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**WILLIAM THE FOURTH.**



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THE  
**TRAVELS OF MACARIUS,**

*PATRIARCH OF ANTIOCH:*

WRITTEN

BY HIS ATTENDANT ARCHDEACON, PAUL OF ALEPPO,

IN ARABIC.

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VOLUME II.

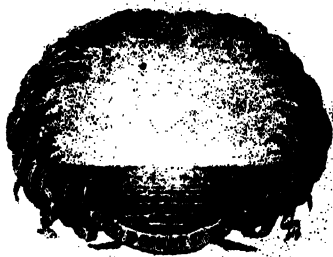
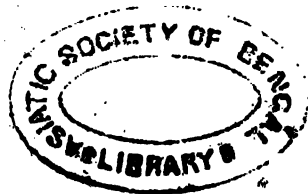
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TRANSLATED

BY F. C. BELFOUR, A.M. OXON. M.R.A.S.

LL.D. OF THE GREEK UNIVERSITY OF CORFU,

&c. &c. &c.



LONDON:

PRINTED FOR THE ORIENTAL TRANSLATION FUND  
OF GREAT-BRITAIN AND IRELAND;

AND SOLD BY A. J. VALPY, RED-LION COURT.

M. DCCC. XXVI.



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TO THE RIGHT HONOURABLE  
**SIR GORE OUSELEY, BART. F.R.S. F.A.S.**  
KNIGHT OF THE LION AND SUN,  
VICE-PRESIDENT OF THE ROYAL ASIATIC SOCIETY, CHAIRMAN OF THE ORIENTAL  
TRANSLATION COMMITTEE, &c. &c. &c.

SIR,

REJOICED in the opportunity, which your kind permission has allowed me, of dedicating to you one of the most voluminous publications of the ORIENTAL TRANSLATION FUND, over which you so ably preside; I should feel perfect satisfaction in the performance of this pleasing duty, bound to it by the obligations which your patronage has laid upon me, were the offering in any respect worthy of the approbation desired to be conferred by its benevolent acceptor.

A Guest and Counsellor of Princes, whether ruling over the orient realms of sun-bright Persia, or Masters of the victorious lion of the British Empire, you would wish that the TRAVELS OF MACARIUS should present to you observations equal to your own, upon the interests of Kingdoms, and the manners of Kings. A diligent traveller over remote and but slightly-explored regions,

replete with the opposite varieties of East and West, you would look for details of novelty, such as yourself could amply furnish. Familiar with the varied dictions, and accustomed to the chequered thoughts, ripened so diversely in different climates, you would expect to regale your sight, and gratify your discriminating taste, with the gayer flowers of Eastern eloquence, and the luxurious fruits of warmer fancies, successfully transplanted and cherished in the more oblique rays of the Western sun.

The pages here offered to your perusal will afford, I apprehend, scarcely any thing to satisfy your just expectations. How much-soever able to convey with fidelity and truth the strength and colour of the foreign text into his native idiom, a Translator, in the plain and unadorned style of the Archdeacon Paul, would discover but few traces of type for the ornament of his own. Educated in the seclusion of the convent, or the retirement of the sacerdotal cloister, the unworldly Author comes forward devoid of the preparation which courts and camps bestow, for the keen intuition of human-nature, the comparison of distant objects, and the knowledge of the relations of parts and interests.

To your practised mind, however, the *naïveté* of his remarks may afford some amusement; and his accurate collection of facts, some various material for useful meditation.

That the Institution under your auspices will continue to afford the encouragement so long and so much wanted to the cultivation of Oriental Literature—that rich mine of intellectual wealth, which, though so abundant in its treasures, has hitherto been so little and so poorly wrought—is my ardent and fondest hope. And should my humble endeavours to assist in the arduous task be rewarded with your indulgent approbation, I shall esteem myself greatly fortunate.

I have the honour to remain,

Sir,

Your most obliged,

and obedient humble Servant,

**F. C. BELFOUR.**

*London,*  
*Nov. 20th, 1836.*



## P R E F A C E.

**T**HE Arabic Manuscript of the Travels performed by His Holiness MACARIUS, Patriarch of Antioch, and composed by his attendant son and Archdeacon, PAUL of Aleppo, was selected for translation from a Collection of Manuscripts in the possession of the late FREDERICK EARL OF GUILFORD, purchased during a tour made by his Lordship in the Levant. The merit of the Selection is due to IBRAHIM SALAMÉ, His Britannic Majesty's Oriental Interpreter, who, as early as the year 1819, commenced an English Version of the work; not, however, on the plan usually followed in Translations, and faithfully adhered to in the present performance, namely, that of pursuing the original thread of the writer; but, by a peculiar method of marking out a certain portion of the matter to form a text, and throwing aside the remainder for digestion into notes. In this manner Mr. SALAMÉ prosecuted his labours, amounting to the translation of about one half of the First Volume, until 1824, when LORD GUILFORD was pleased to transfer the work into my hands: and it is now, under the auspices and at the expense of the ORIENTAL TRANSLATION FUND, presented to the Public in these Volumes, containing a complete and faithful Version of the Travels from the commencement; with the omission only of some uninteresting and tedious repetitions of the Greek-Church Ceremonies. As a record of the early struggles of the Muscovites for empire against their natural enemies the Poles, so steadily and triumphantly maintained by the Czar Alexius, whose sword of conquest is still wielded by his successors to the present time, the writings of the Archdeacon will be found to be of considerable value: nor, as far as I have been able to discover, is there any document extant of equally curious authenticity, as regarding the distinctive policy and prescriptive maxims of that Colossus of Modern



## P R E F A C E.

History, the Russian Government. Of inferior, but valuable importance, are the descriptions of Moldavia, Wallachia, and Turkey, and the recorded transactions of their rulers, during a period of events, of which but very barren accounts are elsewhere to be met with. The author, therefore, of this Translation entertains a fair hope, that his time will appear to have been well employed on its difficult and protracted performance, and that a part of the subscriptions to the Oriental Fund has been most usefully expended on its publication.

LONDON, *November* 20, 1836.

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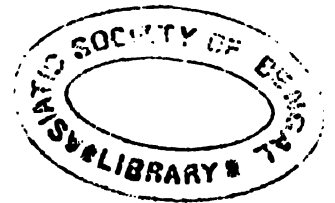
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— 2996



LONDON:

PUBLISHED FOR THE ORIENTAL TRANSLATION FUND OF  
GREAT-BRITAIN AND IRELAND,

BY RICHARD BENTLEY, NEW BURLINGTON STREET.

—  
M. DCCC. XXXIV.

**PRINTED BY R. WATTS, CROWN COURT, TEMPLE BAR.**

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# TRAVELS

OF

# M A C A R I U S.

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## PART THE FIFTH.

## MUSCOVY.

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### BOOK IX.

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#### SECT. 1.

*ORIGIN OF THE IMPERIAL FAMILY OF MUSCOVY.—  
HISTORY OF THE CZAR IVAN.*

AFTER the Patriarch had dismissed the chiefs of the Dog-faced tribe, he called in other persons; for just at this time had arrived the Voivode of the province of the Inner or Northern Siberia, called in Greek *φάρβος μαρός* which is in Turkish *ينكي دنيا* that is, the New World; which has recently, in the reign of the present Emperor, within a period of three years, been added to his dominions. The occasion of its conquest was, that in the Outer or Southern Siberia is settled a vast portion of the nation called Cossacks, who are men of great bravery, and are they who effected the subdual of this Southern Siberia, in the time of Czar Ivan, or the Emperor John, whose memory is spread in our country; who lived about one hundred and twelve years ago, and, before he died, became a Monk. Till the reign of this prince, the sovereign ruler of Muscovy was not styled Emperor, but Kniazi, with the rank of Great Beg, or Grand Duke; and could with difficulty assemble an army of one hundred thousand men. The whole of the Muscovite territory was in the hands of the Kniazes, each of whom maintained private possession of a portion of it, as inherited from his father and grandfathers; precisely in the same manner as the countries of Poland are now held, each of the Governors of which is lord of his own demesne, and is independent of the Crál. In this situation were formerly all the Muscovite land-

holders. The origin of this Imperial family of Muscovy is believed, by persons who examine into the truth of history, to have been from Rome; whence the present Emperor's remote ancestors came by sea, through the Great Ocean, about seven hundred years ago, to this country, and established themselves as its masters. Observe how this august race, from that age until now, has been preserved in uninterrupted succession! When the before-mentioned Czar Ivan had fixed his residence in this city, he soon shewed himself to be eminent in bravery, skilled in artifice, prone to excessive anger; and so fond of shedding blood, that he put to death his own son with his own hand. By certain machinations he brought to his court all the seventy Kniazes who ruled over the whole of the provinces and districts of Muscovy, each of them in that one of the seventy which belonged to him, and put them all to death, seizing their treasures and effects, and making himself master over their troops and territories. By such means he became very powerful, and, raising the standard of war against twelve Crâls of the Franks, obtained equal success over them; so that all their treasures and landed possessions fell into his hands, and their lives were sacrificed to his ambition, as it is related in the writings of his history. He was a man of great abilities, and had the art of gaining victories to an astonishing degree.

Afterwards, he marched out to make war on the province of Cazania, which was in the hands and under the absolute government of the King of the Tartars. The capital of this province, as we were informed, is a very large and strongly-fortified town; and the great river which flows entirely round it is of vast depth. The distance of this city of Cazan from the city of Moscow is seven hundred versts by land: couriers on horseback, or drawn in sledges, perform the journey, in winter, in four or five days; in summer, within seven or eight: merchants are fifteen days on the road. By vessels on the river of Moscow the traject requires five weeks or more. In the siege of this place he was detained twelve whole years; until, at last, he opened a mine under ground, below the bed of the river before mentioned, which he filled with gunpowder, and by its explosion threw the walls in ruins upon the inhabitants. Thus he effected his entrance into the city; and putting the whole population to the edge of the sword, he took the King alive, and sent him to Moscow, where he kept him till his death. Having taken possession of all the treasure which had been amassed by the late Ruler, and experiencing no need of it, with the vast riches he had collected in the course of his reign, he devoted it wholly to God, by gilding with it the five great domes of the High Church, together with the nine cupolas of the Church

of the Annunciation, and its entire roof, thinly spreading them over with pure gold. Not content with this, he melted all that remained of these treasures; and, forming the mass into a very large cross, no one knows how many millions' worth of gold pieces, he set it on the dome of the Church of the Annunciation; where it stands to the present time, shining like the sun, being more than three, perhaps four cubits high, and as many broad. From the abundance of gold which he employed in gilding these cupolas, they shine to the present day as if they were newly gilt, though they have been such a length of time, more than a hundred years, exposed to rain and snow and continual frosts. Thus also he covered with gold the dome enclosing the lofty belfry, which is descried at a distance of more than ten versts, and, when the situation for the view is particularly favourable, at a still more considerable distance. This belfry resembles the minaret, or more properly the mizanet, of the Great Mosque at Damascus, called البعتق, in its stories and elevation; only it is much larger and higher, and more roomy. Under the gilt dome with the cross at the top is a circular inscription; in four lines, which may be read from the ground below; so that God only knows how large the letters must be, to be distinguishable at such a height! The whole is very richly gilt.

To return:—From the vast extent of this province of Cazan, and the great size of its capital, there are three resident Voivodes, Ministers of high rank, who carry on the government in the city; and it furnishes, as the belief is, four hundred thousand men for the army: for when the Emperor Ivan effected its conquest, he left the greatest part of the troops on the same footing in which he had found them, and continued their pay. We were told that there are residing in this province, to the present time, some sixty thousand Moslems, who pay the *kharadgy* or tribute; but the major part of its population consists of the Tartars, inhabitants of the deserts.

When the Emperor Ivan had made himself master of this city, he marched against the city of Astrachan, and laid siege to it. Astrachan was in the hands of another powerful prince, who ruled over all the northern country as far as Siberia, which is also Tartary. Indeed, all the inhabitants of Astrachan and Cazan, as far as the borders of Siberia, are Tartars, who know the Turkish language. They are still professors of the Moslem Unity; but there are continual instances of their being baptized in the name of the Christian Trinity. By reason of their poverty, the Emperors of Moscow work upon them by the following course of medicine: every Tartar who undergoes the rite of Baptism



rises to the highest grade of his condition : he is immediately invested with a robe of honour ; and some are made Kniazes, that is, Lords ; some Begg, some Agas ; some are appointed as Generals in the army, others as Colonels, others as private soldiers, &c. On this account they are continually undergoing the ceremony of being admitted Christians ; and are said to be sincere in their faith, to a greater degree than others of their tribes, as we observed ; and we even remarked that they are more religious than ourselves.

The city of Astrachan is said to be surrounded by seven great walls ; a structure of the Muscovites, in earth, wood, and stone. It is situated in the midst of the great river Volga, the breadth of which, according to report, is four miles. Around the city are sixty castles, built of stone, erected also by the Muscovites. The extent of the environing country is very great ; and therein grow vast numbers of mulberry-trees, from which they produce silk, and, having dyed it, carry it to Moscow for sale ; the Muscovites being supplied with all their silk from this country.

As the climate of this country is warm, and the vines are in great abundance, they make wine here, which they carry to the Emperor for his private use : but he sends to distribute it, for the service of the Holy Mass, to every district of his dominions, as it is pure and neat ; whereas (and this circumstance was mentioned by us before) he has been informed that the wine which the Franks bring from their country is by them adulterated, in order, as they imagine, that they may corrupt the Divine Mysteries. For this reason, on receiving the information, he instantly ordered that the wine should be brought in ships from Astrachan. It is a red wine. The wine imported by the Franks is as strong and intoxicating as pepper, and we found it no otherwise : for unless they boil it down to a great strength in the countries where it is made, it will not keep in Muscovy, in consequence of the severity of the cold : it is therefore manufactured of great strength and body, but it has no delicacy of flavour. Each quality of wine has its particular name : that called Renskov is a light white wine, and dearer than the others.

To return :—This city of Astrachan is named, in ancient books, The city of Dzorgitmisht. By the Tartars it is called Ajdarkhan, from the name of its lord. The meaning of Ajdar is Lion : Khan is the title of the Tartar Princes, up to the present time. The Emperor Ivan, having laid siege to this city, took it by capitulation. It is an exceeding large town, having, as is reported, seven several walls of earth, of wood, of stone, &c. After the Czar had subdued

Astrachan, he made himself master of the whole of the Persian or Caspian Sea, except a very small part. He took out of the hands of the Persians the city of Tarki, a well-known port in the before-mentioned sea; and opened the gate, or strait pass, into a great part of the country of the Yozbegs, on whom he set a yearly tribute, in discharge of which they every year bring leopards and lions. All these tribes he enslaved and reduced to the most abject submission; so that to the present time they continue to pay a contribution of one in ten, and, for the most part, press forward to attend the Emperor in his wars.

