouernement bee corrupted, giue it more time, and
 the sicknesse will encrease. Is hee incapable? his yeares are
 too many to make him amend; therefore by giuing your
 selfe time, you loose nothing; he will be incapable still.
 But *Sinan Bassa* was a great name; So was *Mustapha*; and
 so was *Osman*; and so hath hee many now; so that his
 state doth neither stand nor decline, with his defects, as
 long as hee hath worthy men to maintaine it. His Coun-
 tries are full of rebellion; These are *Rumours with which*
wisemen are neuer moued: since they grow by reportes,
and diminish by experience. And if they bee true, let
 him consume with his owne malady: and your Maie-
 sties designs, (whensoeuer you shall resolue of them)
 will passe with the more facility. How dangerous a thing
 it is to embrace diuers and continuall action, your Ma-
 iesties greatest wisdom can better tell you then I; your
Tartars haue but newly felt the offence of your Armes;
 they are farre from being well tasted, or at all secured with
 your Maiesties gouernement: Beginne a warre with the
Turke, (in which must bee ingaged the vttermost of your
 strength) what other opinion is to be had of them, but
 that, like old enemies, and freshly more then euer offended
 they will rebell, and infest you with the greatest resolutions
 that extreme enemies can? And againe, Where is your
 Maiesties treasure? where is your munition? and where is
 your

your Artillery: all which must bee had for a warre; and though your fortune, and the nature of the country (which hath no strong places) did not require them against the *Tartars*, yet of necessity, you must haue them against the *Turke*, who hath a Fortresse in *Tauris*, *Tifflis* and *Vannes*, strong places; and neuer moueth his Armies, but full of Artillery: which you must also haue, if you meane to proceed honourably, and with condigne fortune against him.

Moreouer, for you to send, and begge an Amity of the Christian Princes, what a fit perswasion is it for your Maiesties greatnesse? which notwithstanding, if you were compelled by necessity, somewhat from your selfe, yet necessity would make it tollerable: But for you to seeke them which haue need of you, there is so litle reason, that he hath sinned against your power, person, and state, which hath propounded it. Your Maiesty may, in your too great benignity, passe ouer your iust indignation for such a counsell: but we know what it meriteth.

There is behinde you, *Lar*, and *Ormus*, the one a kingdom fomentated as a bar between you and the *Portugals*: and the other, which is vsurped, from a king anciently tributary to your predecessors. Whilst your Maiesty maketh your selfe ready for the greater, begin with the lesser enterprize. Nothing will giue you more honour then that; First, to vindicate those places, in which your religiō is oppressed; and by that, iustifie the more whatsoeuer you shal enterprize. If this Christian can giue you these; if he can giue you aboundance of all other wants, if he can giue you Hostages from his Kings, that they shall not in *Hungary* alone, but in other places also, fasten vpon that huge body of the *Turke*; and that they shall neither make peace nor truce with him, except your Maiesties consent concurre, that nothing may be defectiue in so great an action: And

that your Maiesty may be secure, that the weight of all shall not wholly fall vpon your selfe; then your Maiesty shall haue some foundation to deliberate on. Otherwise, I thinke neither his perswasions to be harkened to, nor himselfe to be retained: who sheweth by his sudden beginning, that no fauour, grace, nor benefits from your Maiesty, can acquiet his mind from stirring you against your owne peace, tranquillity and security of your state and person.

The Persian
Generall his
answere to the
Viseirs dissu-
sue.

Oluer di-Can answered, that there was difference between a proposition which was only moued to be councelled of, and a perswasion. That he thought I councelled nothing, (much lesse perswaded) but onely propounded that to the king, which if it were not then fit to bee executed, for reasons that I knew not in the present condition of the kings affaires; yet I deserued not so bitter a censure: since *Princes ought to heare all, and elect the best; and for that elections sake, to animate all to speake freely.* And because it hath pleased his Maiesty, to giue you, and me, and all of vs, leaue to speake, as it is all our duties to say what wee thinke: so our places are of such a condition, that our powers are nothing in resoluing: but onely in discoursing before his Maiesty, those things which in the truth of our consciences, wee thinke meetest for his seruice. And if conuenient and necessary things be propounded, by a Christian, by a Iew, or by the worst man liuing; not onely in religion, but the very disposition of his life, I see no cause why you, nor I, nor any should reiect that which is good for the illes sake; since *Princes must, and ought, make their benefite of all men: not regarding what they are, but how they may serue them.* This Christian hath come from farre, and through great dangers (he saith) through his affection, growing from the excellling fame of nis Maiesty; and should not I thinke, that his glory is worthy to be carried as farre as tongues of men goe? And shall not I thinke, also, that a Merchant speaking

of his vertues, is not inabled beyond his spirit, raised by such a subiect, to shew it like it selfe, not like his owne Merchandize? And why should I iudge him sent by any, when hee hath not assumed to himselfe the honour, dignity, nor priuiledges of an *Embassdour* in a strange Countrey, where no man would neglect any thing which might aduance his quality, or security? But hee hath onely put himselfe vpon the Kings fauour; and what hee hath proposed, hath proceeded rather from a minde, to merit by some good act, that fauour, then a demonstration of other dependance: for hauing giuen himselfe to the king, to serue him without limitation of time, but as long as it shall please his Maiesty to serue himselfe of him, hee sheweth plainly, that hee hath included his hope of fortune, and benefite by this, or any other action, within the compasse only of his Maiesties gracious benignity. And seruing his Maiesty in this, or any other imployment, which his Maiesty will vouchsafe to make vse of him, If he do it as a stranger, he hath no hope, but in the merit of his owne vertue, which must be discerned and rewarded by his maiesty; if he serue as a Prince of his Maiesty (as now by his great magnificency hee beareth the title and place; the same vertue must euer confirme and aduance his fauour, and the same king must iudge and reward it. And this I haue said in a double duty; first, to maintaine the act of his Maiesties great iudgment, which cannot mistake it selfe in the distribution worthily of his fauors; then in that of hospitality, to answer iustly for a Gentleman, come to our home, where wee are all bound to defend him from wrong, especially bearing about him so great a priuiledge as a true affection to our king.)

But now to speake of the proposition, the *Viseirs* obiections against it: as I do thinke them worthy of so wise a man; yet because *particular factions doe sometimes*
blinde

blinde men, both in councelling, and deliberating: So questi-
 onlesse his great iudgement hath beene much clouded
 with some of those; which haue made him erre directly in
 the iudgement of some things; and to misconceiue of the
 maine purpose generally of the proposition. For *no mans*
intention is to be iudged to stretch beyond possibility: So that
 whatsoeuer was propounded to his Maiesty as neces-
 sary, honourable, and profitable for him, and his state, in-
 cluded withall that well-vnderstanding intention, that it
 would please his maiesty to prouide, in the firmnesse of his
 wisdom and councell, condignely for it: if he want trea-
 sure, to gather it; if he want munition & Artillery, to make
 quantity of both: which must indeed require a time for the
 act; not the resolution vpon the act. Without which his
 Maiesty (as he shal haue no great cause himselfe) & his Mi-
 nisters will be lesse diligent in the expedition of all such
 prouisions; of which (to say the truth) that huge masse of
 money is of least importance; his Maiesty beeing able to
 make in the time of this *Turkes* distraction (and if his
 whole power were also vnited) a sufficient Army of his
Timarri, and such as hee already payeth, vpon the Fron-
 tier, to proceede with any great designe against him.
 For admit hee should (vpon the mouing of the Kings Ar-
 mies) come to any foule conditions of peace in *Hunga-
 ry*, as it is vnlike that hee will; yet there must bee so
 much time betweene the proposition and concluding of
 the peace, and remouing of his Army thence, and trans-
 porting it hither, that any great thing will bee first ef-
 fected, before any obstacle will appeare against it. But
 in reason, hee should rather endure any vnreasonable
 losse this way, then the least there: For (besides that
 his principall parts are altogether disposed on that side;
 in so much that the danger of *Hungary* doth extend it
 selfe to *Constantinople*) Wee are euen of the selfe same,

or little different religion, so that the warres cannot proceed with a mortall hatred and desire of extirpation, which beareth with it so much the lesse danger: and as it is the more facile to be satisfied, so easier and lesse perillous conditions will euer end it. That *Tauris, Tiflis, Vannes*, are strong places, I do not denie it; but withal I know that the strength of no place can maintain it selfe against the power & furie, and the ordinarie miseries brought by the wars, without a certaine succour; which I cannot see how they can be confident of. The *Tartars* you say are newly conquered, and will rebell with such a great opportunitie: surely I take that opportunitie the onely direct meanes to answer them, *nothing breacing discontentments to a dangerous breaking forth, so much as id'ennesse, and the continuall sight of that which they take to be their oppression.* Therefore his Maiestie hauing an Armie of thirty thousand men there, and from thence drawing forth thirtie thousand *Tartars* of the best able for the warres, the Prouince must be most assured; the meanes and chiefe actors of innoation being in his Maiesties Armie; and their wiues, children, and parents, in pawne with their countrey for their true seruing his Maiestie in his warres: which he did think so necessarie for the King to vndertake, that he made no difference betweene putting his state in extreme petill, and the not vndertaking of them; counselling his Maiestie to doe in that point, as all wise Princes vse to doe, not onely to haue regard to the present euils but to the future, and to repaire them with all industrious prouidence: because that by seeing them, and preuenting them a farre off, the remedie might be applied with great facilitie and good effect; but by expecting them vntill they beare downe all by their great waight with them, their cure will be taken & vled out of time, the sicknesse being growne to incurable tearmes: as the Physitions say of the Hecticke feauer, which in his first entrance into the bodie is easie to

be cured and hard to be knowne, but through the continuance of time with the rancor of the disease by not hauing known it, & applied remedie in the beginning, it changeth the first order, and groweth it selfe facile to be knowne and impossible to be remedied: so doth it occurre in matters of state; for fore-seeing with wise prouidence, the euils which rise toward it, there is no difficultie in auoiding them; but when from either neglect or ignorance of preventing them they palisate themselues to euery mans vnderstanding, there is no more remedie familiar with our reason securely auailable against them. Which maketh me bee bold to say, that since the inconueniences, which his Maiestie must suffer by the Turke are so apparant, he must resolue and strengthen his minde and meanes to remouethem, and not to giue them greater power to follow him by auoyding a warre: since you may know that the warre cannot be absolutely taken away, but deferred only with the enemies aduantage. Neyther will I euer be aduised by that which is alwaies in the mouth of the wise men of these daies, which is to enjoy the benefit of time; but will say and euer thinke, that *Every Prince, and enery man should make vse of his owne vertue and wisdom, seeing time driving euery thing before it doth ordinarily produce as often good as ill, & ill as good.* And why it should at any time diminish the reputation of his Maiesties greatnessse to inuite the Princes Christian to so honourable and great an action, I cannot discern, when *it is one of the greatest foundations of a Princes reputation to raise himselfe to the greatest enterprises, in which his iudgement may not be mistaken in the possibilitie of effecting them.* And since it is necessary for his Maiestie to combine himselfe with them for his owne strength and reputation, ifeyther he attempt the Turke, or be attempted by him, why should it not bee more honourable and more facile for him, for the accomplishment of his ends, to speake vnto them in their necessitie (if there be