After this conquest, he marched to Siberia; and subdued that country in like manner, by the assistance of the Cossacks, whom we mentioned before as being acquainted with these regions foot by foot, which previously had been entirely unknown, and are still in the progress of being brought under subjection. On the Tartars who dwell in Siberia he laid a tribute, which they pay annually in birds of chase, called, in Russian, Кречетъ, der Geierfalte. They are white and very large, and are made presents of by the Emperor of Moscow to all his brother Potentates. This homage the Tartars are held to pay every year, with the intent to humble them to submission. Such are the great victories and feats of valour which the deceased Emperor Ivan achieved during his reign. He held the sceptre of government for a period of eighty years, three only of which he is said to have resided on his throne in the city of Moscow: the remaining seventy and seven years he roamed about, making war for the love of the Christian Religion, and subduing the vast countries we have mentioned, which, before blinded with the false light of ignorance, he guided to the knowledge of the True God; so that from having been the region of barbarians, infidelity, and superstition, they became the peculiar site of Christians, of churches, and of monasteries. In his reign he placed under the jurisdiction of the Metropolitan of Moscow twelve subordinate Metropolitans and Chiefs of Clergy. The first of them are four Metropolitans wearing white Latias, after the manner of the ancient Metropolitans. We asked the reason of this; and were answered, that the Divine face had appeared to them precisely as the Monks of Saint Pacomius the Great used to wear white Latias, according as the angel of the Lord had commanded. The first of the Metropolitans is the Bishop of the city of Novgorod, who, as we saw, wears a sakkos in the presence of the Patriarch: the second is the Metropolitan of Cazan, a place we have been lately describing: the third is the Metropolitan of Rostot: the fourth, of Krotitska, who never ceases, as long as he lives, to reside at the palace of the Patriarch: the fifth is the Archbishop of

Siberia, who never leaves his see to come to court, on account of the distance : the sixth, the Archbishop of Astrachan, who for the same reason never visits Moscow : the seventh, the Archbishop of Razan : the eighth, the Archbishop of Twerska : the ninth, the Archbishop of Sozdilka : the tenth, the Archbishop of Vologda : the eleventh, the Archbishop of Pscov : and the twelfth, the Bishop of Kolomna. For each of these twelve the before-mentioned Emperor built apartments, and a church appropriated to him, in the city of Moscow ; and to each of them he assigned lands, rents, and stipends. In every one of these episcopal palaces are Archons and attendants for the service of the Bishop and of the church. All the regulations of government were framed by this Emperor, even as far as regards the alms and charities ; and they remain without alteration to the present time. Having performed all these illustrious acts, he deemed himself worthy of assuming the crown, and of being styled Emperor, in consequence of the testimony borne to him by the other Potentates, and their report, that the Cæsar, Emperor of the Niemsas and Alemans, had sent him a crown, and given him the title of Emperor : for the Cæsar holds the place of Constantine, and it is he who crowns Sovereign Princes. From the time therefore of the Czar Ivan, until now, the Sovereigns of this country are styled Emperors of Muscovy. This is what we discovered of the history of the Emperor Ivan, to the best of our power of investigation ; and we shall frequently hereafter find occasion to add to these details.

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## SECT. II.

### *ACCOUNT OF THE SIBERIAN FURS.*

To return :—In this country of Siberia are found the most beautiful sables, together with the valuable black fox, and the various kinds of ermine. Besides these, all other qualities of furs are to be procured. The description of the sable, or Scythian weasel, is said to resemble that of the cat. Its offspring is numerous, and it inhabits the hollows of lofty trees. The most healthy situations are required for the well-being of this animal ; for if any of them dwell in places unsuitable to their nature, and they are compelled to drink bad water, they are weak, and their fur is short and white. The manner of its chase is as follows. The hunters repair to the remotest parts of the wilds, mountains, and forests, where they know that these creatures dwell, attended by dogs trained to

this chase. On the path which it takes to go to the water they all station themselves in ambuscade: on its return to its abode, they meet it, and the dogs run after it, and catch it, as they are taught, by the neck, that its skin may not be injured. If it escapes from the dogs and ascends its tree, the hunters are there to encounter it, and shoot it with bows and arrows, the head or point of which latter is of bone; striking it below the neck, to avoid injuring the fur. It falls; and, cutting its throat, they skin it with most admirable dexterity. They eat the flesh, and repay themselves for their labour by the sale of the fur. The Emperor's Voivodes residing in this province take one in ten, the handsomest and most valuable, for the Emperor. Many of these animals are taken alive, and are made presents of to his Majesty: they fetch a very high price. The back is the most valuable part of the sable, and very dear: the under part, covering the belly, is sold cheap. They put every two backs together, and call them a Чернб. The most valuable of these are worth one hundred dinars, and are the furs destined for princes: the inferior bear a proportionate price. Every forty backs, which are twenty Чернб are called a Copokб which means "forty;" and every two soroks and a half form an entire body (بدن). The lowest-priced sorok is worth fifty dinars: the high-priced fetch one, two, and as much as five hundred dinars: these are the furs designed for the use of princes, which are never taken out from the Imperial treasury without a ticket appended to them, and are often kept many years before they are purchased: for a peculiarity of these furs is, that they every year diminish in value. In course of time, after having been as black as night, they turn red, which is the worst colour they can assume. In regard to these furs, it is impossible for any one to be clear-sighted and to possess a sound and unerring judgment; for they are like gems, which deceive the most skilful jewellers. Every hour they reflect a different colour. When the sun shines bright, they are as brilliant as diamonds; and this is the favourable moment for the seller: in cloudy weather their colour and beauty are hidden, and, from being extremely valuable, they lower in price, and become very cheap; for a clouded atmosphere is unfavourable to them, but favourable to the buyer, who by choosing such an opportunity shews his skill and experience. These sables are very low priced in the country where they are obtained; but, on their transport, they are required to pay a high duty to the Emperor, at each of I know not how many towns on the road; besides the expense, which is the greatest of all, caused by the immense distance they have to be carried. It is well and clearly ascertained, that a period of upwards of three years is consumed in their

carriage, as we shall explain presently. All the princes throughout the world send to the Emperor of Muscovy their treasures, riches, and superfluous commodities, and receive from his country furs only. What then shall we say of the blessed creature which supplies the whole world with this valuable article, not found nor produced in any part of the universe except Siberia? Some of its natural properties are, to strengthen the back, benefit the sight, and fortify the heart; and for these causes it is highly esteemed, and bears so high a price. Kings regard it as a rich possession; and wear it even in the summer season; for it is cool then, though warm in winter. Among the great number of the very wealthy merchants of Moscow, some are found who can shew in their warehouses a thousand soroks, and even thousands. Such merchants as these we used to see here clothed in excessively mean and poor apparel; and when we met one of them, we used to think him a mendicant pauper: for the apparent wretchedness which is observed in this nation is very great; so that even the grandees of the empire we used to see drest in their palaces in patched garments, which the commonest persons among us would disdain to wear: the truth is, they are utterly unacquainted with vain pomp and grandeur.

In regard to sables, it may be remarked, that none are to be found naturally and absolutely free from white hairs. The people of Siberia wear them, in their own country, sewed on their clothes, just as they find them; spreading the whole body of the skin, with legs, tail, and all, on one side of their clothes; and these pelisses they afterwards sell. In Moscow there are persons taught the trade, who pull out from these furs all the white hairs, and receive a piastre on each sorok. As the Muscovites have great numbers of captive slaves, they send them to these masters to be employed under them, and for each sorok they obtain for their services two groshes; for they attend to the making of the pairs equal, as well as to the clearance of the white hairs. Such is the trade carried on by all the merchants.

To return:—In the province of Siberia are found also, in great quantities, the fine white furs of the ermine, which are so beautiful and high-priced. The ermine is a small animal, of the size of the youngest kitten. We saw many of them in the houses. When this creature is angered, it is very fierce and obstinate. During our stay at Kolomna, one of them made its escape to the outside of the town, and was closely pursued by a great number of persons; but none was able either to catch it or to kill it, though they were all armed with sticks and clubs; so diminutive is it, and swift in its movements. At last it fled

into the river, and dived under water : still they closed the pursuit ; but it leapt upon the bank and escaped, without their being able to do any thing against it. This animal is found in the province of Moscow, even in the forests and hills near the city ; as is also the Cacom (القاقوم), which gives the white fur worn by the Cadis and Mollahs in our country. To the skin hangs the tail, the extremity of which is black. The animal we saw called by this name resembles a cat, only it is longer and thinner. The manner of taking it is as follows : The hunters go and lie in wait for it by the lakes of water from which it comes to drink : they set a large net on the bank of the lake, stretched upon the ground ; and hold the extremities of it at a distance, concealing themselves. These creatures come, in thousands together, to drink, according to habit. When they have drunk, the hunters raise the borders of the net perpendicularly, and give a loud shout. On taking to flight, the poor creatures have no other way to pass but by the net, which they enter ; and having run their heads into the meshes, they are closed upon by the hunters, who huddle them together, and massacre them all with clubs ; for not one can be taken alive, their teeth are so sharp, cutting at once through a man's hand, or any thing they seize on. The persons engaged in this chase have a wonderful dexterity in skinning the animal, and turn the fur inside out, with not even the smallest rent, so as to excite the astonishment of the beholder. The skin is drawn off whole and entire, as when upon the body.

In Siberia is found also the black fox, so celebrated for the great value of its fur, and the high price at which it is sold. But very few of these foxes are ever found ; and the few that are, they carry to the Emperor's stores, whence they are seldom removed. It is said that the price of every fox of prime quality is one hundred and fifty dinars, to buy it in the country : here they ask double that sum. For a body dress of this fur are required thirty skins of foxes, so as to make a full pelisse ; and this is a sufficient quantity, as the skins are large. None but the Emperor ever wears a pelisse of this fur. Its excellence is, that of being very black, and of shining in the night. The very highest-priced sables, and this black fox, are never exported to other countries ; nor does any one dare to trade in them. In the furs which we saw of this fox we found nothing particular, but the intensity of their black. Many of the Clergy and Scribes pride themselves in wearing this fur in their calpacks, as it is so excessively dear.

Know, Brother, that the relation I have given is beyond all doubt : for when I returned to Moscow a second time, from the country of the Georgians, in company with the Patriarch of Misro and my father, I examined and confirmed all these accounts, to their foundation.

The persons I have mentioned were ambassadors; I know not whether on the part of Alton Padishah, that is, the Sultan of the Yellow Calmucks, or whether they were ambassadors from the Emperor of Tartary (خطا). The above-mentioned city, and the hills around it, are certainly within the dominions of the Emperor of Tartary; for I afterwards wrote the history of that country by sure and certain information copied from the reports of the ambassadors sent thither, by the Emperor Ivan formerly, and by the Emperor Alexius; which embassies were much talked of at the time, and resulted in true and accurate details.

### SECT. III.

#### ACCOUNT OF SIBERIA.—RHUBARB.—FISH-TEETH.—LARGE DOGS.

To return:—The Patriarch Nikon invited to his palace the Voivode who was come from Siberia\*. He made his appearance, therefore, attended by a crowd of officers, grandees of that country, who were deputies of the Treasury, of which they now attended at Court to give in the accounts. We were much amazed at their outward appearance; for they are of a tawny colour, and very dry-skinned, looking like aloes-wood. Their faces are broad, and their eyes small. None of them have any beard, nor are the males by that means distinguished from the females. The hair on their head they wear tied up; and some tie up with it a portion of a horse's tail, so that it looks like the hair of the women in our

\* “Siberia is a vast unknown province, reaching to the walls of *Cataya*. I have spoken with one that was there, who traded with the *Chinese*; and another also, who said he saw a sea beyond *Siberia*, wherein were ships, and men in strange habits, like the *Chinese*, by their description, rich in cloth of gold and jewels; no beards but on their upper lip. From hence this latter brought *Chay* and *Bourdian*. The *Chay* is that which we call *Teah* or *Tey*, and *Bourdian* is *Anisum Indicum Stellatum*: the merchants say they use it (as we do in England) with sugar, and esteem it a rare remedy in diseases of the lungs and distempers of the stomach. 'Tis brought over in papers about one pound weight, written on with Chinese characters. They who travel into these parts are six years in their journey; staying for winter, way in some places, and summer in others. The metropolis of *Siberia* is *Tambul*, the residence of the chief *Vayod*. They trade in furs, and chiefly in sables, which, as some say, are found in no other part of the world beside. They hunt six or seven weeks together; and are drawn by dogs, which they feed with fish, wherewith their lakes and rivers abound: they put forty or fifty dogs in a sledge, and are clothed with treble furs: they lie out all night in the coldest season, and make fires with which they dress their fish. The dogs are expert in finding out the *sable*, and the men as dexterous in shooting them in the nose with a bolt, which makes them become a prey to the hounds. Except they hit the *sable* in the nose, they lose him; for he is a hardy beast, and will run away with an arrow in his body; besides, it spoils the fur.”

country. Their apparel is of silk, resembling satin, dyed in beautiful colours. Their garments are not stitched together; but are looped with knots within each other, as we found on examination. Figured on them, in the web on both sides, are shapes of dragons (not such as are usually formed for devils), and other animals and wild beasts, of frightful aspect, with eyes of crystal and eyelids of bone. All are worked in gold brocade. They pride themselves much in these dresses, which are worn by none but their grandees and magistrates. These persons were not from the first or southern province of Siberia, nor yet from the second; but from the third, called Yanki Doonya (ينكي دنيا), or the New World, which the Cossacks discovered and subdued six years ago, the beginning of its æra in history. It happened, that about forty thousand Cossacks, employed in the reduction of the former provinces, were assembled together, and marched from their homes, with their firelocks and other arms, a distance of several months' journey into the deserts, for the purpose of catching sables. On a sudden, they beheld themselves in a cultivated and inhabited spot, which they had never expected to see; as they did not believe that, beyond their own country, any such place was to be found. Their country they had supposed was the remotest towards the north, and the very last of human habitations. Raising their eyes, however, they saw before them a large city, with stupendous walls of rocks, situated in the midst of the sea. On beholding it, they were filled with astonishment; and concealed themselves, till they found some persons of the number of the inhabitants, and seized them. Not knowing their language, they bound them hand and foot, and carried them down to the beach; where they embarked in some boats, and made off for the island. When they came near the gates of the city, they discharged all the firelocks they had with them. The people in the town, on hearing the report of the muskets, instantly fell on the ground through fear, and became as dead men. The Cossacks therefore, finding they could do what they pleased with them, possessed themselves of the town, and, reducing the inhabitants to subjection, imposed on them a tribute, to be paid every three years to the Emperor, to whom they sent an account of the transaction. Afterwards, they went round to view the place, and found they had never seen its equal; for, as they reported, the island is entirely surrounded with vast rocks of God's creation, for a circumference of three months' circuit; and the whole of the interior is studded with cliffs of huge mountains, like walls. On every side of it is the Great Ocean; and there is no entrance to it but by the one gate which the Cossacks had passed in their boats. All their crops are grown



within these precincts, wherein are found mulberry-trees in abundance, from which the worms produce silk, which is very cheap among them: their clothes, therefore, are mostly made of it. The climate of this city approaches that of the Eastern countries, as it lies between the north and the east; and thus, it is said, the ports of Persia are near to it. According to the accounts found in the history of the Modern Greeks, Shah Ismail, son of Hajdar, when he conquered Farsistan, subdued likewise all the places and countries, till he reached Bagdad, the country of the Tartars, and all the sea-islands as far as the Ocean. This Shah Ismail is the sovereign who reigned in Persia in the time of Sultan Selim, son of Bajazet, and was at war with him before he marched to carry on war against the Circassians in Egypt. It is said that the distance from this port to those of the Persians is three days' journey, and no more. As they have a gold-mine in this country, they manufacture with its produce the gold brocade which they use for their dresses. The tribute which they pay to the Emperor, once in every three years, consists of sables, fish-teeth, and ingots of gold. Siberia in general is the great Tartar region, extending so far as to join the Empire of China.