any of eyther part) and so to linke himselfe the stronglier with them by such a bond; then in his owne necessitie, in which condition there is a great question whether he shall be heard. Lastly, how strange a conclusion you haue made, I will desire you to behold with better consideration. You will not haue the King to make warre with the Turke, to auoid expence of money and munition, where the best parts and most plentifull of both countries are confining, which would giue abundance, and cheaper liuing to an Armie; but you will haue him go to *Larre*, to *Ormus*, sterile countries farre remoued, where the charges onely of supplying victuals to an Armie, would be of more cost then all other munition and expence of the Armie besides. And besides; there is no danger of the King of Spain, who hath euer held a fashion of maintaining himselfe rather then encreasing. Besides the nature of his force is of a contrarie qualitie to giue vs feare of his too great enlargement, hauing neither abundance of horse nor men, but only gallies which assure his forts, with which also he is sufficiently contented. And how wearying out a warre to his Maiesties treasure, and men, that must be where he must fight but at the enemies pleasure and aduantage, the strength of his enemy standing vpon the Sea, in which the King hath no sort of shew of power, he submitted to his Maiesties wisest consideration: besides the infinite danger by the nature of the lying of the state of the Turkes and the King of Spaines, and the essentiall of their potenties were of such a condition, that whatsoeuer was diminished from his Maiesties, or the King of Spaines, was an absolute addition to the Turke; who by that aduantage of the weakening each others forces, should haue a more facile entrie vpon any one or both of them. And that it was wel proued by his Maiesties predecessors, that there was not a more maine vpholder of the beginning, and foundation of their state nor manner

of preferring it (which was all they could doe) then that league which vnited both their forces euer against the common enemy. And now that God and the great vertue of his Maiestie had so augmented the limits of his dominion, that he had power ioyned with true iustice and necessitie, to recover those vsurped Prouinces which the Turke held from him (In which action nothing could more secure him, then first, an assured relative friendship betwene the Princes Christian and him generally, and particularly the forces of the King of Spaynes by Sea in those parts) it should be a strange Counsell to perswade his Maiestie to make warre with him whom he had euer profited by, and to offend all in offending him; and voluntarily to inable the Turke in whatsoever hee would vndertake against him: which must needs be by all reason & iudgement his enemy. Which made him beseech his Maiestie to continue that so commodious friendship vnto him, and to strengthen himselfe with new, to fomentate those rebellions, which were no rumours, (one of those that were in Armes, being *Moombaregue* a Prince tributarie to his Maiesty; the others, though no men of great qualitie, yet of great happinesse in their proceedings) and to provide for all things necessary for so great an enterprize: for which, though the Vicesire were otherwise perswaded, nothing did more facilitate the iudgement of his good successe, then the Prince of the Turkes owne incapacitie; *Nothing hauing euer beene proued more certaine, then that the Ministers of any Prince do euer symbolize with their Masters vertues or vices; and that men of extraordinary vertue with them, haue euer little power, or little time: suspicion being the best preseruer of their defects, which euer ay meth at those who haue more vertue then themselues, as fearing them most.* A discourse proued true by the miserable end of all those named, and by many examples which he would leaue vnrehearsed, as things that neuer
bare

bare more credit then the faith of the hearer gaue them. And so left off, humbly beseeching his Maiesty to pardon his *boldnes and freenes which were euer the birth of true zealous deuotio*: he had onely expressed what he thought, his Maiesty might please to resolue of that hee thought honourable, secure, and profitable for his state and person. The causes of his danger from the Turke he spake not of, first touched by me, and apparant to all. The king then commâded *Bastan-Aga* to speake freely also what he thought, who after a reuerence vnto him, hauing repeated the arguments past, commended them all (as it is his fashion apparantly to offend no bodie : but what he doth in that qualitie is secretly) and then as though he meant no such matter , diuiding what he would speak into two points, the warre, and my person, he proceeded thus. This proposition by the wisdom of his Maiesty resting doubtful, so that none of vs by knowing which way his owne disposition inclineth, haue any sort of constraint, either by fearing to oppose our opinions against what his will intended , or by a desire to raise our iudgements into a better conceit of fauour , by making them to symbolize with his, giueth vs so great libertie of deliberation, that if we speake not well to the purpose , at least we shall speake truly what we thinke. I say then that all warres are eyther made vpon the Confines of the States which moue them : or farre from the Confines of the maker of them, by penetrating further into the maine bodie of him vpon whom they are made. *And it is not possible for any to vse great Armes or small a long time, which haue not a fountaine of great reuencexes from at home, and a foundation of great plentie in the field.* For as without sinewes the members of this compact of our bodie cannot moue; and if they doe, shew a stirring onely, for a testimonie of their life, which may be in them; yet that mouing is vnperfect both in vigour and continuance: So Armes neyther can be gathered,

The great
Chamberlains
speech.

thered, neyther can they be appropriated to necessarie designs, nor maintained vnited in any enterprize without a Riuer of money which may refresh them in conuenient time, and make swimme after them munitions, victualles, and other necessarie prouisions both for the sustenance of euery particular bodie, and importing to the good purpose and effect of the manngement of their Armes. And because the reuenewes of iust and good Princes; (as the faculties of the subiects from whom they are deriued) are limited; and drawing without measure for one yeare or two huge quantities of money out of their estates, their countries will remaine poore and exhausted of gold and siluer. From whence proceedeth that warres of such a condition as cannot be ended neere at hand, but draw (through the necessitie of perfecting them well when they are once begun) the Prince and the Armie a farre off; neyther can be vndertaken nor continued, but by Princes who haue infinite treasures acumulated through long times prouidence, or neuer-ending mines (for other sort of ordinarie abundance of what greatnesse soeuer it be, will be dried vp and vanish; and a short time bringeth it to an end) the times of peace gathering by minutes that which the warre spendeth by houres: and one yeare of warre consumeth the fruits of many yeares of peace. *Mustapha Bashaw*, when *Soliman* deliberated of the warres which he made with our great king *Ismael*, told him that before he resolued of it, that there were foure torrents to be opened; the one of men, the other of victuals, the other of munition, the other of money: and in all he said well, but in the last best. For if euery sort of warre require mightie expence, questionlesse such a one doth it most, which is carried farre from your owne home, where the nourishment of your owne countrie may subminister abundance and cheapnesse to your people: which the Turke proued true: for hauing vndertaken that warre

more vpon the Confidence of his resolution then good Councel, being a Prince of so great power, he so consumed his treasure that hee was compelled to abase the allay of his Gold and Siluer: and for all that to raise the price to the double value: and to comport it with the falsification of monie, and many such great inconueniencies; for which the Ianizaries rushed into strange mutinies, and many perrillous successes followed: yet had he *Timarri* as your Maiesty hath; but whē the length & quality of the war deuoured thē faster thē their abilitie was to beare, the Prince was constrained if he would vse them, to giue them means of sustenance also: & your Maiestie which hath a state as yet exceeding feeble, and scarce recovered from a mortall sicknesse, is so much vn-able to beare the burthen of such a warre, that by ouerweaking it in drawing from it that small vital sustenance which it hath, it may (which God forbid) occasion the last ruine of it; like a sicke bodie, which aggrauated with the ill of the disease, looseth his naturall vigour. Therefore *great fortunes and victories sometimes when they meete not with a minde of that excellent wisdom and vertue, that is able to vse them indiciously and temperately, are the most powerfull meanes of the ruine of the Prince and state: when being carried away with the confidence soly of a continuing felicitie, they embrace more then they can possibly claspe: and the mischiefes which succede of such ill measured warres fall not only vpon the Prince, but are pernicious also to his poore people, when through their ambitions and cupidities they are Authors and stirrers of new perturbations.* Your Maiestie hath now assured your selfe from all such ruines, as heretofore kept you from vniting your selfe either for your defence against the *Turke*, or offence when your generall force might make you able for such a resolution; and that which is more, those men, which were accustomedly vsed against you, are added to your owne power: your wants are mony, munitions, artillarie, which you haue
time:

time enough to provide abundantly, by the greatnesse, vni-
 tie, and wealth, of your owne Dominions: and the *Turkes*
 present distractions, troubles, and generall corruptions,
 which in naturall discourse are likelier to encrease by time
 then decrease. For Good and Ill haue in the government of men
 this difference between themselves, that Good though it be brought
 forth by time, yet it is not renued by time; and though by our stu-
 dies and industries it be maintained, it corrupteth not-withstan-
 ding by degrees of it selfe, and finally of it selfe, also extinguissheth;
 as we may read and see in the succeedinges of all states and of all
 Sects: the contrarie of which appeareth in Ill, since it doth not wast
 by little and little through the wearing of time, as Good doth; but
 rather increaseth to a more powerfull vtiliditie, and by easie pas-
 sages riseth to the extremitie of declination. So that hauing
 such assurance of the working of time in that qualitie with
 which the *Turke* is already infected, Your Maiestie may re-
 ponder and resolue at leisure of the proceeding of your en-
 terprize: only provide meanes to establish and perfect it
 when it shall bee concluded. This Christian hath brought
 with him a Founder of artillarie: let him bee vifull to your
 Maiestie in something; and let vs your seruants haue the
 comfort to see some good fruit of your infinite magnifi-
 cencie. In the meane time, by deferring your deliberation,
 Your Maiesty shal euer haue aduantage to determine by the
 progresse and successe of thinges, and so shall you either
 moue or stand what way soeuer you incline vnto, more
 surely founded. For your Maiesties sending to the Princes
 Christian, I giue also the same counsell to beware of er-
 rour by acceleration, since if they be great, and haue neede
 of colligating themselves with your Maiestie (as your need
 of them shall neuer bee without theirs of you, both rising
 from the same, either the *Turkes* potencie to sustaine him
 ioyntly, or his impotencie to dissolue him ioyntly) they I
 say without once measuring obligations, honour done, or
 benefits

benefits past, for their present interest will euer imbrace your fauour and friendship, at what time soeuer it shall bee offered. If they be Princes of no great power in themselues, their suspicion, feare, and ieaiousie will naturally induce them to combine themselues with your Maiestie, or any Prince of a porportionable power for such an effect, for the ruine and destruction of a more powerful enimie. That this Christian doth insist to haue it done now, I cannot discern his reason; for if his condition be good in his owne Countrie, it is vnlikely that for the enjoying of any other fortune he will perpetually banish himselfe from thence, and would be glad to haue such a demonstration there of his valour and fortune, to haue bin able to perswade a great King of *Persia* to such an act: in which if the books of our former Kings erre not, many great Kings, or at least Kings, haue failed. For the present vsing of your Maiesties Souldiers to keepe them in practise and not to suffer their courage to be overcome with too much and too long ease, You haue two ways; one to change oftèn your Armie in *Corassane*; the other to employ them toward *Larr* and these parts; which is a most iust, facile, and profitable enterprife. For taking of *Larr*, you shall bring those of *Ormus* to an acknowledgement both of tribute and homage to you, which will giue a great satisfaction to your Subiects, by that beginning conceiuing a hope of greater things: and bee the more assured of them and their helpe, if you neede it hereafter, by the neerer you are to prejudice them, if they should not be apt to serue you: and the expence can be nothing against a smal King, the *Tymarri* onely of *Syrax* sufficing for that enterprife. But as I haue said thus much by your Maiesties commandement only, so I will neuer make my selfe an obstinate Authour of a Councell: but humbly submit what I haue said to your Maiesties excellling iudgement; and the resolution of your determination to Gods direction, and

your wisdome; and the execution to his great prouidence and your Maiesties infinite vertue. And (laughing vpon me) sonne (said he) haue I not said true of your mind? When he had ended, I beseeched his Maiestie to vouchsafe to heare me once more; which he said was needlesse, & the day farre spent: therefore since euery man had already spoken their opinion he would also say somewhat of his owne, and referre the farther deliberation of things vntill an other time.

The Kings
censure & con-
clusion of the
consultation.

The proposition which *Mirza Antonio* (saith he) made vnto me, is questionlesse in it selfe such an one, as I must not only thanke him for propounding it, by which it hath receiued life, but I must also prouide for the execution of it, that the life which it hath may be vsed to good purpose. The force of the *Turke* consisteth in cauallerie, infanterie, gallies; artillery, munitions, money. And the cause why they proceeded not in their warre against this state in my fathers time, was not eyther the death of *Osman Bassa*, nor their diuersion into *Hungary*, but that ancient art by the which they euer carried their warres; which hath beene alwaies to offend and preuent an enemy; to vse exceeding celeritie in all their enterprises; to haue their forces in perpetuall readinesse; not to attempt two enterprises at one time, and if it were possible, not to be troubled with the at one time; not to spend the benefit of time, and their men & treasure vpon matters of small importance: and not to continue a warre long with any, to auoid by such a meanes the informing by practise any Prince or his people in the exercise of armes. Which if it haue otherwise hapned in *Hungary*, it proceedeth rather from the obstination of the Princes Christian, then from any part of his owne desire. I (said the king) want footmen, artillery, and money, which I must make readie; the *Turks* neuer hauing aduantage vpon my people through their valour, but onely by that defect. Gallies I haue none; therefore since they must be necessary for some purpose, of
which

which the warres may bring forth the occasion; and perhaps also of necessitie; and I can only hope for them of the Portugeses: it will be an ill counsell to offend them in any point, and then afterward vpon a new treatie to relie vpon them in so great a case, and in which my necessitie may also concurre. For the *Turks* present state, and the iudgement of his future, it is a thing facile to make, and hard to erre in; since, by the *ordinarie course of the working causes of mutations of states*, when a government doth proceed from suffering the first abuses, to confirme them in the most part of the state, a few intelligent instruments are not sufficient to beare the weight of the disorders, and to correct them; being the nature of men, when they flie from one extreeme to runne headlong without any mediocritie into another: by which the *Turks* extreeme obedience is become a direct despisableness of his person and authority. And this Princes incapacity must be in this point the ruine of their state, diffusing the like infection into the members, for such as is the Prince, such are his greater ministers, & such are his people. Then whether I giue my selfe time or no time, for what belongeth vnto him, that may perhaps be all one, since his being as he is, or worse, sheweth facilitie enough for the well proceeding of any enterprise fundamentally designed against him. Yet many times generall rules faile in particular subjects, and a new Prince may & can reforme those disorders; but the time in truth which my owne wants force me to take (and not these arguments which are no other then arguments) shall shew that I am not defectiue in those points, in which he is. But that which I begin shal haue the extract of it from sound counsell, and the ending from as perfect vertue, if I or my people haue it. For the flame of our warre once breaking forth (believe it) will not be so facility extinguished, both, because great Princes difficilly speak of peace while they feele themselves able to make warres; and the diuersity of our religion will

striue with a more mortall rancor then contraries. Therefore I must strengthen my selfe by all possible waies to beare the furie of it : which must be done by the inabling and augmentation of my forces, changing the orders of my owne *militia*, to such as are properest for the enemy which I propound to my selfe; establishing the gouernment of my countrie in such a sort, that the generall abundance may without the feeling of a heauie exaction replenish my treasures; cause plentifull provisions of artillerie, armes and munitions; and adde to these internal powers of my owne, those of the Princes eyther by protection or league : of which the first sort, I meane I haue already the *Georgians* being all vnder my protection : but it is a weake helpe, I being bound by that condition to defend them vpon my charge, and they vnable to assist me, except vpon the same also. And though it be true that they bring me a fashion of reputation, yet is it such a reputation as hath no essentiall point of foundation : but onely serueth me by ignorance of the quality, in which they are vnto me, rather then in the substance and strength. *Leagues are vsually of more appearance then effect, and of more splendor in the beginning, then of profit or durableness in the end* (so many accidents causing disunion, suspition, or some other ill quality amongst confederates) yet when a league is made for preseruation against the common perill rising from a potent enemy, and when diuers bodies are moued to one end, and with one consent, and not one bodie with diuers consents, and euerie one of these hauing particular respect to a diuers end, and when if there be any thing acquisted the distribution of the members of that bodie is such, vpon whom the acquist is to be made, that there is no possible pretence from one to the others getting; I doe not see but that such a league must bring substantiall reputation, and generall commoditie that wil not be subjected to any common accident.

accident of dissolution. For the *Tartars* which I haue as subiected if I were *Oliuer Di-Chan*, *Haldenbeague*, or *Bastan-Aga*, I could thinke of few better meanes to assure my selfe of their rebellions, then those which they haue propouided: except one addition of suffering them to enioy their ancient order, lawes, and their particular course of iustice. But as I am borne with a minde of another constitution, I can secure them better by giuing them to their owne naturall Prince, and him to them. For to whose father I was so much bound, that through the royalty of his disposition I hold my life, & had the beginning of what I am, I can do little for the son, & no gratefull act at all for the memory of the father, if I cannot giue him a kingdom which is the least part of what I am. To conclude as good deliberations in their many points, must be grounded vpon the example of the past, the experience of the present, and the iudgement of the future: and the Turk hath been euer heauie to my State in long passed, and late passed times, and is now by some accidents partly proceeding from himself, partly from others (in all likelihood) easie to be perpetually assured: which point of time that giueth so good an occasion if it be let passe, may giue him power (for a mind he can nor will netter want) to be vntollerable againe hereafter; or if not vntolerable, at the least dangerous. We haue two great powers of our mindes, the one a wise power of vnderstanding, by which we penetrate into the knowledge of things; the other a strong power of resoluing, by which we execute things well vnderstood: and now that we haue iudged of all, we must resolve of somewhat; and of that which is probablist best. Therefore our necessitie, our honour, and our iustice calling vs against the Turke, and since with all these concurrereth so good an opportunitie: he must be the maine end of which we will determine: and because to prepare vs to that end amongst many other circumstances, the sending to the

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conclusion of
the consulta-
tion.

Princes Christian hath beene intimated as one of the most necessarie : we shall do well in the generall good vse which we must make of this interposition of time, to doe also that.

For though it be true, that their interestes will euer make such a proposition acceptable : yet where there is a proffer of such a condition, as beareth with it a kinde of Obligation, as it is of more honourable fashion for vs, so it addeth grace and reputation and more strength to it, or any such like purpose. For neither will I relie so much vpon my owne power, or fortune, or the present benefite which I meane to bestow vpon these of *Corasan*, that I will forget I haue offended them, and to arme my selfe with all the best aduise I can against the sinister working of any fortune. Neither will I so much preiudicate the opinion, which I desire the world (without vaine ostentation) should hold of me, & my ministers, as that my enterprises should not haue a way giuen them by the wisest & best weighed counsell, and perfect concurrence made betweene my fortune well iudging of my counsell, and all proper occasions. As for *Mirza Antonio* (for so he euer called mee) what he is to mee you all must know, and my estimation of him : which I assure my selfe to be grounded vpon a good and true iudgement, since he hath beene the first and onely propounder of the manifest point of all other, which doth or may concerne mee most. So for that matter of sending, in which there is more diuersitie of opinions about the forme of circumstance, then essentiall matter of substance, I will remit it to his fidelitie and true affection to me, to dispose as hee shall in those two great works in a noble minde, finde mee test for my honour, and conuenient, & certaine test for the effecting.

Yet this must I tell you and him, which hath not yet beene thought of, That a great Prince, as I am, must receiue a deniall for an iniury : and I had rather not know them at all, then with knowing them to be also offended by them;

though

though (this I say also) that he cannot be iudged to haue authoritie to command their wils, therefore must be blamelesse in all, except in the lightnesse of his imagination, vpon which slender occasion he ought not, for the credite of his own iudgement, to haue formed a Councill. Before I could frame one word of reply, he rose, and hauing talked a little while alone with *Xathmascolibeague*, he called my interpreter, and held him some quarter of an houre in a very earnest speech: which was, to command him (as he afterwards told me) not to let me know what his *Viseire* had said against me; but charged him to animate me to loue his people, and also to confirme (in all he could) my affection & well-hearted intention to his own seruice. After he was retired, the *Viseire* came vnto me, and hauing saluted me with a goodly fashion of courtesie, he began to desire me not to be offended, that his being curious of his Maiesties good, had stirred in him so violent a desire, that through it he had mistaken me, and the true aspect of my ends. But as there was euer a good remedie for all knowne errors, and especially for the most accelerated, so there should be in his towards me all the best and carefull seruice, which he might possibly doe vnto me. And though I stood in need of little helpe to put forward the kings affection towards me, yet hee assured me, that in all due and fit opportunities he would not be wanting to performe the vttermoist part of a true friend, in that or any thing else which might pretend my good. I did make all the shew I could to beleue him; commended his zeale to his king; and withall desired him to haue a constant opinion, that my good intention to his seruice also might mislead my iudgement of some things, but the truth of my heart neuer. Therefore I desired him, that if I did erre also in such a point, it would please him to correct me as a father, and not to oppose against the rising of my fortune as an enemy, since I knew my hopes to be of small time or expectation.