The first province of this Siberia is at a distance of between three and four months' journey from Moscow; and most of its inhabitants are Moslems. They bring to the Emperor every year their tribute, in birds for the chase, called in Russian копчикъ, in Greek *ισράκλια*, and in Turkish *صونقور*, which the Sovereigns of Muscovy make presents of to all the Potentates.

The second Siberia, whence this Voivode was lately come, is thirty thousand versts distant, as he told the Patriarch. He said that he had been absent from Moscow nine years; three years of which time he had spent on his journey out; three he had remained there; and the other three he had consumed since his departure thence, till his recent return to the capital. He had brought with him three years' tribute to the Emperor, according to custom, to the amount of one hundred and eighty thousand dinars' value, in sables, ermines, and fish-teeth. So also we were informed by the merchants of this city, who trade for the Emperor, the Ministers, and the Grandees, that they take three years to go, and as many to return, staying only one winter there to traffic. The rule, established by the Emperor Ivan during his reign, is, that every Voivode shall reside in the province to which he is sent, three years, and no longer: but the Voivode of Siberia enjoys his appointment for nine years, including his journey out, his residence there, and his return. This is a circumstance, regarding distances and the government of this vast empire, so astonishing, as almost to surpass comprehension. It is

said that the number of troops in the province of Siberia exceeds two hundred thousand, most of whom are Cossacks. For our parts, if we had not seen these things with our own eyes, we should not have believed them, much less should we have committed them to writing.

The whole of the population in these Siberian countries is absolutely unacquainted with wheat corn, and consequently with the use of bread. All their food consists in boiled fish, and the flesh of wild beasts; for snow and frosts are perpetual in these climes, and never cease, either summer or winter. However, it is said, that at the Feast of the Apostles the frost at length thaws, and the rivers flow; but that again at the Assumption of Our Lady the snows fall, and the frost returns; so that these forty days make the whole of their summer. The greatest gift therefore with them is bread and wheat.

Near Cazania is said to be a river that comes from Siberia. It is very rapid; and is not indeed one river, but several different rivers, or rather gulphs. Each river has its peculiar kind of boat; and it is said that the boatmen enter a cave hollowed in a large mountain, in which they travel for the space of a month; and then come forth to a vast river of perfectly white water, the breadth of which is said to be a three-days' passage. On reaching this river they consider their dangers and troubles as over: but few are the boats that ever arrive there. For this reason, not many travel this way; and what they carry in their vessels is nothing but wheat. They told us, that the Siberian river flows down by Astrachan, together with the river of Archangel. It is reported, that the English Franks have paid, for a length of time, to this Emperor, two hundred thousand dinars yearly, for permission to pass in their ships to Siberia. They no longer frequent the port of Archangel, having discovered the above-mentioned river, which enters the sea on the confines of Siberia. The Emperor does not choose that they should pass through his territory, or see it; because they are his natural enemies. As to the ocean on the coast of Siberia, they cannot pass it, because it is frozen both day and night. The road to Siberia is said to be very direct, cutting through the deserts of Cazan; but exposed to many terrors, on account of the Camlokyed Tartars (تطر الكملوكيدس) who infest it.

To return:—From this province of Siberia is brought a great quantity of rhubarb, which grows in Khota, and is sold in this city; for every Pood, that is thirteen Okas, when it is of the first quality and dear, at forty dinars; when it is cheap, and of lighter substance, at fifteen. The Muscovites make it an ingredient in their spirituous liquours; as it gives them a yellow tinge, and renders

them very wholesome. The best of the rhubarb is that which is hardest and heaviest, and red in the middle; and which, when moistened with spittle on the outside, will dye a leaf like saffron. In this way we used to see the Greek merchants making purchases of it for the market at Constantinople; and they are said to realize great profits by it. From Siberia is also imported musk of the first quality. Concerning the fish-teeth, we were informed that it is a continental, some said a marine, animal which produces them. When the rivers are frozen, and it suffers from thirst, and comes to drink; not finding water, it cuts, with one of its two teeth (which, as we saw, resemble the tusks of a boar) into the ice, that it may reach the water. In this operation its tusk breaks in the ice; and the people of the country come and collect the fragments. The Pood of these teeth, at the highest price, is worth, at Moscow, fifty dinars; sometimes it is as low as ten. The Pood is equal to forty Pfund, and every Pfund is one hundred and thirty-three drachms: it is exactly thirteen Okas of Stambol. The treasure or tribute of Siberia is regularly carried to the capital every year, at the Feast of St. Nicolas, or at the Feast of the Immersion: for during the time of its arrival at Moscow, another conveyance is setting out from the province: so that the annual importation of the tribute is never interrupted.

The Patriarch then, through his interpreter, asked these people concerning their country, and how many versts it was distant from Moscow. They answered: "The distance of our country is forty thousand versts; and we have now been absent from it above three years and a half." Their faces, accordingly, were blackened and withered by exposure to the weather. When the assembly heard "forty thousand versts," they were greatly amazed; for every distance of a thousand versts requires a month's journey, particularly during the summer and the continual rains of that season, when the roads are very difficult and uneven, especially on the approach of winter; at which time travellers commonly are obliged to stop, till the ground is hard frozen: for at the beginning of the cold weather the mud becomes like hard nails on the legs of the horses, and it is difficult for them to penetrate the snow, to step on level ground. The second thing to be waited for is the freezing of the rivers, which do not freeze quickly; but it is a considerable time before the travellers dare venture to pass over them, and they are obliged to halt till the ice has acquired a great thickness; even then the passage is for some time hazardous. Long before the rivers are frozen so as to be passable on foot, they are impassable to boats; as the ice is formed on them gradually, in thin flakes upon flakes. Then the

Patriarch said to them : “ By what do you travel ? Have you any horses in your country ? ” “ No,” answered they ; “ but we have large dogs, which we use, instead of horses, to draw our wagons and sledges ; and our roads in winter are easily traversed.” He said to them : “ What is it you eat ? ” They answered : “ Whenever we see a wild beast, we loose our dogs, and send them after it : when they have caught it, we and our dogs eat it raw, without fire. This is our manner of life and feeding.” “ What do you drink ? ” said he. “ We find no water,” said they : “ we therefore eat snow, which serves us instead of water. So our dogs, when they are thirsty, lick the ice.” He asked them, “ What is your religious worship ? ” They answered, that they were Yonafis (يونانيسين) ; meaning, that they worshipped images and animals, and that they paid their adoration to the sky. When the assembly heard this, they were much astonished : for ourselves, we rejoiced exceedingly at beholding this sight, and at hearing what we heard ; regarding the arrival of these people as a piece of great good fortune for us. Then the Patriarch dismissed them : and we went to see the large dogs they had mentioned, in the houses of the Grandees, who prize themselves much on their possession, and build them wooden kennels near their gates, fastening large chains round their necks. God is witness, that each of these dogs is larger than an ass. As for their heads, they surpass in size the head of a buffalo : their mouths even are large enough to hold it. They feed them with bullocks’ heads ; which they cut in halves, for their meals twice a day. When we saw them, God knows we shuddered with fear ; for their appearance is more appalling than that of lions. These dogs they harness, two and two, in their handsome sledges, which are shaped like the Barmias (برميد) at Constantinople, having a place in front covered with silk, in which the traveller sits. When he carries, with him sables or other goods, he has them packed in leather-bags, to guard them from the snow and rain, and sits over them. He strikes the dogs with a long whip, whilst he holds the reins in his other hand ; and they run swifter than horses, day and night, as we were credibly informed. These things, which we have related, God granted us, after much desire, to behold with our own eyes ; and we have written them, one by one, for the benefit of our hearers, and that they may ever and at all times kindly remember us. The next year, when we were staying in the city of Moscow by the Emperor’s command, in those days there came from this province of Siberia many tribes of Tartars, of a strange habit ; some of them resembling the Yozbeks in the length of their beards, and the fulness of their dress, which was peculiarly rich. We conversed with them in the Turkish

language; and they told us that they had to pay a tribute to the Emperor, every year, of three thousand dinars; for which they brought him rhubarb and musk of the first quality, which he sells to the Franks. They related, that the wild animal which produces musk is found in the deserts which are between Siberia and Tartary. Here these persons are under great restraint, and are not allowed to walk about by themselves: they must have janissaries following them; nor does any one speak a single word with them, but in the greatest secrecy, as we did. After they had presented their tribute to the Emperor, they began to sell, secretly, musk-water, which they had brought with them, at twenty-two dinars the Pfund. The Muscovites do not like it, and do not drink it: for this reason it was very cheap. The Persians buy it from the Siberians, at forty dinars; but at present there were none of them here. They told us that they had formerly mosques, built of stone; and minarets, which this Patriarch Nikon had sent and destroyed. They call churches, Monasteries; and Christians they call Cossacks. The country of Sin (صين) they call Chin (چين), and Pachin (پچين); and Khota (خطا) they call Khotakhotay. They told us that these countries were distant from their native land more than three years' journey. They call the Sultan of Tartary and the Emperor of China, infidels\*. They said that the Emperor of Dhahab (سلطان الذهب) was their near neighbour.

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#### SECT. IV.

##### *ACCOUNT OF TARTARY.—TREATY BETWEEN THE TARTARS AND THE RUSSIANS.*

To return:—The Patriarch then informed our master concerning the Queen of Khota and Khotaya, and how she had recently sent to pay her respects to the Emperor. The Muscovites call the country of Khota and Khotaya (خطيه), in their language, Kitaska (کيطاسکه). He mentioned, that of the blessed Cossacks, before spoken of, who were employed in the conquest of this country, about forty men set out, with muskets, in the direction of the East, in search of adventures. After they had spent a long time in their travels, they arrived at the port of the above-mentioned country. When the troops guarding this port beheld them, they were seized with great fear: for the latter immediately discharged their muskets, and the former fell to the ground. When they arose, they conducted the Cossacks, with great civility, to their Queen. She, as they said, was a widow,

\* ويسرونه كافر سلطان الخطا وملك الصين

and' governed the kingdom, with a little son. When she saw them, she was much amazed; and after having entertained them at a banquet, and made them presents, she requested them to discharge their muskets; upon which all the people of the city were struck with dread, and feared them greatly. They afterwards found interpreters, and she asked them concerning their kingdom. They told her that it was of high degree, and possessed numerous armies. She wondered that there should be found in the universe another world besides her own: for these people thought that they were alone in the universal world. Blessed be God! and exalted be His name! She said to them: "There is a prophecy in writing among us, that the White Emperor is destined to subdue all the kingdoms of the earth. Is it, perchance, your Emperor?" "Yes," replied they; "and he has subdued a vast portion of it already." On this, she stooped to entreaty, and said: "Perhaps you will become mediators between us, to present to him our submission, and to entreat him to defend us against our enemies, by sending us troops with muskets, like yourselves, for our protection: on our part, we will send him our treasures." They asked her, therefore, to send with them an Ambassador; and they came with him to the Emperor, bringing, among the presents, some ingots of silver. They told us, that silver is as common in that country as stones; and that the tiles of the houses are all made of it, instead of clay or wood; for the whole soil of their land is pregnant with silver. The Emperor wished much to send and have some quantities of this silver brought to him; and the Ambassador was dismissed, after the Emperor had treated him with kindness, and consented to the wishes of the Queen. They calculated that they should have three whole years to travel; and that though the silver were gold, they should have more trouble and expense with it than it was worth: they therefore desisted from the undertaking. The Emperor wished to send the Queen some troops; but none were found willing to go, on account of the length of the march. The Queen also desired to send the Emperor an army, to fight with bows and arrows and spears: but again, they calculated that the distance was too great; and that they would have three years to go, and three to return, a thing not to be attempted. These Cossacks brought with them some captives; who said that in their country there were churches, and bells, which they are perpetually ringing; and they perform a certain worship; but no one knows to whom their worship is directed; for their religion, which was formerly Christian, has now been forgotten, through length of time. Thus mention is made, in the ancient *Τακτικόν* of a Patriarch of Antioch, concerning one of the

four Catholic regions; saying, "The third Catholic region is Khota and Khotaya;" an evidence of the truth of which assertion was manifested on this occasion, in the established fact of their ringing bells for worship. As we had a foundation to go upon, in the writings we had with us, we told them that they were dependent on the jurisdiction of the Patriarch of Antioch; and they were much surprised. The Patriarch above mentioned relates, that he sent them five hundred priests, who were engaged in baptizing them day and night. He says, "They sent to inform me, that they were baptizing every day upwards of twenty thousand persons." Thus he writes; whether truly or falsely, we know not: God best knows. This country, according to their account, is beyond the Ocean, rising like a cluster of towers on the brink of the sea. But towards Muscovy they have no other way but by land. Thus they said that the King of Spain (اسپانيا) had subdued one side of their continent, and that all his silver came from their territory. As for the Sultan of Dhahab and his country, they are situated near to Outer Siberia, between the north and east. This prince submitted in the time of the present Emperor of Muscovy's father. It was the Cossacks who conquered his country, and reduced him to obedience. He sends to the Emperor, every year, a treasure of gold ingots, from the mines there; saddles, made of gold wire and brocade, &c.; fine horses; and armour of surprising beauty, made of the purest yellow copper, harder than steel. The length of time required for performing the journey to this country is said to be about a year. The people are ugly in their appearance, and wilder than the Lobani, with large clubs of wood perpetually hanging at their necks. In Turkish, their sovereign is named Altoon Padishahy (انتون پادشاهي), or the King of Gold. He is said to be of the sect of Hanifa: for before the conquest of this country by the Emperor Ivan, on the north and east of it, all were Hanifites, that is, Moslems. Even in the heart of this very city of Moscow were Tartar kings, at the time of Basil the Macedonian.