The Persian
Vicesirs com-
plement with
Sir Anthony
Sherley.

expectation if they must wrestle with his power and wisdom: also that I knew his vertue too great to enuie a man which could not grow at all, but vnder him, and that I knew a good desert of my selfe towards him in the conscience of my most affectionate respectiue disposition, which would neuer faile to make very perfect demonstrations of it selfe vnto him, in all worthy occasions which should eyther offer themselues, or he should command. And so were parted with a mutuall shew of great satisfaction, which I know now of vs both had.

That night *Courchi Bassa* arriued at the Court; and next day as the king told me, accompanied with the *Viseir & Bastan-Aga* perswaded him again, not against making him ready for the war against the *Turke*, if he should be counselled vnto it by any good aduantage, or forced by the Christians peace with him: but (because his Maiestie was almost determined that way) to vse all the best meanes, first to weaken him without shewing himselfe purposely an actor in it. (And that was to be done by encouraging his rebels, and by breaking as much as he could the trade and commerce into his dominions, which subministred vnto him both the finewes of his warre, and those also which did bind the bodie of his state together.) That *Mombarecke* (which held of his Maiestie the principalitie of *Sustane*; of the *Turke Gizawr*, and the deserts from *Balsaraske* to *Damasco*) with the least conuenience of his Maiestie, would continue his Armes against the *Turke*, and make all those passages so infestuous, that neyther *Bagdet* nor *Damasco* should receiue the commoditie, of any of those Carauans of Merchants which vsually came to them from *Balsarab*: by which the *Turke* should loose euery yeare two millions of Entrata. For the Portugeses (if his Maiestie would please to iudge indifferently) it was as likely that they would mislike his too great increase as the *Turke*, and so much the more as they

they were lesse able to resist him, then the *Turke* was; *Larr* and *Nicolow* ioyned together: whereof by taking the one, he did more assure any mouing of theirs against him; and if they ment him well they could not bee offended at the neerenesse of his neighbourhood. And ingaging the other in some actions against the *Turke* as to robbe, spoyle, and hinder the trafficke of the *Arabian* gulfe, and such like should by such an act make him desperate of the *Turke*; and so ioyne him through his owne necessitie surely to him: and though he were otherwise of no great importance, yet by his bordering vpon the sea, & his mens expertnes of the sea, he was to be made in that point very profitable hereafter, and a good instrument for the present (and *euery small addition of force, or meanes gathereth reputation to all great actions*) when the time were fit that they should appeare partials to to his Maiestie. And for sending an Ambassador to the Princes Christian, he thought it first against his dignitie to offer himself vnto them, who in their need of him through their pride neglected once to speake vnto, or with his Maiestie. Then in the wel carrying of his other purposes, which would be palefated by so maine a cause of suspition. Therefore that his Maiestie must eyther determine to breake presently with the Turk, not which he could; or else to giue him no apparant suspition of any such inclination or carriage of things: by which he should winne time to make his owne prouisions with good foundation, and keepe the *Turke* vn-furnished; euer, nourishing him with so wise artifice, that he might be secured from any opinion of such mouing: the time nor nothing else promising felicity to his actions so much as the wise vsing of the time, and of those things which, were offered him.

What the king replied I know not (having receiued this opinion of *Courtchi Bassa* from the king himselfe, who by that and other eternall contrary counsels was so much di-

tracted in his owne resolution as a prince that desireth to doe great things, and them also well determines not so dainly vpon faire hopes, but carrieth his hopes to perfection by the working of his wisdom: so that many daies after, when I would begin to enter into a new discourse of those deliberations, hee would presently turne himselfe to speake of other matters. In this fashion more then one moneth passed, in which I had no comfort of my desire, but onely that which *Xa-Thamas Colibeague* & *Oliuer Di-Chan* gaue me, and the kings exceeding fauour which rather increased then decreased towards me.

In this time (as though all the strength of that ill spirit, who euer raiseth the vtermost of his skill and power to prevent all good purposes had conspired to overthrow the well proceeding of this good businesse) There came newes to the Court, that *Mahomet-Aga* Generall of the *Ianizaries* of *Bagdat* was entred into the kings Confinnes, as Ambassador from the Turke, with a rich present, and maruellous honourable traine: And that those of *Ormuz* had stayed by force sixteene slaues which were sent by the great *Mogore* to the king, with nine other which *Oliuer Di-Chan* had bought in those parts, and the Marchants for their more security had sent them with those of the kings. This raised the courages of those which opposed themselves to the maine businesse, alienated mightily the hearts of *Oliuer Di-Chan*, and *Xa-Tarnas Colibeague* from all, and exasperated the king himselfe so much against them, that his ordinarie speech was no other, but that hee would shortly learne them to haue a respect vnto him, which did so exceedingly fill my very soule with perplexitie, and anxietie, that I fell into a very dangerous sicknesse, in which the king neuer failed daily to visit me himselfe; and finding that the recordation of those things did aggrauate both the grieffe of my minde, and vnquiet of my bodie, he forbad that any

in my presence should speake more of it; but onely comfort me with all sort of discourse of recreation, with so royall and so gracious a regard, that he shewed apparantly enough, that few accidents could dispose his minde from any reasonable contentment which he might giue me. In the meane time *Mahomet-Aga* arriued at the Court, whom the king sent his *Viseire* and *Courtchibassa* to meete accompanied with a thousand horse of the principall of the Court, and of the Citie. These (no question) gaue him large instructions, and as large hopes; which if he had guided also rightly; he might haue done his Master great seruice, and himselfe infinite honour: but through his owne too hattie greedinesse, assurance, and desire; he prevented himselfe whilest he strived first beyond that which was indifferently good; then beyond that which was better; and at the last beyond all reasonable (and I thinke his owne) hopes. For first being proudly confident vpon the greatnes of his Master; then vpon the difficultie of the king of *Persians* present estate, to be moued to offend so potent a neighbour; then vpon so great and strong a faction in the Court; besides hauing heard by them that the kings mind was altered from those of *Ormus*; and that *Oliuer-Chan* also was then likewise alienated from his first censure through the particular wrong done vnto himselfe, or else that he changed the inclination of his minde according to the corrupt condition of all Courts, in which the loue of obsequiousnesse to the Prince, and fitting themselves to their appetites (by that meanes to strengthen their owne emulations) is more power-able then the feare to do ill; and the working of their owne consciences: or else that in all things there is a certaine reuolution; and as there are mouings of times, so there are also variations in our minds and fashions. Making himselfe strong in his assurance vpon these foundations, & vpon the weaknes of his opposition, which was left much ineebled by the distraction of

Oliuer Di-Chan, he left the right way of mouing by degrees so great a businesse to carrie it euen without agitation or danger: And as though with knowing the circumstances he had attained the end, he ouerthrew his Masters intention, his owne honour, and almost lost his life, if the kings infinite clemency had not eyther despised or pitied his error.

Neyther doe I set downe these thinges with so particular a care for my owne sake to make eyther my worke the greater, or to make an ostentation of any thing which was not; but because in all discourses which I haue seene giuen forth for the worlds better vnderstanding of those things which one man hath compiled out of the largenes of his reading or experience, it hath beene a good and necessarie vse to set downe the nature of the people treated of, & in what sort they might be or were temperately gouerned, and how much was learned of the Princes and great mens disposition, iudgement and skill in ruling; by which course, they which obserued it, were accounted wise and prudent vnderstãders of the times & places which they conuersed in: so in this time of greater corruption where all contrarie examples not seen, nor knowne by vs, may breed a wonder, by that rarenesse of others vertues, and by that, a detestation of our owne familiar vices, which giue few amongst vs the wisdome to make a true distinction of honestie from dishonestie, & that which is iustly profitable from that which is vniustly harmefull; *by which meanes may be gathered more and better profit by other mens foraine experience, then those examples in which they are daily exercised.* But as such a fashion of declaration will be of the best sort of vse; so I am not ignorant with how little delight and credit, it will be accompanied. For to relate the situation of countries, the variable euent of the acts of great Princes and Captaines, these do detaine and reuiue, as it were the
minds

minds of the readers. I speake onely of a good intention, tossed with the tempests, first of many desperate calamities; then with many potent oppositions; the iustice, wisdom, temperance, liberalitie, valour, mercifulnesse, and generalitie of all excellent vertues in a Prince esteemed by vs barbarous, and yet indeed fit to be a patterne and mirrour to some of ours, who haue *Christ* in our mouthes, and not the least of his Saints in our hearts. Besides the varietie of his fortunes disposition, bridled and brought to a good inclination by the force of his wisdom and goodnesse, and true experience of the power of fortune: in which discourse there is no alteration of matter; the subiect being euer the person of the king, and his excellling vertues: which I had rather speake of, to point out by them the happinesse of his state, then to see a farre off the miseries of some of ours swimming in bloud, full of cruell commandement, continuall accusations, false friendships, the ruine of innocents, implacable factions, and pernicious ends of things: contrarie to that which ought to be with vs of a better profession; and is with those which we despise.