After this prince had sent his sister to Vladimir, king of Kioy, and all that country had been baptized by the hands of St. Peter, whom we have already mentioned, the saint came to this city of Moscow, which was in the possession of the Tartars, and performed here great prodigies. For this reason they loved him much, and believed every thing he told them: yet, when he saw that they did not embrace the faith of Christ, he said to them: "Behold, I will shew you a sign from before the Lord; fire, to burn you; and water, to drown this your city!" They arose, therefore, and departed from it for a period, and believed in

him; and finally removed to the confines of the province of Cazan. Upon this, he immediately sent to summon King Vladimir with his army; and gave into his hands this city, with all its possessions, without trouble or slaughter. After this they became powerful, and conquered many countries. This Vladimir had twelve sons, each of whom he made king in his respective territory. He built many cities, of which one is still called by his name. Thus the provinces became divided from that time; and were partitioned, to the number of seventy, as we have before mentioned, until the time of the reign of the Emperor Ivan. Afterwards, St. Peter effected a treaty between the Russians and the Tartars; and imposed, in favour of the latter, a tribute on Vladimir and his sons, which they were to pay to the Tartars annually, till they should be remunerated for the cession of their territory; pronouncing anathemas on the party who should break the treaty. It is this saint who built the second wall of the city, outside the palace: for in the time of the Tartars, nothing existed but the castle, which is now the palace. The treaty continued in force between the two nations till the time of the Emperor Ivan; when this prince marched and conquered Cazan, and forced those who survived the conflict to seek refuge in Astrachan. After he had taken this town also, the inhabitants all fled to the Tartar country, which is still in their possession; namely, Crim, Baghchehserai, Kifa, &c. From Astrachan to Crim, the residence of the Khan, it is only fifteen days' journey. The Tartars had under their government all the lands and countries which lie to the north of the stream which runs from Potiblia to Moscow; and they are still called by their names. Over these the princes of Muscovy prevailed by artifice, in the following manner. Between the two nations were lands lying waste and deserted, for the distance of forty or fifty days' journey. Each Emperor used to send and build a castle; and then, inclosing the surrounding country, and portioning it out into farms, he thus took possession of the territory; for the Tartars had not strength sufficient to ward off the encroachment: till the time of this Emperor, who, during his reign, has built thirteen castles, and called them by his name; besides the forts and towers which he has erected on the borders of the trenches dug by his orders between his territory and theirs. The main trench, they informed us, is very deep and broad: it is five thousand versts in length; that is, from the vicinity of Potiblia to the mouth of the great river Volga: it is very skilfully fenced, all along its banks, with wooden railing: on it he has built thirty large forts; and at every thirty versts is found a tower, with a garrison of five hundred men. They say that the whole number



of troops composing these garrisons amount to about sixty thousand men, and that is the utmost: however, it is well known that one hundred and fifty thousand are exchanged every six months. They have built for themselves here, towns, and laid out farms and corn-fields, on lands which were before waste and deserted. On this account, since the beginning of the reign of this Emperor, they no longer turn their longing eyes to their own country; as the Tartar territory is so extensive and so near to Moscow, and is now entirely within the power of the Muscovites. Whereas then, formerly, Crim, which is the government-seat of the Khan, was about forty days' journey from Moscow, it is now within five days' journey of the Emperor's frontier. For the reason above stated, the Emperor still pays every year, in money, sables, ermine, vestments, &c. to the Khan and the Mirzas, some say to the amount of twelve thousand piastres. Others say, that the tribute was at first, in the time of St. Peter and afterwards, forty thousand dinars; but at present, in the reign of this Emperor, the whole thing has been broken up, and he only sends them a very trivial sum, about twelve thousand dinars; and this, not through fear of them, but for the rent of their lands, which the Muscovites have taken possession of: and were it not for the anathema of St. Peter, they would have cut off the whole tribute. The former Emperors knew not how to manage affairs as the present does; who has made a boundary between himself and the Tartars, by the vast trench we have mentioned, and by castles, towers, batteries, and the large armies he keeps perpetually in garrison to guard his frontier. It is now about ten years since he ascended the throne; and during that time the Tartars have not once trespassed on his territory, nor taken from him a single captive, being wholly destitute of strength. During the two years that we were in the country, he entertained a wish to cut off entirely the tribute paid them; but through the breaking out of the war between him and his enemies the Poles, he did not do it; knowing how many millions of treasure the Poles had promised the Tartars, if they would march to their assistance. Afterwards, the Poles laughed at the Tartars, and gave them nothing.

## SECT. V.

*TREATMENT OF FOREIGN AMBASSADORS IN MUSCOVY.—EXPULSION OF THE ARMENIANS, AND ENGLISH.—TRADE OF THE ENGLISH.*

FOR the security of the treaty between the Tartars and the Muscovites, there comes, at the beginning of every year, an Ambassador from the Tartars, accompanied by a suite of fifty persons, who stay at Moscow a whole year, as hostages. After the arrival of another Ambassador to succeed him, he takes the tribute and departs. Thus also, on the part of the Muscovites, an Ambassador, accompanied by a Secretary, two Interpreters, and a numerous suite, is sent to the Khan, and stays with him a year. The Muscovites do not permit the Tartar Ambassador to leave their frontier till the Muscovite Ambassador comes away from the Tartar country; so that the two Ambassadors meet on the road. The residence of the Tartar Ambassador in Moscow is without the wall of earth, where he is very strictly watched by a numerous guard of janissaries: these never permit any person to go in to see him or any of his suite; and when any of them go out to purchase in the market what they want, each of them is accompanied by a janissary with his halberd, who never quits him for a moment. They are never allowed by any means to enter the gate of the castle, that is, the palace; nor is any person permitted to speak with them. Whenever the Ambassador is presented to the Emperor, either on his arrival, or when he wishes to depart, janissaries are drawn up in great numbers on both sides of the road, in their red dresses, to astonish him. They do not take him back, on his departure, by the road which he came from his own country, but by a different route; for the knowledge of the Muscovites, and their artifice and cunning, are not found in any other nation whatsoever; as we were told by some Greek merchants, who had passed backwards and forwards, and had formerly accompanied hither the Turkish Ambassador, at the time there was amity between the two nations. These merchants told us, that the Muscovites had led the Ambassador, on his return, by a quite different road from that by which they had conducted him to their capital, that he might not become acquainted with the roads and countries; nor did they lead him by any thing like a direct road, but made him take vast circuits, with the intention of making him believe that their territory is immense. When he arrived near the city, they came out to meet him, to the distance of seven versts, and lined both sides of the way with janissaries, to the very hall where the Emperor sat; besides dispatching a number of troops to march before

him. Their whole intention in this was, to astonish him with the multitude of their military forces. Thus they do with all Ambassadors, whether they come from the Redhead (Persian *فرنباش*); from the Emperor of the Germans, Cæsar; from Sweden (*سفاتصا*); from England (*انگلیتارا*); from the Fleming (*فلینک*); or from any other state. Though their road be but the distance of a month's journey, they lead them round a circuit of several months. The Tartar Ambassador is allowed every day, for himself and suite, a horse, which the Tartars kill and eat according to their custom; besides sheep, fowls, liquors, and so forth. The Turkish Embassy is allowed daily ten sheep, an ox, twenty fowls, five ducks, and as many geese; besides ten okas of butter, and ten of honey and wax; wood, sherbet, &c. Over and above these allowances, they and their suites are furnished with a certain number of copecks daily. In the same manner is treated the Ambassador of the Redhead (Persian); and every other Ambassador, in proportion to the number of attendants following them from their own country: indeed, every thing they ask for they obtain. With none however of these Ambassadors do they at all mix; regarding as unclean all foreigners of a different religion from theirs, and holding them in the greatest abhorrence: so that, not even does any one of the common people venture to enter the house of a Frank merchant, to buy any thing of him; but he must apply at his shop in the market: otherwise the police-officers instantly seize him; saying: "So you went in there to become a Frank!" As for the whole class of priests and monks, not one of them ever dares to speak with a Frank or foreigner, on any occasion whatsoever; and over them there is a particularly strict watch. In this city are many Franks from Germany, and Sweden, and of the English nation; merchants with their families and children, who formerly resided within the walls, in the centre of the town. But this Patriarch has recently driven them out; for he bears an immense hatred and animosity against all heretics. The immediate cause of this was, that when he passed in procession through the streets of the city, he observed these persons not taking off their caps, nor crossing their foreheads to the crosses and pictures. As soon as he had ascertained that they were Franks, disguised in the Muscovite dress, he forced the Emperor to drive them out; not only from this city, but from all the towns and from all the fortresses and castles, causing them to dwell without the walls, excepting only those who offered themselves to be baptized. They destroyed also the churches which these foreigners possessed from the most ancient times, together with the mosques of the Tartars; nor did they permit them to build others, among themselves, outside. Among them they

particularly distinguished the Armenians, dwelling at Astrachan, whose churches they laid waste, and whom they compelled to take up their abode without the town. By these means they forced them, with others of their tribes, to be baptized publicly, both day and night. It is said that one of them was a very great merchant, and Interpreter at the court of the Emperor. When the imperial order was issued by the Patriarch, that they should put off the Muscovite dress which they had adopted, and, clothing themselves in their usual garments, should shave their beards according to their custom, this merchant, who had a very long and large white beard, and was ashamed to shave it off, sent to offer the Patriarch a fine of fifty thousand dinars, to permit him to retain it, that he might not incur scorn and disgrace among men for the remainder of his life. But the Patriarch absolutely refused; for he stood in no want of the money;—as how should he, in a town of this magnitude, governed only by two persons, himself and the Emperor? The only answer he returned was, “Be baptized; become like one of us.” The merchant however resisted: and the Armenians were all expelled to a man. They had vast princely palaces, built of stone, delighting the eye of the beholder, which they were forced to sell to the Muscovites.

There are in this city resident Consuls from the King of England, from the King of the Flemings, from Germany, and from Sweden, as there are residing with us at Aleppo. When the English (انگليز) some time ago rose against their king and put him to death, this Emperor Alexius was enraged at them for being perfidious to their sovereign, and sent and drove them out from every part of his dominions; until now, that the new king has sent him a Great Ambassador, to reconcile his heart; and we obtained a sight of him. All their ships come to Archangel, which is a port of the empire, on the shore of the Great Ocean; in which is an immense fort, called by the name of St. Michael the Archangel. It was anciently in their hands; but Czar Ivan conquered it from them. They bring to Moscow all kinds of merchandise; loads of Cretan wine (اقر يطشي); and wines from Spain and France, and from their own country, of various sorts, at half a dollar the oka; oil, olives, nuts, sugar, biscuit, glass, cassia fistularis, &c.; house furniture, clothing, and other European goods. From the Russians they take sables with the tails, ermine, والثلاثين اي جلود السردا تي, which they stamp with gold in their country and afterwards export to them and to us, together with fish-teeth. At the feast of the Assumption of Our Lady, on the fifteenth of August, is held a great fair, for buying and selling; when the Muscovite merchants repair to the English with their merchandise, which they sell to them, and purchase theirs.

These goods the Russians do not transport thence till the winter season ; when they set out in their sledges, about the feast of St. Demetrius, and arrive at Moscow upon St. Nicolas' day. The Government derives great advantage from this commerce, by the custom-house duties ; for the merchants are said to bring to the customs large barrels of piastres and gold coin, on account of the multitude of bargains which are made ; on which the customs take ten per cent, both from the foreigner and from the merchants of the country. The principal commodity which the English carry away in their ships is wheat and rye (*fariza* فریزا) ; for the food of the Frank countries is all supplied from the provisions of this. The Emperor gives them the wheat and the rye, and receives from them steel coats of mail of wonderful beauty, called *jabakhanah* (جباخانہ), arms of all kinds, &c. : these are the articles which he wants from them. We were informed that the distance of the great islands of England from Archangel, when the wind is favourable, is fifteen days' voyage. They are three magnificent islands, near each other, in the midst of the ocean, eight thousand miles in circumference. The first is called *Ingliterra* (انگلیتارا), the second *Filondra* (فیلوندر), and the third *Scotsia*, (سکوتسیا).

In the Emperor's court are found persons who have been released from captivity, who are acquainted with our country every span, and the whole world as well. For this reason they become Interpreters. One of them was constantly with us, who knew twelve languages : he knew Arabic of Egypt, Turkish of Constantinople, and the various European languages ; and he was by birth and origin a Muscovite.

*Note*, that in four different places a great fair is held, on the festival of the Assumption of Our Lady, on the fifteenth of August : the first is held in the Russian territory, to which merchants of Bursa resort, and is called the *Dolian* (اضولیان) ; the second in the celebrated Monastery of *Petcherske*, in the country of the Cossacks ; the third in a monastery in a town called *Sinska*, under the government of the Muscovites, between their frontier and that of the Poles ; the fourth in Archangel ; and all four in four magnificent monasteries dedicated to the Assumption of Our Lady.

## SECT. VI.

ACCOUNT OF CIRCASSIA AND GEORGIA.—HISTORY OF TIMOURAS KHAN,  
AND THE QUEEN HELENA.