But to returne to my purpose. *Mahomet-Aga* being arrived at the Court: and refreshed some small time, the day of his audience was honoured with all the Princes of the kings Court, and my selfe being too weake through my long sicknesse, the king commanded that my brother should be present also; where after a magnificent oration of his Masters potencie in all conditions of force, he told the king, that he was sent to admonish him to remain constant in the truce with his Master; to require restitution of those Courdines which without licence had abandoned their possessions in his Masters Prouinces, and contrarie to the tearmes of amity were interrained by him. That his Master also demanded the restitution of *Corassan* to the former

The proud
message deli-
uered by the
Turks Embas-
sador to the
King of Persia.

gouernment in the alteration of which, though he knew his greatnesse and Maiestie violated, yet he could yeeld so much from what he ought to do to the king of *Persias* years and heat of valour; that hee would content himselfe with that satisfaction. Then he aduised him to force his nature, and coner this vaine glimmering of fortune with iudgement and good counsell; which euer would aduise him to maintaine and preserue his estate, rather with warie then violent counsels. This his Master demanded of him to obli-
 terate (by the facile granting of it) all greater iniuries; wished his Maiestie to consider well of the demand, the condition of the demander and his owne: *Denials euer to such Potentates being received for maine offences; that it was euer a wise determination to yeeld to the authoritie of time, and necessitie, and to avoid by that good iudgement, urgent perils, and sinister conditions: nothing being a more secure repaire, then to strike saile against insupportable tempests, it many times happening that the too great valour of men used with too great confidence is bitterly persecuted, and sometimes oppressed with an unhappie course of fortune: against the current of which, when once through error it breaketh, forth no humane force, or wit can make any resistance. And because all men for the most part are blind in discerning the iudgement of good or ill counsels, from their end; celebrating them when they prosper with a false argument from the successe: his Maiestie should giue a great example of true wisdom, not to be so much overborne with the present delight, or future hopes, extracted from those first prosperous successes, as not to be able to lift vp his eyes to see the clouds which he had raised by some of them: which if they were not prevented, would break forth into extreme tempests. To conclude, he said that his Maiestie must be so ferre from thinking to weaken his Maister by cunning, and by artifice, and so to keepe his Armes farre from him; that he must resolve such courses to be seruile: and to execute*
 apparantly

apparently and presently onely, princely, and like himselfe; so that eÿther he must proue himselfe a friend, or declare himselfe an enemy. The first would merit any private grace, which should be no sooner deserued then attained; the other would giue glory and honour to the victor, leuer deare and honest to the winner, precipitious and shameful to the looser. And not speaking of the inuinciblenesse of his Master, God himselfe would iudge the first vniust infringer of an amitie sworn to his great name.

The King without anything mouing from his accustomed grauitie, tempering the iustice of his indignation with the true magnanimitie of his minde, answered him to this effect. That *as the greatnesse of riches and treasure were, oftentimes pernicious to Princes; so was abundance of men, and largenesse of dominions, to such as were too weake to governe them*: therefore that extolling the magnificency of his Master (which might breed wonder and terrour in those who were not capable of greatnesse, was no mouer of him to decline from any part of that which belonged to his owne greatnesse. He had receiued the *Cordines* (oppressed by the tyrannie of cruel ministers) into his protection; and as their coming to him proceeded of their owne will, so their returne from him should be voluntarie, and not through his constraint. *Corasana* he had iustly taken from an vsurper, and would restore the lawfull Prince, who should receiue the benefit from his munificence: and not from any point of the Turks instance. But wherefore should he be bound to giue a stricter account of his actions to the Turke, then became equall Princes to aske the one of the other; as though the lawes of ruling had but one moderator, before whose tribunall they should be all presented? *Tauris* belonged to his predecessors; so did *Sarran*, so did *Diarbeck*; and what iustice had his king to draine them all from one but by the potencie of his armes; the same point of iustice he had

The King of Persias his answer to the Turkes Embassador.

had also to preferue what he had already gotten : and to vindicate also those vniustly detained from him. If he will breake the truce made betweene my father and him, and continued by my brother and me, vpon so manifest vniust causes; as the warre was neuer prosperously prouoked against our state by his predecessors nor himselfe, but through some strange accident, errour, or our owne disunion: so beleue that it will now breake forth to his owne destruction. Yet I doe not denie but that I had rather, both to preferue what I haue, and to recouer what my ancestors haue lost, by equitie then bloud; and by the force of reason, rather then of armes: which if I cannot, I will certainly amend by vertue what I haue erred in by cunctation. My power and glory is yet soundly whole, and more increased through the merit of *Modestie, which was neuer yet despised by the greatest which haue bene among men: and is esteemed by God himselfe.* Wrestling of actes could not deceiue othes; which as they were made to God; so the iudgement of their breaking or abusing would euer be in God, and his memorie, care, and power. For *Mahomet-Aga* himselfe; though he had forfeited the priuiledges of an *Embassador*, by executing vnder that title a contrarie office; if I should (said he) presently and condignly punish you, both the memory of your present fortune (into which pride and folly hath throwne you) and my glory would be darkned; and the punishment would be followed with a sodaine forgetfulnesse; but if I free you (as I will) from your punishment, though I cannot from the fault, I shall be an eternall memorie to the world of clemencie, and leaue you a great precept eyther of more iudgement, or lesse employment: vntill you can make your selfe fitter for such a one as this, to which you haue bene vnworthily elected.

As I said before if he had vsed the opportunities (which he had) discretely, he might haue done his Master a notable seruice,

seruice, and honoured himselfe much. Tor the kings great discontentment with those of *Ormuz*, & the strong opposition of most of his counsell to any proposition against the Turke, did facilitate a way for him to haue fashioned the king to any condition of firmer tearmes with his Master, then they had hitherto stood in. And though it was not likely that there could haue beene mediated a restitution of those *Courdines*, yet the losse of them had beene smal, being a people euer vnstable in any certaine habitation, neither hauing vnderstanding of good, nor care of ill; proper ministers onely of rapine, and to possesse vnproper places for ciuiller inhabitants: and he might easily haue procured a restraint that none other hereafter should haue done the like; if he had propounded it from his Master, disobliged him to the king of *Persia*, and restored the peoples minds to their first dependance, being a Nation, though otherwise of doubtfull faith, both through their owne nature, and situation of their countrie, yet more inclined to the *Turke* then any both by the bond of the same religion, and hatred to the *Persians*.

The next morning the king came vnto me, and after some other discourses, he told me he had well considered of my proposition, which though otherwise he had no great inclination vnto, both, because of the great separation by distance, and difficult meanes of correspondencie, which could be made betweene the Princes Christian & himselfe, besides the small necessitie he had of them, (God hauing giuen him so ample, so rich, and so warlike a dominion) and if he had, their owne disunion amongst themselues gaue him small hope of any great good effect in what he should propound vnto them: Besides the derogation from his own greatnesse to be a demander of their amitie, whose predecessors had sought it of his by diuers meanes, and vpon great conditions. Yet to shew me how deare an estimation

The King of Persia agreeth to the perswasion of Sir Anthony Sherley.

he held of me, he was contented not to see what belonged to himselfe, but onely to regard my satisfaction: which he willed me to determine of, and assured me of the effecting of it whatsoeuer it was.

And after I had given his Maiestie thanks which were conuenient for so high a fauour, I told him that I had propounded nothing but that which the future experience, and present reason of things would proue not onely infinitely auailable, but also necessarie for his honour, profit and securitie: to which counsell I was readie and desirous to adde my owne perill, which could by no other meanes bring an answerable benefit to the greatnesse of it selfe, but onely in the true estimation which I made of the merit of his Maiesties vertue, and my infinite affection to his seruise.

The necessitie of his state, I knew eyther counselled him to prouide for a warre; or to make a warre: *Private cogitations hauing their progresse of such a conditio; that they may take (as themselves will) eyther more of lesse of fortune; but those which had raised their thoughts to the sublimitie of dominion are no more in their owne power: hauing no meane to step vpon betweene the highest of all, and precipitation.* For his Maiestie to sleepe longer; called vpon by so maine reasons which did evidently demonstrate vnto him the ineuitable danger, (if not ruine) of his state, and contrariwise, the certaine addition which his maiestie might make to his glory and state, would seeme to those that did not rightly vnderstand the excellencie of his Maiesties heart, such a weakenesse in him, as is incident to those which haue not power to temper felicitie, from glutting themselves with the abundant fruites of present prosperitie; though they haue a patient forced vigour to withstand aduersitie. That the Turke was to bee vanquished, his owne Rebelles had shewed, which haue overcome with small forces his great power

Sir Anthony Sherley confirmeth the King in his purpose of sending to the Princes of Christendom.

private interests; yet the Emperour (who is the greatest in title, and by his alliance of the most power) is already engaged against the *Turke*: which warre hee will more or lesse prosecute according as hee shall haue more or lesse hopes. And what greater (almost assurance of prosperous successe can he haue then the coniunction with your Maiestie, whose power and vertues hee shall know? And the mouing of both your ends being the same can loose no propriety in their working, by the large separation or distinction of places. The Pope also (who carrieth a Supreme authoritic among Princes to moue them to those things which shall best preserue, or augment the limits of his Church) animated by your Maiesties great name and offer; will assuredly vse the vttermost of the strength, of his authoritic, and industrie, to reconcile all particular enmities, and to combine all hearts to that Generall warre, in which euerie particular is truly much interessed; if they consider their conscience to their profession, and the danger wherewith they all haue beene threatned, by that great Enemies potencie: diuers Princes hauing already by it suffered the vttermost of ruine.

Neither shall your Maiestie despaire, but that all may be perswaded to so honourable and pious an action *being a propriety in mans nature to follow, that which hath beene contrarie to their disposition to begin*: And if they all should not; yet the Emperour, Pope, and King of *Spaine* absolutely will embrace the amitie, honour the name of your Maiestie, and vnite themselues in any termes of Princely alliance: and your Maiestie shall haue an eternall glorie amongst all; for inviting them all to so Noble, Generous and Royall an action: and at the least, draw great intercourse of Merchants of all those parts; which will giue an entrance to a kinde of sociableness, and that will proceed to a common respect, *and so to a mutuall friendship which will giue the communication*
and

and knowledge of many things hidden (both in the knowledge, vse and profit of them) for want of such an intercourse.

Your Maiestie also wisely desireth to take away all reputation from the *Turkish* Religion, through your Dominions, both by scandalizing it publikly, & punishing it in particular persons: Sithence *Herese in all Religion causeth Diuision, & the corrupted part becommeth a pernicious enemy to the Prince who supporteth the contrarie; From it arise as from a maine turbulent Spring, Treasons, Conspiracies, secret Conuenticles, and Seditions.*

Besides the greatest and largest way, which the *Turke* hath into your Dominions, is the faction of his Sect; as *Ismael* your Predecessor had; of that which your Maiestie professeth, to deuide your state from him: He is an absolute and Tyrannous enemy to the Christians; Your Maiesties Religion, hath a charitable opinion of them: and if drinking of Wine, burning of their Prophets Images, and such lesse apparances be in your Maiesties opinion effectually things to estrange the peoples heartes from that Religion, by a contrarie vse, with those opprobries, to the other; a greater meanes your Maiestie may worke by: in giuing libertie of Christian Religiõ, so much abhorred of their part, and securitie of trade, goods and person to Christians, by which you shall bind their Princes, expresse the charitie of your Law, serue your selfe in diuers thinges of them which haue been hidden vnto you, both for your vtilitie, strength and pleasure: and more in vre your people to despise the other Religion, by so contrarie, so apparant and so great effect. Neither can they euer bee dangerous to your Maiestie, their increase being alwayes to be limited by your will. This also will giue your Maiestie great fame, since by their meanes you shall recouer auailable instruments both to preserue and augment your estate by: as Founders of Ordinance; Makers of all sortes of Armes, and Munition. So that though it may seeme a strange act in your Maiestie to bee

contented to enlarge to Christians, so new and so great a favour, yet since all great examples ever haue in them some thing of an extraordinarie qualitie, those are to be made use of that repaire by publique profit, those particular disgusts which private men may receiue of them: I know that it is for the most part a fallacious ambition which imbraceth greedily new and dangerous thinges; but to determine and execute fit and conuenient thinges, is the proper effect of wisdom and courage. Your Maiestie knoweth your present estate, remembreth the courses of the times past; and the excellencie of your iudgment weigheth, that which may succcede hereafter. No man receiueth harme but from himselfe; nor your Majestic can suffer none but from that which your selfe wil determine of your selfe: you are inuited to no act depending vpon fortune, but such a one as shal haue his foundation vpon Council, reason, and iudgment. My satisfaction shall be aboue all other greatest if your Maiestie resolue of that which will bee most secure, honourable and commodious for your person, state, and particular Subjects.