HAVING finished our account of this northern side of the Russian Empire, we now revert to the completion of our account of the country of Cazan, and that of Astrachan. As we have already mentioned, the largest tribe of these Tartars is the tribe called Bashkird (باشکرد); for they inhabit from the confines of Cazan, as far as the frontier of Siberia. The Emperor takes the *kharadg* from all this people, of ten per cent. on their horses, camels, oxen, sheep, and such like. The Voivodes of these countries oppress them much. The city of Bagdad is near to that of Astrachan. The Georgians have two ways to Moscow; one by land, the other by the Caspian Sea; only that the latter is much exposed to danger; and when they have attained a port of safety, they arrive next at the Demir Capy (دَامِر قَپِي) or the Iron Gate, which Iskander built between two mountains, (the edge of the side of which mountains is like a sword,) that none might pass hence to the frontier of Crim, which is the residence of the Khan of the Tartars. He built here also a castle, which is in the hands of the Persians to this time. Whoever passes, must necessarily pass by this gate; from which to the frontier of Georgia is a distance of fifteen days' journey, that is, to the frontier of Timouras Khan. It is the custom for the Emperors of Muscovy to send this prince a great quantity of treasure, besides sables, arms, and so forth. Two years ago, this Emperor sent him three Ambassadors together, accompanied by seven hundred men. With them he sent three hundred and seventy-seven soroks of the finest sables, each sorok worth three hundred dinars, more or less. He sent with them, also, forty thousand Spanish dollars, ten thousand pieces of gold coin, and arms and furniture. These he dispatched in ships to the aforesaid Timouras Khan. When they arrived at Astrachan, they removed themselves on board vessels of the Caspian Sea: upon reaching the middle of which, there arose against them a wind and a great storm; and whereas this sea is very difficult of navigation, from the quantity of rocks which are spread in it and enclose it on every side—and, being very narrow, has gained the title of sea, only because its waves swell like those of the ocean—they found no place of refuge; their vessels were wrecked, with them on board; and they all sank to the bottom. Only twenty or thirty of them were saved, and got to land in a state of nakedness. These, walking forward, came to the city of Shamakh, and were kindly treated by

the Governor, as there existed great amity between this people and the Emperor. The Governor sent to inform the Shah of what had happened; this town being under his government. The Shah immediately sent an answer to him, commanding him to use the Muscovites very kindly, and to rouse the peasants near the sea, to collect their effects together. They collected therefore all that could be found; and the Governor dispatched with them a company of men, to conduct them to the residence of Timouras Khan. They sent also to inform the Emperor of what had happened, expressing how sorry Timouras Khan was that it had not been in his power to prevent it. When the Emperor heard this, he dispatched another portion of treasure to him, and sent with it another body of men. It is their custom, when they send an embassy in this manner to a distant country like Georgia, to place three persons at its head, one above the other. In like manner, they treble the appointments of Secretaries and Interpreters; so that if any of them happen to die, the others succeed to their places. When these persons had passed the sea, and, having landed, were nearly approaching the confines of Georgia, it fell out that the principal Envoy died. Observe the contrarieties which at this time perplexed Timouras Khan! first, the murder of his son; secondly, the seizure by the Persians of his throne and country; thirdly, what happened to these Envoys, the first and second time. This last misfortune compelled the Muscovites to halt where they were; and they sent one of the Greek Monks, who were with Timouras Khan, as a courier to the Emperor, to inform him of the death of the Ambassador, and to inquire who it was his pleasure should act in his stead. This Greek Monk is now, during this Great Lent, arrived at Moscow. He came to pay his respects to our master the Patriarch, having known him when Metropolitan of Aleppo; and we asked him in how many days he had come from Georgia to Moscow. He told us that he had been eighty days on the road, though he used the utmost diligence, riding post, and taking fresh horses at every place he came to. He told us that he had ruined five and twenty horses, and that he rode during these eighty days without stopping day or night. He observed that the road is particularly difficult, with high mountains to pass; and beset with much dread on the side of Circassia, whence issue many robbers, who not only strip travellers, but make them captives, and sell them to the Persians and Tartars. For this reason, travellers prefer the passage by sea, though attended with so much danger of shipwreck. One side of the Circassian country is subject to the Persian Emperor; but the remainder of it rebels against him. Each of the Chiefs is independent, and has none to rule over him. He

said, that at times he was escorted by five hundred horse, to protect him from danger, though passing through a country subject to the Emperor. The road, he said, from Moscow to Georgia was similar to that from Moscow to Constantinople;—as he knew, having travelled both. Subsequently, after Easter, the Emperor dispatched with him an Ambassador, in a vessel on the river.

When the Emperor received intelligence that the Persians had marched against Timouras Khan, and were making war upon him and seizing his territory, after having killed his son David, he was much enraged; and immediately sent to the Shah an embassy; saying: “From ancient times until now, there never arose any war between us: why then have you now marched and made war upon my territory and subjects?” When the Shah saw the violence of his rage, he had recourse to a denial, and sent to reconcile him; saying: “We two are brothers. Till this moment, I had no knowledge of what has past: but I have at length been informed, that it is one of my Governors, in rebellion against me, who has been guilty of this transaction. For your sake, therefore, I have sent to order him that he retire from the Georgian territory, and restore Timouras Khan to his place.” We were indeed informed that very great and continual friendship has always existed, from ancient times, between the Emperors of Muscovy and the Shahs of Persia. The present Shah styles the Emperor his brother, as their age is equal: it is said that they were born on the same day. Their age is now seven and twenty. In consequence of the great amity which we have mentioned as subsisting between the two states, when the grandfather of the present Shah, called Shah Abbas, thirty-two years ago, subdued the capital of Georgia, and found the shirt of Our Lord the Messiah in one of the large churches, he immediately sent it to the late Emperor Michael, father of the present, together with all they had plundered of sacerdotal robes, most of which were adorned with gems and pearls. When the King of France heard of this, he sent to promise the Shah much treasure, and two large cities with every thing in them, which belonged to him, if he would give him the shirt. In like manner, the rest of the Franks, who were around him, made him large promises; but he refused them all, saying: “I shall send it to my brother, the Emperor of Muscovy.” In our country, we heard that he divided it into two, and gave one-half to the King of Spain, the other to the Emperor of Muscovy. But this report is not true: for we saw it afterwards on Good-Friday, and worshipped and kissed it. It is in its original shrine, adorned with gems, with its Georgian inscription. The shrine is smaller than a neatly-written Missal, and about the size of one of its



pages, with two and twenty lines only, in length and breadth: but it is more elegantly shaped and thinner than a Missal. The divine shirt is of fine brown linen, filling the case, so that the cover shuts with difficulty upon it. Such a treasure, infinitely above all price, which all the Christian Princes sighed for, thus fell to the lot of the Emperor of Muscovy!

To return:—Then the Emperor sent a message to Timouras Khan, requesting him to send over to him the wife of his son David, who was now become a widow, together with her son Nicolas, that he might comfort her heart, and marry her son to his eldest daughter, Eudocia:—for the Emperors of Muscovy love this Timouras Khan and his children exceedingly, and style him King; knowing that he is of ancient origin in his demesnes, from the time of his remote ancestors. When we afterwards arrived in Georgia, in the year Seven thousand one hundred and seventy-three from the creation of Adam, the people told us, that the progeny of Timouras Khan ascends as high as David the King and Prophet. They say that David of Kerbela, prince of Georgia, who made war against Basil the Macedonian Emperor of Greece, was one of their ancestors: but the other four Principalities which exist at this time in Georgia have no remote origin. The second distinction is, that these latter sell their children and subjects to foreigners. But of Timouras Khan nothing was ever heard, except that he employed his wealth in the redemption of Christian captives. On this account they send him, every now and then, as of late, treasures of great value, accompanied with presents to each of his grandees. On the occasion we have been recording, he obeyed the injunction of the Emperor, and sent him his son's wife, called the Queen Helena (هيلانة), with the Vasilopulo, or Prince's son, Nicolas. He dispatched with them a great retinue of servant-men and girls. When they came to the middle of the frightful desert, it is said that the Shah received information of them, and sent five hundred men on horseback to take them, and make them captives, and seize this valuable treasure. But he was deceived in his expectations: though his troops fell in with them, and fought with them. Afterwards, when we passed, by order of the Emperor, from Georgia to Muscovy a second time, we learnt that the person who went out against them was an Amír, called Shimkhal (شمخال), the governor of Dhaghistan, a country inhabited by tribes of Lesgis and Comocks (القوموق), and extending from the borders of Kakht and Tosh to the vicinity of the river of the Ghanam (الغانم), the bound of a Turkish fort. As the troops accompanying the Queen were few in number, the Persians defeated them, and, having killed the greatest part, made the whole of

the suite prisoners. When the Queen saw what was passing, she cut off her hair instantly, and, clothing herself and her son in poor garments, fled away. It was in the night-time the attack was made; and it was the darkness which saved her and a few of her people. Whilst the others were fighting, these made their escape with her; and day had not dawned before she arrived at the Turkish fort. Thence they escorted her to Astrachan, and afterwards to Moscow; forwarding intelligence to the Emperor of what had taken place. The Emperor immediately sent, to the travellers, princely robes for their journey, and troops to accompany them; and when the Queen arrived near the city, he made her halt till night came on. Then he caused all the roads and the whole city, through joy of her arrival, to be illuminated with wax torches; so that the entire country seemed covered with a stream of fire. We will complete the account of this affair in its proper place.

## SECT. VII.

### *ACCOUNT OF THE CHURCH BELLS, TOWERS, AND CUPOLAS, IN MOSCOW.*

To return:—The number of the steps of this belfry, in which is the great bell, is one hundred and forty-four. Thus, within and all round it are many apartments. From this tower they pass to the place where are the two bells appropriated to the week-days and eves of festivals; to the Church of the Nativity; and to this high belfry; as they are all in one row. The late Czar Ivan, during his reign, founded for the support and service of these towers and bells, after he had erected them, one hundred and twenty houses, as habitations accompanied with pensions, for the men who, every week in rotation, come and pass a day and night in these chambers in the tower, to attend to the ringing of the bells. On the great festivals, and on the days that processions go forth, when all the bells are rung, the whole of them attend. Such is the way in which they manage the ringing of these bells. *Note*, that near the outside of the corner of the sanctuary, in the Great Church, is a small bell, with a person to attend to it: and when it is time to toll the bell, in winter after the second hour, in summer after the third or fourth, this man comes and rings this bell once. The men above, who are ready on the watch, as soon as they hear it, begin to toll the large bell by the clapper, for the space of an hour. On the entrance of the Patriarch into the church, this man comes and rings this small

bell, twice ; and when the others hear it, they cease their ringing, till the Clergy have recited all the Hours, to the end. When the mass begins, the man carries out the small bell, so that they above can hear it ; upon which, knowing that it is mass-time, they begin to chime the bells, one by one. Then the persons standing in this lofty belfry answer them with all the middle-sized bells together ; and the others, at the same time, with their day-bell, three times. If it is a Sunday, or a great festival, they finish with all the great bells ; together with this huge bell, the sound of which issues forth like the rolling of thunder. As the situation of the Castle of the Kremlin is very high, commanding an extensive prospect even over the fields and distant villages, this place having been formerly a steep hill, and being still of very considerable ascent on all sides, the voices of these bells are heard, not only to the extremities of the city, but in the neighbouring villages. This huge and lofty belfry, the top of which is gilt, is seen at a great distance ; and though the country round the city is flat, without any rising ground, yet the spectator beholds it at a vast interval, particularly when the rays of the rising or setting sun fall upon its cupola. We saw it from a distance of ten versts. What people assert, as to their seeing it at a distance of two days' \* journey, is all imagination. On this subject, the late Metropolitan Isa, in his poem, says : “ In the palace of the Emperor are twenty-five cupolas of gold.” He then exaggerates the distance at which their glitter is perceived, so far as to say : “ And at the distance of two days' journey is beheld the beauty of their lustre.” Then he says of the great bell : “ And at the distance of two days' journey its voice is heard.” We however neither saw nor heard, but at the distance, at most, of ten of our miles. Of the five and twenty cupolas we have mentioned, the Sobor Church has five ; the Church of the Annunciation, nine ; the Empress's church above, which is dedicated to St. Catharine, has two ; near it a church, named after St. Ann, has two : behind the court of the palace is a lofty church, which has a large gilt cupola, dedicated to the Nativity of Our Lady, which we afterwards went to see ; this high belfry has also its cupola : in the Monastery of the Chodaby, over the Tomb of St. Alexius, are two cupolas ; the large one immediately over his tomb ; the other small one over the sanctuary : behind the Empress's palace is another church with two cupolas ; and outside the palace, in the middle of the town, is another cupola over the church of the Entrance of Our Lady into the Temple. The whole of these cupolas, gilt with gold, is five and twenty, remaining from that time until the moment of our finishing this chapter.

\* The Arabic text has ساعتين 'two hours' ; but this is probably an error of the pen for يومين.

To return:—The tolling of the bells in the evening, in like manner, is at the signal of the person who rings the small bell ; and it is continued a short time, till the entrance of the Patriarch into the church. When he has informed them of this, they strike a number of the bells together once ; and this is the announcement of Vespers. In the same way, in the night-time, he makes his signal ; on which they ring the appointed bell for a considerable while, to rouse the whole city, to get up and ring the bells of their respective churches : nor do they cease, in the common churches, from midnight till morning. The ringers aloft, at the signal of him below that the Patriarch has entered the church, discontinue their ringing till the time when the Lauds, or morning prayers, begin ; of which he gives them notice, and then they ring the appointed bells, both large and small, according to custom. When it is a Sunday or a festival of Our Lord, they finish, as we said before, with the huge bell, ringing it for some length of time. With it they ring also all the rest of the bells, at the time of the Πολυέλαιον, three times : once only at the reading of the Gospel (الانجيل الروتينا). The regulation for their rising to night prayers, in the winter season, when it is not a festival of our Lord, is, that they ring the appointed bell at the eleventh hour during the long nights : if it is Sunday, or a distinguished festival, they ring the bell at the ninth hour. In the summer season, when the nights are short, they ring for evening prayers before nightfall, after nine o'clock ; and for morning prayers, at four of the night, throughout the week. But on the eves of Sundays and festivals, they ring them at nightfall, before the first hour of the night is past. On this account we suffered great torment, and excessive watching and discomfort : particularly on the eves of Sundays and festivals, of which latter there is an almost continual succession, we were much annoyed with the ringing of the bells, at the sound of which the very earth trembled, and that being uninterrupted from midnight till break of day ; for in this city are some thousands of churches. As to their precise number, after much inquiry of others, I at length asked the Patriarch's Archdeacon how many churches there were : he answered, that there were more than four thousand. But the chapels or sacristies, in which mass is every day performed, are more than ten thousand : for every church in this town has three sacristies, or more ; and every church, however small and poor it is, has ten large and small bells hung over its gate, which they ring successively ; but on Sundays and festivals, and on stated nights, they ring them all at once. How expansive this is to the heart of a Christian ! when perhaps in Constantinople and Antioch together there are not two thousand churches, nor two thousand bells.

## SECT. VIII.

*PAY OF THE CLERGY.—CHARACTER AND ANECDOTES OF THE EMPEROR.*

EVERY Priest in this city has his stipend from the Emperor, of two roubles annually: the Deacon has one rouble: there is one rouble allowed to the candle-lighter; and six copecks are allowed for the preparation and baking of the host, or sacrifice. Those churches which have no peasants that pay them rent, are provided for by the Emperor. The pastors of the churches are accustomed to go round to the houses of their flock, several times in the year, to perform the *Polychronion*, and to receive their fee: these seasons are from the Nativity till the Feast of the Immersion; on that festival, and at the beginning of every month; at Easter, and on the festivals of their respective churches. The regularity of all the Muscovites, both rich and poor, in their attendance at church, is very great and constant. Their love for great *Metanoias*, which they repeat over and over again, and for holy images, is beyond all description. Perhaps they surpass even the Saints themselves in the number of their prayers. These devout persons are not merely the common people, the poor, the ploughmen, the women, the girls, and the children; but also the Ministers as well, and the Grandees of the empire, with their ladies. We have already mentioned the excellent qualities of their Emperor and Empress, who are the leaders of the nation in religious observances: how then should the courtiers be otherwise than devout? We were informed, that one of the excellencies of this monarch is, that on all the days of the year when the festival of any Saint is kept who has a church dedicated to him in this city, (and they are so many, that their festivals run through the whole year, and even double over,) he is accustomed to go to the festivals of most of the principal Saints, in their appropriate churches, on foot, abstaining from the use of his carriage, through love and veneration for them. He stands up from the beginning of the mass to the end, with his head uncovered, like one of the people, bowing continually in *Metanoias*, and striking his forehead on the ground before the picture of the Saint, in weeping and lamentation; and this in the presence of the whole assembly. Within his palace, and in the society of his Empress, he is said with her to use his constant endeavour to walk more holily even than the manners of the Saints, by patient watching, and persevering prayer, in his church, during the length of the night. What we here relate, we partly heard from others, and partly saw with our own eyes.

In its proper place, we will give an account of what the Emperor did in this first week of Lent. The Interpreters told us, that he had asked the Patriarch of Jerusalem, when he had met him at dinner, saying: "O Batiotchka!" (for he is accustomed to address the Heads of the Clergy by this appellation, which signifies 'Father') "I have been informed concerning Vasili Beg of Moldavia, that he is a very rich man; that he is gentle; and fond of building churches, and giving away in charity. But is it true, that he stands in church with his calpack on his head, without ever taking it off?" The Patriarch answered: "Yes, it is true; for I myself observed that he never took off his calpack at all, except at the time the Gospel was read and the body of Our Lord was carried round. This, as I afterwards learnt, was for two reasons: the one was for his greater magnificence; the other, because he had become gray, and was in the constant practice of dyeing his beard and part of his hair black, that he might appear young. For this reason he was ashamed to uncover his head; for the hair under his calpack was white, whilst his beard, &c. was dyed black." Observe, reader, whoever you are, that have any love for Christ, the remarkable circumstance, that a question was asked concerning such a matter by an Emperor of Muscovy! "When," said the Interpreter, "he had ascertained this fact from the Patriarch, he raised both his hands to heaven, and uttered, from the bottom of his heart: 'O Lengthener of his days! how is it that Thou cuttest not off the life of this man, who dares thus to stand before Thee?'" And this proved to be a denunciation of the Emperor against Vasili; for about this time happened to him what happened. Observe these circumstances, which are sufficiently awful to turn the hair of an infant gray. This accords with what we said of Vasili on a former occasion; for not only did he not take off his calpack in the church, but he neglected to do it even to the Heads of the Clergy; and constantly sat on his throne at the head of the divan, whilst our master was seated in an humble position on his right: whereas the present Emperor of Muscovy—and not only the present Emperor, but all his predecessors in the empire—have always been in the habit of standing in the church with their heads uncovered; and not only that, but they have always uncovered to the Heads of the Clergy, and to the Priests. Such has been their custom, through their great excellence, their humility, and their entire exemption from arrogance. We heard also that the Grandees of the empire, in the time of his father, held the present Sovereign in no respect; as he was a sincere and affable young man, of a weak constitution, and no lover of blood or of war, or of any thing of the kind;

and they even went so far as to give him the nick-name of Monk. He, however, has overpowered his contemners, reduced them to the lowest condition, and killed most of them. We have been told, that he killed one of them with his own hand, on one occasion, in the midst of the Council. This man had been sent by the Emperor to one of the provinces, to bring up the troops for an expedition. On his appearance among them, the people of that country came to him, and entreated him (bribing him at the same time with a large sum of money) to avert from them this arduous service for the present, and to give them a respite till the following year. He returned therefore to the Emperor, and interceded for them, alleging various pretexts to excuse them from the expedition. The Emperor immediately guessed what had passed; and forthwith secretly sent one of his servants, in quality of a spy, to inquire from the people of that town what the sum was which they had given to the officer who had been sent to them. This commissioner received the requisite information, and returned and informed the Emperor; who immediately sent for the wretched man, and killed him with his own sword in the midst of the Council, being a valiant young man, and of great severity. And whereas the Muscovites were constantly averse to expeditions and wars, seeking quiet and an easy life, and saying, "Our country is large and sufficient for us, our possessions are vast, and we are rich enough," the Emperor and the present Patriarch have argued them in the wrong, and treated their wisdom as folly; and the Emperor has gone out himself in person to war, in order to strengthen the courage of his subjects, and seeking, as he said, to fight for the sake of his beloved Christ. And as such was his design, so was his hope granted him; for he not only lately took Smolensk, a city which his ancestors had built, but he afterwards made himself master of all the towns of Poland, as we shall have frequent occasion to mention, one by one, and entirely subverted the dominion of the Poles.

What we have now to relate will suffice to complete the chapter we began, to shew, that, instead of quiet and idleness, he compelled the Grandees to undergo abundant fatigues and hardships. It is this: Last year, we were informed, he set out with them to visit one of the monasteries without the city; and whereas the large river Moskwa flows round the greatest part of the city, and his road lay over one of the bridges upon it, he left the bridge on one side, descended with his horse into the middle of the river where it is very deep and rapid, and arrived at the other side with his clothes all wet. Then he cried

out to his nobles: "He who does not pass over, where I have, loses his life!" His intention was merely to sport with them; for most of his courtiers were large, fat men. Fully sensible of the calamity which awaited them, and seeing no means of excuse or of flight, they descended to the river in the greatest vexation, and gave the reins to their horses. Most of them being heavy men, they sank up to their necks, and with difficulty kept their own and their horses' heads above the water; whilst the Emperor looked on, and laughed aloud at their distress. At length they waded over; and made the further bank, in the most wretched plight, with their favourite and fancy clothes dripping with wet. They immediately began to upbraid the Emperor with really intending the loss of their lives; but he answered them: "My intention in this was to lessen your fat paunches, which you fed up, in my father's time, in rest and idleness." Then he rode on with them, till they entered the church of the monastery: where they assisted at the mass from beginning to end, he being with them, with his wet clothes, and the water dripping from them: nor did he permit one of them to go out, till the mass was over. Then they all left the church, shivering; and they begged of him to let them go their ways, to change their clothes: but he would not part with them, till he had made them drink three cups of brandy, one after the other; saying: "We have to-day earned great merit and a vast reward, having assisted at mass half-drowned as we were:" nor did he permit them to depart till the teeth of most of them chattered with a cold shivering. They also told us a story of him, that one Sunday he assisted, as usual, at morning prayer. It is the custom for the Grandees to repair from their houses, and attend him on these occasions at prayers: it happened on this day, that they did not know of his going to his devotions so early, and put off their attendance on him till noon: he immediately wrote down the names of those who absented themselves, sent to fetch them from their houses with their hands tied behind their backs, had them carried down to the bank of the river Moskwa flowing near his palace, and ordered them all, with their fine clothes and gold brocades, to be thrown by the hands and feet into the water, whilst he talked to them, and said: "This is your reward; which you have merited, by preferring sleep with your wives to the splendid lustre of this blessed day, and not coming forth to assist at morning prayers with your Emperor." Many stories are related of him similar to this; a few only of which we have committed to writing, to amuse him who reads and considers them attentively.



## S E C T. IX.

*CONTINUATION OF THE HISTORY OF RADZIVIL.—PERFIDY OF THE POLES.*

To return to our history:—On the morning of the Sunday τῆς Τυροφάγου, after we had entered the church, came the Patriarch Nikon; and they chaunted Ἄξιον ἴσθιν; that is, the Anagnostai, and the Subdeacons and the singers, chaunted it; and they added a Πολυχρόνιον in his name. In the mean time he shook hands with our master; and they went together to kiss the pictures and the bodies of the saints, as usual, and came to put on their robes in the porch. At this moment the Emperor entered the church, and the singers chaunted a Πολυχρόνιον. After he had paid his devotions to the pictures over the doors of the Sanctuary, he approached the Patriarchs. The Patriarch of Moscow immediately descended from his throne to meet him, and blessed him; first with his right hand, then with the cross upon his forehead, and sprinkled him with the Ἀγιασμός; and also his crown, carried upon his sceptre, by one of the Grandees, at a distance. When the Emperor had kissed the hand of the Patriarch, the latter in turn embraced the head of the Emperor with his hands, and kissed it, as he is accustomed to do. In like manner did our master, after he had blessed him with his right hand, with the cross, and with the Ἀγιασμός. Then the Emperor bowed to them, and went round and came and stood in front of the large pillar covered with red satin, near them, and looking towards them, as usual. Then our master, by desire of the Patriarch, consecrated Priests and Deacons. When we entered the Sanctuary, the Emperor also entered, and stood in the Treasury, looking at us. Thus we recited the prayer; Ἅγιος μόνος ὁ Θεός, &c. in Greek; and the Anagnostai, whom the Patriarch was endeavouring to teach the Greek Prayers, from his love for that language, assisted us.

On this day, news came to the Emperor, that the wicked Radzivil, his enemy, as soon as he heard of the Emperor's arrival at Moscow, had returned from his distant flight, and was come with twelve thousand troops to lay siege to one of his towns which the Emperor had lately taken, called the city of Mohilov, one of great magnitude, and much celebrity among merchants, who know it by the name of the City of the Rich; for all its inhabitants are traders. When the Emperor took this city by force of arms, the Voivode, who had succeeded Radzivil in the government there, came to him, and entreated his clemency; which the Emperor granted him. He requested also to be baptized,

and the Emperor caused him so to be; granting him, moreover, the favour, that he should remain Governor of the city as before, in conjunction with one of the Emperor's Voivodes, who was to be in command of the troops. This was after he had sworn, upon the Cross and the Gospel, that he would not be unfaithful to the Emperor. But an oath with the Poles goes for nothing; and it is this sin of perfidy which has ruined all their undertakings. Their oaths go no further than their lips, and they have no steadiness nor fidelity to their engagements. Thus they acted towards the Hetman Chmiel many times repeatedly, when he had prevailed over them, and purposed their destruction: they swore to him firm and constant fidelity, and he treated them with kindness and set them at liberty: they then violated their oaths, and marched to war against him, as before. But this crime of perfidy, in profanation of God's name, has proved their ruin; and the hand of God, with Chmiel, has been lengthened against them; for no one has heard of Chmiel, for these ten years, but that he has always defeated them, and has never been defeated by them. As perfidy, therefore, is no sin in their eyes, this Voivode fled one night secretly, with all his people; and went to his supporter, Radzivil, with whom he came and laid siege to the city. When the siege became pressing, the inhabitants sent to inform the Emperor, and requested his assistance. No sooner had the Emperor heard of this affair, than he fell into a violent rage: he gave the letters to the Patriarch, to read them immediately in the church, as the Patriarch was the chief of his Privy Counsellors. They both perceived plainly that the Poles had been desiring nothing so much as the return of the Emperor to his capital: for we ourselves had observed, that when there is no one in the field, the Poles sally forth to war; but if they hear the sound of a march at a distance, they instantly take to flight, and hide themselves in the deepest of their caverns. Such is the condition of the Poles at present. When the Emperor is among them with his troops, the utmost consternation prevails in their towns, of which he has subdued more than fifty, and from which he has taken many thousands of captives; and not one of them will come forth against him, nor stay to fight with him; and this has been the case both during this year and the preceding. The Emperor now determined, therefore, to select six of his twelve Ministers, and send them before him, this very day, to meet with their troops the detachment of the wicked Radzivil; resolving to follow them quickly in person; and this after all the people had relied upon his celebrating with them the festival of Easter in the utmost joy and solemnity. We, in particular, had hoped that the Emperor

would settle our affairs by the Easter holidays, expecting that he would then depart, and dismiss us. But no one knew the purpose of his heart; for it is not the custom of kings to let any person have an insight into their secrets: and as to the Muscovites in general, no intriguer of any sect or tribe ever reached them, in cunning, or in the secrecy of their designs. Then he wrote the names of the six Ministers, and their appointments, with his own hand, in the church; and after the two Patriarchs had come out from the Sanctuary, and the Patriarch of Moscow had taken his station at the Ἄμβων, and read the lesson appointed for the day, preaching upon it, and explaining its meaning at great length, he concluded the service; and descended, together with our master, to bless the Emperor, according to custom, and to wish him health for the Ἀποκρία. The Emperor now presented the six Ministers to the Patriarchs with his own hand; having gone himself to the outside of the door of the church, on the west, and called them by their names, one by one, to present them; beseeching the Patriarchs to recite over them the prayers for war, that God would please to lead and assist them against their enemies. They did so, praying over all of them, one by one. Remark these actions, which we witnessed of this Prince, or rather Saint, on this day! He did not remain in his place, and call one of his writers to write the names of the Ministers: he asked for ink and paper, and wrote their names with his own hand. Secondly, he did not send to call the Ministers by one of his servants: but went out in person, and, calling them, conducted them with his own hand to great happiness—I mean, the blessing of the Patriarchs upon them, and their prayers on their behalf: so that, from the greatness of our amazement, we were perfectly astonished at the extent of what we saw of his humility, which exceeds description. Then the Patriarchs presented to each of the Ministers the cross to kiss, and sprinkled upon them the Ἀγιασμός, and they departed.

On this occasion was come the Metropolitan of Novgorod, who, as we mentioned formerly, is the first of the Metropolitans; and he this day put on his sakkò, according to his constant custom, and was accompanied by the Metropolitan of Rostov, in his Ψελόνιον. They were come from their Sees, to pay their respects to the Emperor; and each of them, after bowing to him, made him a present of ten pictures of the Saints in the name of whom their episcopal churches are dedicated, adorned with gold; being for the Emperor, the Empress, their son, and for the Emperor's sisters and daughters.

We did not go out from the mass on this day till the afternoon; and could

hardly give credit to our senses, when we found ourselves returned to the convent, to our warm apartments there, half dead with exhaustion, and with standing on our legs throughout the course of the whole morning, in that dreadful cold. But we were consoled in all this by the pleasure of observing the wonderful constancy of this nation, in standing on the cold iron pavement from morning till night on this Sunday (τῆς Τυροφάγου). Beyond all the preceding, was, that we had scarcely time to sit down to table before the bells tolled for the day prayers, to be followed by those of the evening, as usual. For the evening prayers, the Emperor came with the Empress to the convent of Nuns opposite, to us, in which, as we mentioned before, are the tombs of all the Empresses.

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## S E C T. X.