Well said the King you would then haue me to write to as many of the Christian Princes as are greatest amongst them, who if they will apply themselves to our purpose may draw all other lesser vnto it, by the example of their authoritie; or at the least (if they will not consent in that point) wil command their Marchants to repaire to our Dominions: so that we and they may haue some good friendly vse the one of the other. The letters you shall appoint to be written to as many, and to whom, you will; with priuiledge for Marchants, and the secure profession of their Religion, and peaceable possession of their goods, and persons, in as ample sort as your selfe will deuise; and not onely for them but for al Christians whatsoeuer, which for curiositie to see, or loue to me, will take pains to come hither; or for any purpose so euer: being impossible their purpose can at a-

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The King of
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nic time bee ill towards vs, which with them in all things so well. And because you haue been the Mouer and Perswader of this businesse, you also shalbe the Actor of it, assuring my selfe that my Honour cannot be more securely reposed in any mans hands, then your own: both in that I iudge of your owne disposition; and more, in that which I know of your obligation to me; besides, *There is none so proper an Executor of any enterprise, as hee which is the first deuiser of it:* I humbly thanked his Maiestie for his confidence; and excused my inhabilitie to performe so great a charge; *Many men being more fitte to propound then to execute: That requiring a particular valour and experience, which I had not.* Notwithstanding, since I would not giue his Maiestie cause to suspect, that I had intimated such a thing vnto him, as either was so dangerous to carry, or impossible to effect, that I durst not for those causes vndertake it: I would onely beseech of his Maiestie one of his Princes, either to be my superior or equall in the Ambassage, or such a one as might be absolutely my inferior, for a testimony, onely of my assured coming from his Maiestie. The first I did require because *equall authority where there is the selfe same power, is commonly pernicious to all actions, being impossible to fit two minds of so euē a temper, that they should not haue some motions of dissenting.* Yet if I must be ioyned, through the grātious fauour of his Maiesty (who had no more end of his honouring me, then my affection had in seruing him :) I desired it might be a noble man, whose mind being made to greatnes, could not feele the ill working of a sudden alteration. The last I required, not, that such a one could hold any condition in the former reason, but as an Armor against enuie and malice: *beeing a thing incident, and almost certaine in all mens natures, to behold with sore eyes the new growne felicitie of others, and to exact a sharpe account of their fortunes, especially whome they haue seene, either inferiour, or in equalitie with themselues.* All which

Sir Anthony
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hee promised: commended my reason and prouidence in that point; and offering also presents of great valew, and worth to accompanie his Letters, which should be goodly Carpets, Swords and Daggers couered with Gold, and Iewels, Plumes according to their Countrey fashion, and other things worthy to be esteemed, both for the price and rarenesse. Then he told me I must recouer my selfe, strengthen my minde and come abroad, that hee might feast mee before my departure. And though it is likely that the disposition of the World (euermore inclined to detraction, then to a generous beholding of mens actions) will in the iniquitie of that nature, hardly beleue the magnificent fashion of that King held towards me then in all points, and confirmed by his infinite Royall fauour, continued and increased to my brother now: Yet the act he did, doth plainly demonstrate, part of the one, and amongst Honourable minds, I shall be beleued for the rest. And though that viper of malice which I so much feared, did bite me in a maine member of my Honour, and infeeble it so much, that it remained lame from being able to passe forward in that palse of reputation, which so great a labour, so many dangers, so great an enterprise, and so pious an action merited; yet it is impossible that malice it selfe, much lesse the infusion of it in wicked spirits can take from me, the true knowledge to this time, and memorie to posteritie, that I was a zealous author of so Christianlike a purpose: They much mistaking my mind, which iudged it rather capable and desirous of apparant then the true substance of things; though it be true that euerie man will contend for both, when both are his right.

For thirty dayes continuallie, the King made that feast in a great garden of more then two miles compasse, vnder tents pitched by certain small courses of running water, like diuers riuers, where euerie man that would come, was placed

ced according to his degrec, either vnder one or other Tent, provided for abundantly with meate, fruite, & wine, drinking as they would, some largelie, some moderatelie without compulsion. A roialty and splendor which I haue not seene, nor shall not see againe but by the same King: Our Princes abhorring such vaine expences, desiring rather to haue the power of dominion, then to make those sorts of ostentation; but such is and hath beene anciently the custome of that Country (as the holy Booke of God sheweth vs.) And if with so great authority, it were needfull, or comely to produce other histories, there are diuers which speake also of many magnificences of those Kings, and of that amongst the rest: & therefore it is euer to be praised for the constant antiquite, if not for the reason of the expence. The ioy of the feast was much augmented by *two great fortunes*, which gaue themselues at that time to the King; which were these: The *Tartars of Buckehard*, (which haue euer beene of greatest reputation amongst all those of the Orient, both for their valour in armes and wealth) moued vnto it through their owne diuisions; the Captaines of which being of validity and proper industrie, to enflame the ciuill dissensions, and vnfit to temper their alternate good successes, (*It being the condition of troubles and disorders to giue most power and authority to those of the worst sort, and most mischieuous spirits: whereas to appease them requireth great art, and reposed spirits,*) wearied with the vexation of their owne troubles in such a state of things, as produced nothing but disorders amongst the factious, a desperate rage amongst the vanquished, and no authority amongst the victors: neither the yigour of the lawes

Two great fortunes which befell the king during his feast.

I. The submission of the Tartars to his Crowne.

2. The rich present with the alliance of the great Mogor offered to the Persian.

standing, none almost of the Princes living : when all these extremities could not bring them to consent to the erecting of their owne estate, as it first was of an absolute principality, yet by the fame of the king of *Persiaes* iustice in government, & the felicity which followed all his enterprises, they were brought to consent vnite-ly in one to send, and deliuer themselues, and their Country vnder his subiection. And the great *Mogor* King of *Labor* moued by the like fame, sent a great Ambassador to desire a marriage between his eldest sonnes daughter, and *Cephir Micza*, a eldest sonne to the King of *Persia*, with a mighty present, and as mighty offers both of ready money, & to pay 30000. men in any warre, which the King of *Persia* should vnder-*take for seuen yeeres. Such a quality hath prosperity, when it beholdeth a man, or State, with affectionate eyes to intrude it selfe vpon him or it, though themselues would not: and somtimes in things which the wisdom of men holdeth impossible to be intimated, and vnfeasible to be executed, which maketh wise men often rather to desire them, then to hope for them.*

The coming of two Friers to insinuate with Sir Anthony Sherley.

In this time came vnto me a *Portingall* Frier, named *Alphonso Cordero*, of the order of the *Franciscans Secular*, and an other *Armenian* Frier of *Ierusalem*, with a message from an other Frier of better estimation, called *Nichola Di-Meto*: the effect of which was this, that hee had beene Inquisitor generall of the *Indies*, and his time being finished, as also, hauing receiued commandement from the Pope and King of *Spain* to return, & for some other important causes to the christianity of these parts not being willing to attend the tedious voyage of the *Portingall* Fleet by sea, chose rather the hassard to goe ouer

ouer Land: to which he was the more animated hauing heard of the fauour and estimation which certaine Christians held in that Court; which hee did not doubt would Christian-like honour him, being so great an instrument of the Church, and of so great a Potentate as the King of *Spaine*.

For though wee were *English* and hee *Portugese*, and by the priuate interrestes of our Princes, their names were made enemies in the ordinary sort of our Nation, Yet Religious men were euer priuiledged, from common malice; and that place which was opposite of it selfe to the profession of Christ, would be a perswading argument enough, for any Noble or Pious mind, to honour, in all persons our oppressed faith, without regarding the title or Countrie of the profession thereof. But when hee came, though this insinuation of his were like a good meane; and shewed to proceed from the best condition of spirits; Yet hee did so much degenerate from the name of a Christian, much more of a Religious man, of a true Subject to his Prince, and of a Pious wisher to those thinges which tended to the generall good of the whole Common-wealth of Christendome, that he forgot not only the honour which I had freely, and with a good heart done him (waking againe the names of those enmities which he desired to haue suppressed) at the first secretly, at the last openly, setting forth many pretences against mee: which if it had proceeded from the *ordinarie imperfections of nature*, (which runneth more headlongly to the reuenge of iniuries euen in opinion, then to the recordation of essentiall and ciuill benefits: gracious acts being a burden, reuenge esteemed a gaine to vs) though the cause of it had proceeded from that

imperfection had beene ill; yet being naturall it, had beene somewhat tollerable: and if he had not also added to that fault another inexcusable one, not onely to neglect, but euen to despise all those other greater duties: which if they bound him not in affection; yet they must haue bound in awfulesse and feare any Creature, which had not beene viterly given ouer to the worst temptations of the wicked spirit, and enemy to Mankind and substantiall subuertor of all godly purposes.