### *OBSERVANCE OF LENT.—BLACK BREAD, AND QUASS.*

FROM the morning of the Monday (التقي) till the following Wednesday, for these three days there is no buying or selling among the Muscovites, nor any opening of shops, least of all butter-shops, to sell any kind of victuals whatsoever. The Emperor, with his Empress, are accustomed every year to fast these three days, devoting themselves to prayer, watching, and Metanoias, and appearing meanly clothed in the churches day and night, as we ourselves witnessed on the present occasion, till the time of mass on the Wednesday; when the Emperor breaks his fast upon morsels of sweet cake, according to his constant custom, and sends portions of it to his Grandees. Afterwards, he fasts from this eve till the forenoon of the Saturday; when having assisted at mass, and received the mysteries and the 'Αντίδορον\*, he then breaks his fast. During this whole week he sees no one, nor attends to any worldly business of any kind, unless some necessary State affair occurs. In like manner do all the Grandees pass this week, being assiduous at prayers in their several churches, day and night: nor do the common people buy or sell during its continuance, but attend to their prayers in the churches. As to the wine and spirit taverns, and all other places where intoxicating liquors are sold, the Emperor's troops go round to them, and seal them all up; and thus they remain sealed up till after Wednesday in Easter-week. Woe to any one if he be found drunk, or with a vessel of liquor in his hand! They strip him naked in the dreadful cold, and tie his hands behind his back. In this manner he is made to go round the city,

\* " 'Αντίδορον, that part of the Sacramental bread which is not consecrated."—EARL OF GUILFORD.

with the executioner behind him, proclaiming his crime, and striking him on the shoulders and back with a long lash of a slit bull's nerve, which, every time it touches his flesh, fetches blood instantly. Thus they proceed in the round with him, till they have made the circuit of the whole city, and brought him back to the prison; where he remains a certain number of days, according to his sentence. But the Muscovites are generally very cautious during this first week of Lent, the Wednesdays and Fridays of the following weeks, Passion-week, and the four days of Easter, not to get drunk; for they are flogged without mercy or compassion, if they do. Thus the Emperor is used to fast, together with his nobles, in Passion-week: he does not break his fast after receiving the Mysteries on the evening of Holy Thursday, but endures hunger till the eve of Easter-day. It is the custom for the great and celebrated monasteries in this country, such as that of the Holy Trinity and others, to send to the Emperor, by the Archons of the monastery, who reside in their palaces in the city, as a blessing from them; first, a large black loaf of rye-bread, of the kind they use in the monastery, carried in the hands of four or five men, and looking like a large mill-stone; (this is considered as a particular blessing, being of the very bread which the Fathers eat): secondly, a barrel of quass, extracted from rye-water, which they are accustomed to drink, enclosed in another empty barrel; and a barrel of pickled cabbage. They said that the Emperor always received this loaf with his own hands; and kissed it, as being blessed. Similar presents they made to the Empress, to the Vasilopulo, her son, and to the three sisters and three daughters of the Emperor, to each by name, as they are used to do every year; then to their Patriarch; and to our Lord the Patriarch, as the Emperor had enjoined them. Before the latter the Archons brought the loaf of bread in their hands, saying: "Archimandrite Such-an-one, of such a monastery, beats his head on the ground before your Holiness, and presents to you of the food of your brethren the Fathers, according to usual custom." Hereupon our master kissed it, and placed his hand upon it after their manner, and we took it from them. Likewise, they presented a barrel of quass and a barrel of pickled cabbage; and in this manner they went round to all the Grandees. The reason of their making presents with this black bread is, that it is held in great esteem with them, and they prize themselves upon it as an article of their food. It is therefore what they invariably place first upon the Emperor's table; and the greatest present which they make to their nobles is of this bread; for they say this was their food in ancient times, before they were acquainted with wheat-corn. They prefer it

therefore, to white wheaten bread; and we saw the carriage-drivers, and the rest of the common people, breakfasting on it constantly, as if it was dainty sweet-cake. We, however, could not eat it at all; for, from the largeness of the loaf, it was not baked inside; and was as sour as vinegar, both to taste and smell. The Muscovites, however, are accustomed to it; and say that it gives strength, and nourishes more than the white. The quass is brewed from rye or barley, and is drunk by the Muscovites instead of water; for in no part of this country are they at all used to drink plain water, and never use it but in case of necessity: for this reason, their diseases are few, and their illnesses unfrequent. We afterwards got used to drinking quass, finding it cool and nourishing. The Muscovites are accustomed to breakfast upon it, as if it were wine or some delicious beverage. We became used to it afterwards; and I liked it much, for it is very grateful, and refreshing to the stomach, and nourishing, and has an agreeable sharpness in the throat. You must know, that I was seven whole months without ever drinking plain water; but always taking this quass, or honey-water, or cherry, or cider. The Muscovites take quass for breakfast, early in the morning; soaking their bread in it as we do in wine, and get drunk with it.

The vinegar of this country is made from grain: they call it Borsh. It is also made from honey-water. This last beverage, as being intoxicating (بجول خميل فيه), they do not drink at all in this time of Lent. They therefore brought us, instead of it, every Saturday, a large barrel of delicious sherbet, allowed us from the Emperor's cellar, during the whole of Lent.

With respect to the regulation of the churches: The order of service in the common churches is similar to that of the convents, except that every day they recite eight *Καθίσματα* (كاتسماطات) of the Psalter at day-break till sun-rise, and at every hour a *Κάθισμα*. At the evening prayer, and at every Alleluia, instead of the small Metanoias, they bow three times to the earth; and in the same manner at every "Αγιος ὁ Θεός, and at "Come, let us worship." The twelve small Metanoias, which we make, after the three great ones to the earth, they do not practise; for they make no small Metanoias at all during this time of Lent, but all great ones to the earth. We observed in them a constant piety, an earnestness, a devotion, and many other qualities connected with religion, which we should find a painful difficulty in imitating. Thus, during this week, not one of the Great Officers of Government went out from his mansion, but they all remained assiduous in their prayers; nor could we, for this reason, go to the houses of any of them, to make our presents. Their entrance into the

churches every day, after the bells have tolled, is after the sixth hour: and they do not come out till after the eighth or ninth; for they are very long in their prayers, particularly in reading the *Καθίσματα*, and in making their *Metanoias*, all of which are to the earth.

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## SECT. XI.

### *PRESENTATION OF GIFTS.—ACCOUNT OF BISHOPRICS AND CONVENTS.— MINE OF CRYSTAL.*

ON Saturday, we went with our offering to the residence of the Metropolitan of Novgorod, the first of the Metropolitans; and we stood at the outer door, till they had asked his permission for us to enter, and had informed him what we had brought with us. Then they admitted us. When we entered the room where he was, we found him dressed in his *mantya* and *latia*, to receive us, with his crosier in his hand, turned towards the *Εικονοστάσιον* and the lighted candles; and he chaunted with a low voice the "*Αξιον ἑστί.*" Then his attendants approached him, after he had bowed to them, and we accompanied them; and turning towards him, they said, "Glory to the Father," &c.; after that, "Kyrie Eleison," three times, and, "Bless O Lord." At the conclusion of the prayers, we bowed to him, and he gave us his blessing. We then presented to him blessing and salutation from our Lord the Patriarch, by the tongue of the Imperial Interpreter, who always went about with us. The Metropolitan made many *Metanoias* to the earth in honour of our master; and we, in like manner, bowed to him, and offered him our present. He kissed every tray, and, at the end, bowed much, and returned many thanks. Then he went into his inner apartment, and brought out to us plated pictures, composed on the title of his cathedral church, which is dedicated to St. Sophia (*Αγία Σοφία*), that is, The Wisdom of God. Then he made a gift to each of us of some copecks, wrapped up in leaves of paper; and we bowed to the pictures and to him, and, having received his blessing, went forth.

In like manner we went to the residence of the Metropolitan of Rostov; and found him at mass in the church within his palace, consecrating Priests and Deacons. We have before mentioned, that the Heads of the Clergy, in Muscovy, to the number of twelve, have each a palace, and a church, and great officers, servants, and administrators, constantly residing in the palace. He received us

as the other had done in the church; and bowed to us, returning thanks for the kindness of our master. He also presented to us pictures formed on the title of his cathedral church, which is dedicated to St. Leontius, the original Greek Metropolitan of Rostov, together with the three Metropolitans who succeeded him, whose bodies are preserved to this day, and perform miracles. We only knew the names of the cathedral churches of the Heads of the Clergy by the pictures which distinguish them, which are seen upon all the Bishops' robes and ornaments. If it is his sakko, there is gold thread forming this picture upon its sleeves; which is also on his Omophorion, his girdle, and his *Ἐπιτραχήλιον*. Thus, when they make presents to the Emperor, it is of the pictures appropriate to their Sees; for it is their practice to come at the feasts of the Nativity and Immersion, to make him a festive present of pictures, and so return to their Bishoprics. In like manner they come at Easter. The cathedral church, as we said before, of this Metropolitan of Novgorod, is in the name of *Ἁγία Σοφία*; that of the Metropolitan of Rostov, in the name of St. Leontius and his companions: the cathedral church of the Metropolitan of Cazan, who is the second in rank, they said was in the name of the Annunciation; that of the Metropolitan of Crotitska, in the names of Peter and Paul. The Archbishop of Razan's cathedral is dedicated in the name of the Assumption of Our Lady; the Archbishop of Tversk's, in the name of the Divine Manifestation: the Archbishop of Sozdilska's, in the name of the Birth of the Virgin; the Archbishop of Vologda's, in the name of the Assumption of Our Lady; the Archbishop of Pskov's, in the name of the Trinity; and the Bishop of Kolomna's, in that of the Assumption of the Virgin. The Archbishop of Astrachan's cathedral is also dedicated to the Assumption; the Archbishop of Siberia's, to *Ἁγία Σοφία* and the Spas, that is, the Redeemer. These are all the names which I have collected of their cathedrals; and you may observe the perfect beauty of the ecclesiastical constitutions of this country. Not only have these Heads of the Clergy each of them a private painter, who is continually occupied in painting for them pictures to make presents of; but even the Archimandrite, of every convent of any note, has, in the same manner, a private painter continually in attendance; and the name of his monastery is embroidered in his sacerdotal dress, on his sleeves, his *Ἐπιτραχήλιον*, and his girdle. Thus, to every person that visits him, at his convent, or at his palace in the city, he makes a present of a picture of the title of his monastery: for every convent of note in this country has a palace in town, with appropriate attendants. They say that the Convent of the Holy



Trinity ('Αγία Τριάδα) has one and twenty palaces in this city, with Priests in them.

Remark this order and beautiful constitution of their Church! which we observed with so much delight. Our Lord the Patriarch spoke the truth, when he said: "The whole of these constitutions existed formerly with us, in the time of our Emperors; and, being lost from us, came to these people, who have fructified and augmented them beyond our experience." He asked the Patriarch Nikon, one day, what was the number of the convents existing in the whole of the Muscovite Empire. Nikon answered: "There are more than three thousand, without including the country of the Cossacks." He added: "We have in this country three convents, which are large imperial castles, and are very rich." The first of these is the Monastery of the Holy Trinity, which is the largest and richest of all. The second is the Monastery of St. Cyrillus the Minor, in the palace of which we were lodged. It is known among them by the name of Cyrillus Bielozersky, that is, of the White Lake. They say that the lake hangs over the monastery, and, by the power of God and the favour of the Saint, does not overflow it. Its water is as white as milk. This monastery is larger and stronger than that of the Holy Trinity; for it is said to have three vast walls of large quarry-stone: but the Convent of the Holy Trinity, and the walls surrounding it, are built partly of brick and partly of stone. The third convent is that of Solovoska, in Greek called Solovka, which the Saints Zosimus and Sabbatius built in the middle of an island in the Ocean, as we mentioned before. The walls of this monastery are reported to be very large, and strongly built with huge quarry-stone. They say that the two Saints forced the devils to build the walls; and for this reason they are of great extent and strength, and are much spoken of and admired. These three convents were founded by the direction of God at one time, more than four hundred years ago. In this Monastery of Solovka is a mine of stone crystal, of great beauty, which they cut out of the mountain in slabs. It is composed, like a handful of leaves, one upon another, in layers; which they peel off one by one, without breaking. Its name, in Greek, is Σχιστός; in Arabic, *Hajar at Talk* (Stone of Separation), حجر الطلق. By this name, also, the Tartars and Redheads call it. In this country they make of it all their house furniture, such as mirrors, window-panes وانفزازات &c. The Persian merchants take of it many ship-loads, as do the Franks and Greeks; and whoever travels this way takes some of it; for it is produced no where else. One of the monks of this monastery told us, that between the island and the main land is

a distance of forty or fifty versts. They say, that from the main land a stream of sweet water flows unmixed through the midst of the sea, to the vicinity of the convent; and that they drink of it, and have their mills upon it under the ground. This sea is said to freeze; but no one ever walks on it, as it is agitated by waves; and thus the passage over, which is open in summer, is closed in winter. Round the island are said to be towers, which prohibit the entrance of vessels; nor can these force an entry, as the island is surrounded by rocks, and the roads are exceeding difficult. In regard to the mine of crystal here, it is reported to be a deep fosse, which fills with water. In the winter season they draw it empty, and, filling it with fire-wood, let it burn for a fortnight. Then they open it for a week, till it cools; and the men go down to the bottom, and find the crystal like a pavement, rolled flat one layer upon another, which they take up.

As to the fish-teeth, they say that they are taken from a sea animal, which goes forth and sits upon the ice. Then the Muscovites come to it, and say: "A guest is come to visit thee:" to which, of course, it makes no answer. Then they strike it with spears, having coils of rope fastened to them; and, as the animal runs away, they draw it back several times, and, killing it, draw out its large teeth.