For I (though otherwise vnobliged) willing in the beginning of the foundation which the King permitted me to lay, of God his true knowledge in those parts, to shew all deuout respects to God and to all his Ministers (and knowing that the name of diuision amongst our selues, would but scandalize all) vsed him with all those duties and reuerences which I could possibly deuise; or any ambitious heart could desire: which gaue (as it fell out) but a freer passage to the iniquitie of his soule; to my great grieffe, prejudice of the estimation in those parts of Religious men, and to the most infinite affliction of the other *Franciscan*, that can be expressed; he being certainly a good man, and as farre as his vnderstanding guided him, zealous to perswade others to be so, helping to expresse by a sincere and holy example of life what he wanted in discourse. But *vbi Dei numen prætenditur sceleribus, subit animum timor, ne fraudibus humanis vindicandis, diuini iuris aliquid immixtum violemus*. For which reason I will say only this: that to free my selfe from the vnexpected crosses which daily rose against my businesse, I pressed the King as hotly (as euilly I could) for my dispatch: which hee granted me at the thirtie daies end: hauing appointed *Assan*, *Chan* a gallant young Prince to goe with mee: so com-

plete in all worthie graces that if God had pleased, that he had proceeded in the busines, he had brought great Honor to the King, reputation to his Countrie, & had established the affaires to the vniuersall good of the World. But *the beginnings of all great things being deriued from God, so their ends are either perfected or disanulled by his determination.* For though nature hath giuen vs as men great and excellent faculties, yet G O D will haue vs know, and acknowledge him to be G O D : and that nothing is properly our own, or gotten by our owne power but giuen vs onely through his munificencie. And therefore peraduenture, G O D would not so much satisfie the pride which the very loue of affecting so great and glorious a businesse had swolne me in : but made mee my selfe find an instrument to ouerthrow my labours, and wrestle against my proceedings (which durst not almost stand in my presence) and forced me to aske him of the King, and to bee the Authour of my owne harme. So strangely doth God correct the errors and sinnes of our humanities, and taketh from the strong imaginations which stirre in vs (through the innated iniquitie of our hearts,) the thoughts of any other causes of those inflictions, then that true working of his verie iudgements: by which wee may see if we will not be obstinate against our selues, that the full vse of those things which wee possesse; the very light which wee enioy, the spaces of the Earth which our feet tread ouer, whatsoever we can doe, say, or thinke, is raised, distributed and guided, by God his counsell will and providence. For when it was concluded that *Assan Chan* should go, and his provisions were all ready, my cōmission and patent (for the principall points of my businesse) sealed; the King married him to an Aunt of his, much against his Princes wil-

The enter-
prise of Sir
Anthony Sherley
ouerthrowne
by his owne
Instrument.

and more to my grieffe ; none other of the great ones hauing a spirit to apprehend only such a voyage, much lesse a heart to performe it.

So that being instantly sued to by *Cachin-Allibi* a Courtchie of *sixe Thomans stipend* by the yeare, and in disgrace also, for some ill part that he had plaid, I (presed therunto by the *Viseir* and *Bastan-Aga*) spake vnto the king that he might goe with me, in the forme onely of a testimonie, though honoured with some good words in the letters, for the better reputation of the businesse : which the King was exceeding backward in consenting vnto, desiring me eyther to goe alone, or better accompanied. The last I told him lay in his Maiesties power to command; the other I could not doe, and promise him, or hope my selfe for good successe : nothing being more fraile then such a reputation (as would suddenly grow by such a businesse) vnsupported by any sort of strength, so that it would be an object for all sort of malice to worke vppon, his Maiestie being too farre remoued to giue iust prooffe of my employment from him, if it should be opposed. And the more strange it was, and lesse hoped for, as it would be the more ioyfully embraced by the good. So it would giue the more colour and strength to bad mindes against me. At the last (I think through the secret working of those which wete euer enemies to the proceeding of this businesse, & the maine scarcitie of others which had minds fit for such employment, & qualities also fit for such minds.) I was vrged to take that fellow, & the king content to let him go. But would bestow on him no more then 50. *Tomans* for the whole expense: which he called also cast away. Him I left to bring the
appointed

appointed present after me ; and the letters to the particular Princes; which were then readie at my departure not sealed, and the present not throughly provided : my selfe desiring to free my selfe from the Court, where euery occasion was receiued by those which were contrarie to the enterprise to hinder it.

After I had taken my leaue of the king, the morning before my departure he came to finde me againe at my house : and after a little other speech he said vnto me, that my absence from him would exceedingly grieue him, his affection to me being true, and his hopes of me many. If he had beene furnished of any fit to haue vndergone the managment of this affaire, he would neuer haue enioyned me to so much trauaile, and so many perils, but that I knew his Court to be ignorant of the language and properties of our parts, and since he was prouoked by me to send thither, he knew that I would be contented with my labour to keepe him, and his from all sorts of scorne. That my brother was young, and therefore the more to be tendered, and not euery day to be exposed to new labours : his loue to vs both made him carefull in that point, but more particularly his infinite desire of my returne; which hee thought would be more assured by so deare a pawne: And by daily relation which I should receiue of his royall vsage, I should also be daily invited to returne howsoeuer. If I met with such fortunes as would be worthy to make me stay from him; or such accidents as had power to hinder me by their necessitie, the company of my brother should giue him great satisfaction in my absence. And if the worst should happen vnto me, he did desire euer to haue a subiect so neare vnto
me,

The causes
for which the
King of Persia
detained Sir
Robert Sherley.

me, vpon whom he might make a declaration vnto the world, both of what qualitie his owne minde was; and of what condition his true and royall affection towards me was.

Before I could answere this infinite fauourable and gracious speech of his: my Brother (whose mind, euer disposed him to the best things) hauing by his owne nature, and excellent spirit (which in his younger yeares he bettered with higher studies, not as many who under a magnificent title, loue slouthfull idlenesse, but vsing them in their true proprietie) to confirme our ordinarie weaknesse against the tempests of fortune, and to learne by the goodly precepts of wise men, that which the frailtie of mans constitution blindeth from our sight: and to esteeme onely good that which is honest, and euill those things which do participate with viciousnesse. And though hee might arrogate as much to the Nobilitie of his bloud, as the best borne Gentleman may, yet (euer making estimation of that, and other such qualified ornaments as were without the minde, neither to be accounted amongst the speciall good or ill things which a man should truly behold in himselfe) he hath and doth contend more with himself to be worthie of the best titles, then to be esteemed by those he hath, contemning equally riches and superfluitie, and pouertie which groweth by a mans owne vice: being stedfast and iust in good things, and constant against all feare: and if he bee guided by the height of his minde to striue with more feruour then warinesse, for glorie and reputation, the best iudging sort of the world know that the couetousnes of that point of eternitie is the last appetite which the wisest men dispoile themselves

The abuse
with the true
and proper
use of studies.

Sir Anton. Sher-
leys commen-
dation of his
brother Sir Ro-
bert sherley.

themselues of. Neyther am I induced to celebrate so much the memorie of so many vertues as I know in him, because he is my brother : but absolutely am led vnto it without fauour or ambition, by the perswasion onely of a good conscience, for the sole merite and reward of the same. That minde I say of his euer counselled by such thoughts, apprehending that his staying with the king, might be of wonderfull effect, to keepe his minde constant in the resolution which hee had taken : and getting at many occasions which might happen in my absence, the well vsing of which might confirme him more : some also if they were not tempered might coole his resolutions (which he knew to be taken rather to satisfie me, and with an intent to see the successe of the proceeding of things, then a more constant determination) answered the king, presently thus. That our two soules were so vnitedly conioyned, that our willes were diuided in nothing, our affections to his Maiestie, and our desires to serue him were the same, and such as they could not be separated from his commandements. And though *the promise of fauours from him which could command, did bring euer with it the force of necessitie,* yet we both were so cleare in the iudgement of the royall disposition of his Maiestie that he would neither absolutely will, nor seeme to desire of vs any thing but that which should bee honourable for his authoritie, and conuenient for our obedience to bee done by vs. The parting of both our bodies from his presence was nothing, in respect of our best parts which euer should attend his Maiestie with vowes, and proffers, and wishes which were worthy to proceede from his true seruants and friends. And as worthy of his

Sir Robert
Sherleys an-
swere to the
King of Persia.

infinite vertues. But because hee did desire to haue one of vs which was himself to remaine with him, he would doe it, and giue his Maiestie so much greater occasion to loue vs both by that effect of vertue which he should proue in him, tempering the necessitie of his passion, for his Maiesties satisfaction, & better purposes which time & such occasions as must needs be brought forth, should shew his Maiestie. Neyther did he incline at all to doethis for any feeling which he would haue in that point of his Maiesties munificences promised, but onely for the sensiblenesse of doing well which hee thought and knew he should do by obeying his Maiestie in that commaunding request. Hee did confesse notwithstanding that the world could not lay vpon him a greater aduersitie, then to be separated from me: yet he would neuer bee so broken with any fortune, (though it should rise from other causes) as to loose the least title of the dignitie of his minde. His yeares were but few, but neyther gray heires nor wrinckles should (with so wise an vnderstanding iudgement as his Maiesties) giue more authoritie to any then the good fruites proceeding from an honest and vertuous spending of the time which a man hath passed: hee did desire no more fauour with his Maiestie for his staying then his other merits should bee worthie of: yet because hee was left alone without other comfort then what his owne heart gaue him, hee would bee confident that his Maiestie would not forget what hee owed to himselfe as a Prince, nor to him as a Gentleman which had freely matched obedience with affection. What my brother shall effect with the Princes Christian, as it is a thing vncertaine;

taine; so he nor I will promise any thing: but I know he will indultriate himselfe to his vttermost for your Maiesties honour and seruice, and I will hope well of the end of his labours. In the meane time I beseech God, since the *Turkes* loue cannot apply it selfe by no meanes to your Maiestie, that their hatreds may continue one against the other: no destiny being able to vrge faster forward the greatnesse of your Dominion, nor no fortune being of more validity to make an euen way vnto it, then the amity of our Princes, and eternall discord amongst your enemies. I was almost saying, that God would prosper your Maiestie in all things; but certainly I trust hee will: and I say so, since it belongeth more rightly to his great Holinesse, and to our reuerence to belieue constantly of his deeds then to know them. And this great reason I haue of my confidence, the greatnesse which God hath giuen your Maiesty ioined to so great and excellent vertues; which questionles are appointed to some great & extrordina-ry end. Then that your Maiestie hath pleased not to deceiue your selfe in this withering peace which you haue with the *Turke*, which is more delighting for the present, then safe for the future: *that rest being euer false, which is taken amongst inopulent and strong neighbours.*

The Ambassador hauing shewed by his arrogancie in speaking, that when there shall bee giuen a fit opportunity for doing, modesty and honesty will bee onely names of times past. And your iust and good proceeding in an aduersity of fortune, will be esteemed such a weakenes as is farre from you, and their good successe, will be attributed to their valour and wisdom. And thogh your Maiestie in the sublime excellency of your

royall mind, doe euer number fortune amongst doubtfull things, and vertue amongst the certaine: yet true wisdom of the world will alwayes care to strengthen the one with the other, by so proper a concurrēce, that your vertue shall euer haue the attendance of fortune, to fill your Maicesty with good and glorious acts, and the world with good and famous wordes, and relations.

These words of his were graciously & tenderly receiued of the king, & after some teares on al parts, the king and him selfe hauing brought me some fixe miles, wee all parted, they for the Court, my selfe for my iourney, hauing first left with my brother, my heart certainly, not onely for the coniunction which nature had made between vs, but also for those *worthy sparkes, which I found in him likely to be brought to great perfection by his vertue, which cannot leaue working in any, which will giue them way, much more in him, who will make way for them.*

And besides diuers instructions (which though hee ted not) yet the cōmon duty of those which are bound in so neer respects as we are, required not deeds of wāt, but abundance *all benefites loosing much of their splendor, both in the giuer and receiuer, that doe beare with them an exprobratiue terme of necessitie:*) first, I desired him to remember, that his fortune & safety in that place subsisted only vpon the *kings fauour, which in vertuous princes was euer to bee maintained by vertue. That Princes eares and eyes were in euery place, Courts being full of spies, and nothing hidden from emulation,* which by how much more it would bee carried couertly; so much more would it be dangerous, against which hee could preuaile

Sir Anthony Sherleys instructions and aduice to his brother Sir Robert Sherley, when he left him in Persia.

uaile of nothing better then his owne innocency, and patience, the one of which would preferue him from all fault; the other from perill; *the wisdom of men ouercomming more by working of time, the by violent passions which doe neuer remoue the ill, but onely open secrete imperfections, which giue power to our enemies to worke vpon, and the more courage by preuailing themselues vpon error and weaknesse.* But because for what belonged to the good gouernment of himselfe; I knew that hee could haue no better precepts then those which his own mind would giue him, I wold only desire him that neither absence, nor opiniōs, which might rise through the tediousnes of long absēce, nor ill instruments might preuaile so farre with him as to make any breach in his affection towards mee: our perfect vnion tending to both our preseruations, and reciprocal increase of both our fortunes. *Time, Fortune, or sometimes ambition, & other errors might diminish, change, and dissolue private friendships, but our own bloud was euer vnalterably the saue.* *& though in the freenes of our natures, others vsually participate of our prosperities: yet none so fully as those which are bound by so deare titles of nature, and our aduersities no man would euer seele but our selues, neither could the Kings affection increase, or be constant to any of vs both, if it were not indeared by our owne example.* The cause of his staying with the King, though his commandement and desire bare the colour of it; yet essentially and truly it was to aduance the great worke, of which God had laid the foundation: & had chosen vs, for true instruments, not mouing it by Emperours, Kings or Princes, but by so humble Agents, questionlesse for the greater retribution of his glory: for which wee must care as his ser-

The bond of
Nature and
bloud.

uants and creatures in all things: but most in this as particularly directed by him to it. And though it was likely that God his infinite wisdom would not faile to subminister eternally to his vnderstanding, proper and conuenient meanes of proceeding for the perfection of his owne worke: yet we should find, that *some great part of those meanes are insensibly infused into our reasons, the instruction of which in good things we must euer follow as his, and though that we speake, and speake alwaies as men, notwithstanding when it pleased God to prosper the effect of our conceptions: questionlesse, there is a greater power predominant then mans.* What, we haue diuers times projected secretly together, God you see hath perfected, and therefore wee may boldly say, more intending to that end, vpon the same confidence and assurance: Wherefore, when you shall either by the Kings owne motiõ, or others importunde occasions fall in discourse with him vpon any point of these affaires: you must know, that *as all Princes ought to lay the foundation of all their enterprises vpon these three maine rockes, the Iustice of the cause, Facility of the enterprise, and fruit of the victory: so in negotiations with them you must neuer be so confident vpon those points, especially, the best of equity and iustice, as vpon the true experience & knowledge of the Princes disposition, who either iealous to hazard, or ambitious to get, attendeth ordinarily to interest and profit, and not to what he ought to doe, neither in the vprightnesse of this honor, or faith giuen, or obligation of precedent fauour or benefite: Therefore since being too secure doth but giue way, to danger and the knowledge of the worst is the best meanes to preuent all that may be ill, let not your desires of promouing this great and good businesse, blind you from foreseeing*

Negotiation
with Princes.

ing

ing all sorts of preoccupations, which we both haue tasted of, and you alone may perchance find greater, but not beholding too fixed and stedfastly what the King in equitie, and the truth of the cause should doe: penetrate into the soule of the actiō, the stability, or mutablenesse of his nature: his ordinarie, or forced inclinations.

Finally into his present humours or future likely pretences, and then present him with those reasons which your best iudgement, shall haue provided for him in fit time and with a wel vnderstanding dexteritie.

The factiōs of the Court you must make your selfe learned in and beare your selfe wisely and vprightly betweene both; you hauing no strength to adde power to any of both: but any of those hauing power to subuert you; so that by shewing to vnderstand those that are against you, you shall but make them your more apparant enemies and by depending absolutely vpon the other procure no assured strength to our selfe, but a demonstration without effect, & whensoever they shall ioyn together for their owne interestes (which often happeneth betweene factiōs in Courts) you shall be left a pray to those which hate you; whose reuenge shall be certaine, the others faith nothing. The corruptions of all Courts giuing a licence to great men to serue their turnes vpon lesser, in all thinges and more then for that to regard them in nothing. Besides the ordinarie dispositions of such is to winke at our priuate friends mischiefe, and as you must not declare your selfe soly for the one, nor wholly against the other; so you must not couertly beare them both in hand that you are theirs: such artifice being of the poorest and weakest condition, nothing being able to be hid from the spying eyes in Court, and such an illusion once perceiued, is so farre without remedie as euery man will hate you and no man trust you. You must then beare your selfe equally to all, keeping

Factions of the Court.

ping all friends and making no enemies depending upon no man, but your owne vertue and worthinesse, and his affection, which in the perfection of his owne royall minde, is onely to be preferred by honest wayes.

Factions.

In cases of your businesse you shall need vse no such diligence as frame, partialities, factions being already made and animated and armed, watching with the verie strength of their desires to aduance their Honours by the good or ill successe of it.

Rumors.

You must bee constant against rumors, and beware to bee noted a willing bearer of such reports as may either touch any in Honour or otherwise to be taken for an offence, and may giue your selfe cause of suspition, for any of those bring extrinsicke danger, or intrinsicke errors from both which you must liue free and vnattned. You shall heare many speake

Speeches.

sometimes through their owne imperfections sometime to proue yours, and sometimes to please (as they thinke) the companie: but you must know that all hearts are not of one complexion: and you shall hazard euer to Cardill, that play to please one by displeasing another, since benefits euer bee more easily forgotten then iniures, and though the respect of common friendship (and almost societiere) quire otherwise; yet such wrongs are without meanes of reuenge, and good turnes

Inconstancie.

are without memorie of recompence. You must auoide inconstancie and the very appearance of lightnesse as a dangerous downfall: for where it is, there is neither understanding or iudgment to discern the actions of others nor grauitie to measure that which properly belongeth to your selfe: besides the world by taking notice of your infirmitie will alwayes feare volubilitie in all your actions.

Finally, though I am most assured vertue hath so great power in your minde, and your owne vnderstanding

ding so full of all good things, that you may be an example to my precepts : Yet I will say this, not as needing, but in the necessitie of my loue; which desireth more then it doubteth of. Giue your selfe (deare Brother) to learne of the best: fashion your selfe to the most worthie examples which you haue scene, aspire to nothing for vanitie or ostentation, *neglect no good thing for feare*, and mingle equally awfulnessse to offend, and diligence to proceed worthily in all your actions : And you shall haue fauour from the King, loue from the best, hatred from none, securitie from all, honour from the effects which will proceed from your doings; and God will blesse you with his mercie, directing your wayes to his glorie, to good ends: and so to good example among these misbelieeuers, with whō for a time it is your fortune to liue, and to raise from this place, a long lasting glorie and reputation to your selfe; and name for euer.

And this was all my exceeding sorrow could force it selfe to vtter : and the King returning also (whom my Brother must follow) interrupted the course of any longer discourse of mine, or his answer.

But when I came to *Casbin*, though I knew his mind both by nature, and learning, as plentifully furnished as a Gentleman might be, who had hopefull conditions in himselfe, and all the additions which the tender care of friendes, and his owne diligently well-spent time could giue him : Yet vnderstanding well in how dangerous a sea his young years were to navigate, and that no addition of prouidence could be superfluous firmly to support his owne securitie, and the maine end of our great businesse: hauing compiled (as well as

the shortnesse of the time of my abiding in that place would suffer me, and as much as I could bring to any sort of fashio out of so imperfect a mould as that of my little vnderstanding) these remnants of the chiefe properties of all estates, to giue him the better light how clearly to see into that wherein he was; and to helpe the way of his businesse, according to the motiues which it was like) he might receiue by the commaundement of some of our Princes from hence: desiring him with all to remember, *that Court carriages were riddles, which though seene, could not bee resolved without exceeding patience, and well iudging experience.* And that by no meanes hee should flie from his owne vertue, to make his foundation vpon the Kings fauor; Princes euer hauing this imperfection almost inseparable to their greatnesse, to be infinite voluble, and as their minds are large, so they easily ouerlooke their first fauours, which they purposed, and can as hardly loue truly, as acknowledge a benefite: their disposition being to be easily glutted with the present, and hope better of the future, especially hauing no other necessity in the constāt carrying of their affections, then their owne satisfactions. And these other trifles which I lent him, I did wish him to ouerlooke as grounds, only for his spirit to discourse more largely vpon: desiring by them to point vnto him that exercise, which the cause that wee were entred in, made not onely fittest for his minde to vse, but most necessarie; our fortune hauing then giuen into our management the good or ill of diuers states, according to the successe of our employment. And since *there is a certaine iudgement of the euent of things, according to the perfect or imperfect disposition of the body, by which those things are to be effected:* his iudgement

ment would bee the better to discourse, and discern what the proceeding of this businesse was like to be, by vnderstanding the principal elements, by which the body of all estates are compacted, and then by dilating with himselfe the good or defectiue mixture in euery particular state, which hee knew by his owne experience and others relation.

Those Elements which giue both matter and being, to those huge bodies, were Counsell, Force, and Reputation.

The Forme, were the Lawes which *Aristotle* calleth *Mens sine appetitu*.

The Organ by which this worke, and the whole body moueth to his end, is the Prince and his Ministers.

But because the time I had was so short as I could but briefly speake of all these, I did conclude

them in the Discourse which I gaue

him of these three maine founda-

tions, *Counsell, Force, and Reputation.*

FINIS.