## SECT. XII.

### *FEAST OF IMAGES ON THE FIRST SUNDAY OF LENT.—DEGENERACY OF THE GREEKS.*

To return:—On the first Sunday of Lent, early in the morning, they tolled the cracked bell, with the rest all round, for the assembly of the Heads of the Clergy and of the Convents, and of the Deacons appointed to carry their pictures, at the Sobor Church; there to assist at the prayers for the Emperor, at the *Παράκλησις*, and at the other acts of the congregation, appointed at this great season. After they had tolled this bell a short time, they ceased, and began with the other bells, one by one. In the forenoon they tolled the small bells and the larger ones, together with the huge bell, all of them three separate times each round. Thus they rang till the whole city shook: and all the men hastened forth with their wives and children and infants, in their best clothes; for this is a very great day with them, and they throng to the Sobor Church with great

eagerness and devotion, to meet the pictures and the bodies of the Saints. "This they do from year to year: and most of them kiss the pictures only on this day. The women took off their calpacks of fur, when they kissed them; as they wear under them a kind of white turban, in folds. Then the Emperor sent to invite our Lord the Patriarch, who accordingly went in the imperial sania; and we remained in it till they had finished ringing all the bells three times. This is the signal of the Patriarch's entrance into the Sobor, who came about the third hour. It is usual for the Deacons, on a festival like this, to put on their surplices, and proceed all in a body to his palace, bearing large tapers in their hands. When they come before him, they chaunt the appropriate Lauds of the day; and others, accustomed to the office, take him by the arms, and lift his train. Before he entered the church, the Archdeacon and the Protodeacon had preceded him; and having put on their robes, they came out of the sanctuary, and met him with the censers. Then he ascended to his throne, and made his adorations; whilst they performed the *"Αξιον ἐστίν*, and the singers chaunted the *Πολυχρόνιον* for him. Then he gave his blessing to the people, with the *Τρικῆρι*; and descended from his throne, and shook hands with our master. Then they went together, to kiss the pictures, the relics of the saints, the box containing our Lord's garment, the sanctuary, the cross, the Gospel, and the altar of sacrifice, as usual. Then we went out, and put on them their robes: and after they had blessed the people, we went with them outside the south door, to meet the Emperor, who approached, wearing the imperial dress and his crown, whilst all the bells rang. The Priests and Archimandrites preceded the Emperor with the pictures from the churches in the palace, coming from the side of the Church of the Annunciation, in rows and rows before him, till they were all come up, and took their places near the gate. Then the Patriarch took the censer, and incensed them one by one: then he incensed our master, and afterwards the Emperor, who was bare-headed. Then they both together blessed him, and we entered the church. The Patriarch ascended his throne; whilst our master took his station on his right hand, and the Heads of the Clergy with their Priests, on each side. The Emperor's Archimandrites and Priests, bearing the pictures, placed themselves near him on the east side. After he had paid his usual devotions to the pictures, and the singers had chaunted for him the Polychronion, he came and placed himself near the two Patriarchs, bowing to them. They advanced to meet him, and, bowing to him, blessed him; sprinkling him, and his retinue, at a distance, with the *Ἁγιασμὸς*, and presenting him the cross to kiss. Then he went and stood in his usual

place, near the pillar. The Patriarch requested our master; and he, in consequence, ordained some Priests and Deacons. After they had performed the hours, they began the mass, and we entered into the sanctuary. On this day, the Patriarch had five of the Heads of the Clergy to assist him as Ministers; viz. the Metropolitan of Novgorod, the Archbishop of Casan, and the Archbishop of Vologda, on his right; and the Metropolitan of Rostov, with the Archbishop of Tversk, on his left. At the head of them was the Archbishop of Servia. Whenever the Patriarch says mass, he always has four Archimandrites, with their mitres and their Deacons, to attend him. The first is the Archimandrite of the Monastery of the Jodaby; the second is the Archimandrite of the Monastery of the Spas; the third, the Archimandrite of the Monastery of Simeon; the fourth, the Archimandrite of the Monastery of Andronicus. The Protopapas of this church with his companions, and the Protopapas of the Archangel with his companions, also assist at the mass; which is also attended by more than forty of the higher and lower Deacons: for with them a great congregation is always collected, to attend the Patriarch's mass; and, though it be a common week-day, all these persons equally attend. When the Patriarch had thrown incense round the altar, he went out and incensed the Emperor. Before the Ἄγιος, the Archdeacon went out and mounted the Ἀμβων; and the Ἐκκλησιάρχης placed before him the Lesson for the day, which he began to read with a loud voice, very slowly and deliberately; till at the end he mentioned the two Saints Patrons of the day, each of them separately. When he became silent, the Priests within the sanctuary, and all the attendants, chaunted, "May their remembrance be eternal," three times. The singers without responded to them, in the same words, three times. Every time the Archdeacon mentioned the name of a Saint, the Ἐφημέριος of the church and the Deacons brought his picture, and presented it to the Patriarch, who bowed to it and kissed it, as did also our master. Then they carried it out to the Emperor, who bowed to it and kissed it also. He was standing bareheaded before the Patriarch's chair, with his hands in his bosom on account of the cold.

*Note,* That in this cathedral, and in the Church of the Archangel, as well as in that of the Annunciation, and also in many of the large churches and monasteries, is a box in the shape of a book, covered with velvet or brocade, and adorned with gold and silver, in which are twelve beautiful very thin picture-frames. On both sides of each of these frames are the portraits of all the Saints of the month. This box they call Sanavi, or the Calendar; because all the Saints who

are commemorated in the course of the year, together with all the Domlnical Festivals, the Seven Councils, and other holidays, and the Greek Saints as well as the Muscovite, are all pictured in it. Nor is one only of these Calendars to be found in each church, but three or four of different kinds, placed upon covered desks, before the doors of the sanctuaries. The *Ἐκκλησιαρχης* places the pictures of every month open on the desk; and at the end of each month opens out others: there are tapers always burning before them. Besides these Calendars lying one upon the other like books, there are in each church very large picture-frames, divided into twelve parts: each part is a month, and contains the pictures of the Saints and Festivals belonging to it. Whoever directs his devotion to one of these Saints or Festivals, he brings his taper and places it before the Saint or Festival, on an iron candlestick, which moves up and down, and round about, to each picture. Opposite to this picture, on the other side, is a similar one with the *Ἀκάθιστος* Hymn, or four and twenty verses of it, written within it; those which are sung on the eve of the fifth Saturday of the Cross.

To return:—when they had presented the picture to the Emperor, they carried it back into the sanctuary, where the Heads of the Clergy and all the attendants kissed it. In this manner they went on commemorating each Saint, and repeating, for each, “May his memory be eternal,” with one voice, three times, till they had finished the commemoration of our Saints.

Then they began with their own. When they mentioned those of Novgorod, the Metropolitan of that See came out with their pictures, and presented them to the Patriarchs and to the Emperor, as well as to all the assistants, glorying in this office and in the two Saints of his city. In the same manner did the Metropolitan of Rostov and all the others; whilst the Archdeacon said, at the mention of every Saints name, “May his memory be eternal:” and the Priests and assistants, with the choristers, chaunted it three times. Then they mentioned the Emperors of Greece who are esteemed Saints, and chaunted in like manner for each of them. Afterwards they began the commemoration of the whole of their own Emperors—God have mercy on them all, and place our portion with them! who have now succeeded each other on the throne for such a length of time, for more than seven hundred years, as we mentioned formerly. Of these, not one shewed himself an enemy to holy images, nor appeared as an heretic; but all were Saints in their own person, as we observed by their pictures, and the histories which are given of them: not like the Emperors of Greece, who contaminated their reigns, (God have no mercy on them!) by making war

against images, by heresies, and innovations. God knows, when we saw the pictures of the Seven Councils, and of these heretical Emperors, and the loads of paintings representing them as gone down to Gehenna, we felt shame before the Muscovites, and before their Emperor and Grandees, who ridicule the Greeks and their empire; saying: "Observe these Greek Emperors, from whom we received the light of the faith, how they acted in the holy Church of God, making war upon the images! and how, filled with corruption and iniquity, they persecuted the Patriarchs, the Heads of the Clergy, and every order of the Priesthood, together with the devout and holy men, more fiercely than did the worshippers of idols, such as Dioclesian, Maximian, and others!" How could the Emperors of Greece be expected to act otherwise, being ruled and guided by the enemies of our religion; such as, Leon the Armenian, and others, who were ass-keepers and horse-breakers and such like, and belonged neither to the household of the Emperor nor to his nation? How could it be otherwise, when their Empresses were such as Eudoxia, who struck Chrysostom on the face, and, borne away by violence of her passion, committed acts in the Church of God which the worshippers of idols in their time refrained from doing; and such as other Empresses, who intrigued against their husbands, and murdered them, and, taking others to their bed, made them Emperors; as the modern histories of the Grecian empire describe? Would to God no memorial existed of their infamies, nor of the idle sports with which, like little children, they amused themselves during their sway; at the hearing of which our youth are made to blush! Through these reports, and such like, and the vices and deformities of the Greeks, at all times, and in all places wherever they are found, we observed they are no where at all liked: and this fact we were continually confirming, by the evidence of our own eyes. In Moldavia, from their tyranny as Vasili's Archons, and their viciousness and corruption, the whole of the population rose upon them, and, putting to flight or massacring them all, made plunder of their property: A similar fate has lately overtaken them, as we have just heard, throughout the whole of Wallachia. We did not see the Cossacks bear any love to them; and the Muscovites will not receive them, except through pity, and to give them alms: How many of them have they not banished to Siberia, and to the Monastery of the Sea of Darkness! And how many have been driven back from the frontier, by the Governors of Potiblia! And all this comes from the multitude of their vices, and the greatness of their crimes. In none of the Frank countries can they endure to hear them mentioned; as they say, that the Greeks, by the perversity of their conduct, basely

forfeited their empire; and have strengthened the Turks, by the possession of it, against all the powers of Christendom. What a degenerate people! and what vile conduct!—As their Emperors acted thus formerly, what wonder is it that they are at the present day guilty of so many crimes, wherever they are permitted to settle? As for the Heads of their Clergy, God be merciful to us and to them! This saying of ours is not a private judgment of our own against them; but thus we heard them spoken of, wherever we came; and thus criminally did we see them conduct themselves. Yet they have some laudable qualities, as far as regards their love for the Heads of their Clergy, their Monks, and Priests. For though they witness the flagitiousness of their Clergy, and the crimes they commit—and see that their Patriarchs banish some of them, some they behead, and others they drown—yet they shut their eyes to their infamy, and love and honour them as befits the sacred character of their office. Even when their Chiefs of the Clergy and their Monks and Priests depart from the purity of their religion, as many of them do daily, they still entertain no doubt concerning their orthodoxy; nor do they subject the Priests and Monks to their temporal authority. They have many merits like this; for which we were constantly grateful to them, in the circumstances in which we found ourselves. But they have little judgment or resource among themselves; though some persons of sense and sagacity affect to value them above us. God be merciful to us, and to them! and free us from the torment of hell-fire, with them!

To return:—When the Archdeacon mentioned the names of all their Emperors and Empresses, and their children, from the period of their becoming Christians till the reign of Michael, father of the present Emperor, they chaunted for each of them, “May his, or her, memory be everlasting,” three times. Then the reader began mentioning the names of the officers and troops who were killed during the war at Smolensko, and elsewhere, in the course of the year; for they number them with the saints and martyrs, for having fought in behalf of the true faith; and chaunted for them “Everlasting remembrance” three times. When he repeated the names of the heretical among the Patriarchs and Priests and others, and those of the Emperors who had made war on holy images, they chaunted for each of them “Anathemas” three times, and cursed the whole of them, together with the sects of the Franks, Armenians, and others, till he had gone through them all. Then he began the mention of the name of the Emperor, and to recite his Imperial *Khotbeh*, or (ديباجه) *Dibajeh*, that is, Preamble, saying a Polychronion for him, in this manner: “The Lord God grant many

years to our Mighty Emperor, in whom is all direction, the Crowned of God, the Glory of the Orthodox, the Preserved of God, the Greatest of Kings, the Greatest of Kniazes, Emperor of Muscovy, and of all the Russias, both Great and Little, King of Cazan, King of Astrachan, King of Siberia, Greatest of the Lords of Novgorod, Kniaz of Pskov, &c. &c. &c.!" When the Archdeacon had finished the Imperial Preamble, the Priests and all the Assistants within the sanctuary chaunted with one voice the repetition of it; and in like manner the singers responded from without. This they call the Polychronion. All this time the Emperor was standing on his feet before the Patriarch's chair. At the end of it, the Patriarch went out; and, approaching him, prayed for him, and saluted him much with wishes for his long life. In like manner our Lord the Patriarch went out to him, and prayed for him, and wished him length of days by the tongue of the Interpreter. So also went out the Heads of the Clergy to do in like manner. Then the Archdeacon recited the Preamble of the Empress Maria, with a Polychronion for her: and the Assistants and choristers chaunted as before. In like manner he mentioned their son Alexius; and they did as before. Then he mentioned the Emperor's three sisters, by their names and titles, Irene Michaelovna, Hannah Michaelovna, and Tatiane Michaelovna; and they chaunted for them as before, both within the sanctuary and without. Then came the mention of the Emperor's three daughters, Eudoxia Alexiovna, Martha Alexiovna, and Hannah Alexiovna; after which the two Patriarchs came out, saluted the Emperor, and then returned. The Archdeacon then recited the Khotbeh (خطبة) or Preamble of the Patriarch Nikon, after having mentioned the names of the six Patriarchs his predecessors; and they chaunted as before, the Assistants within the sanctuary and the choristers without, a Polychronion for him. When they had finished, the Emperor came to him before the door of the sanctuary, and prayed for him, and wished him a long life, and bowed to him, as he did to the Emperor. When the Emperor kissed his hand, the Patriarch kissed the Emperor's head, as usual. The Emperor then saluted our master, with the rest of the Heads of the Clergy in attendance; and they bowed to him, and he to them: all the Clergy, both Priests and Deacons, at the same time bowed to the Emperor. Then he went, and, approaching the Archdeacon, bade him perform a Polychronion for the Patriarch of Antioch. In like manner he requested it of the Patriarch of Moscow, and it was done. After the mention of him, they chaunted for him both within and without. At the conclusion, the Emperor came to him to the door of the sanctuary, and, praying for him, made to him his salutations, (God



lengthen his days!) of which, as he spoke, we understood not a word : but we had the explanation from the Interpreter, afterwards. As the Emperor bowed to our master, he bowed to the Emperor ; and when the Emperor kissed his hand, our master kissed the Emperor's head, according to custom. In like manner the Patriarch of Moscōw, Nicon, offered to our master his good wishes, as did all the other Heads of the Clergy, and the attendant Priests and Deacons. Then the Archdeacon mentioned the names of the attendant Heads of the Clergy, with the names of their Sees, and the rest of the Heads of the Clergy of the Muscovite country, who were absent ; and the choristers chaunted for them, as before : and they came out and bowed to the Emperor, then to the Patriarchs, and offered their good wishes to each other. Then he mentioned those who were present of the Archimandrites by name, and by the names of their monasteries ; and all the Archimandrites and Chiefs of Monasteries in the Muscovite territory ; and they chaunted for them as before. Then he mentioned the Priests of Muscovy, for whom they chaunted in like manner. Afterwards he mentioned the Archons of the empire, and the Emperor's civil and military officers, and all orthodox Christians in a body ; and they chaunted the Polychronion for them, and concluded. As for us, we were astonished at what we saw and heard of these forms and ceremonies, with such surprising regularity and so minutely observed : and we consoled ourselves for our fatigue and long standing, and for our endurance of the severe cold, with the joy we felt at what we witnessed, and with the beautiful melody of the Archdeacon's reading, which was with a suppressed, but broad and delightfully sweet voice, charming the heart. They all indeed read so, and so do the Greeks ; not as we, with a loud voice. Even the Patriarch and the Priests read only with a suppressed voice ; and even at the *Τροπᾶγια*, no one hears them but persons standing in the choir, chaunting as they do with a voice concentrated and softened. Such is their practice ; and excellent it is. Then they began the *Τρισάγιον*, and blessed the congregation, as usual ; and we finished the mass. Then our master consecrated Priests and Deacons ; whilst the Emperor sometimes stood at his chair, sometimes before the chair of the Patriarch, and sometimes in the treasury of the Tabernacle, looking at the officiating Ministers. After they had covered the table, the Patriarch went out and mounted the *Ἄμβων*, whilst we the Assistants took our stations round it. Nor did this length of service, and standing till it was now evening, satisfy the Patriarch ; but the Deacon must open for him a book of Homilies, in which he read the proper Homily for the day, on the subject of Images. Nor did he read it to the end

only, but added exhortations and explanations of great length; whilst the Emperor, and all the men, women, and children present, stood on their legs, with their heads uncovered in the intense cold, from the beginning of the service until now, in silence, and with perfect order and quietness. In the midst of his discourse the Patriarch had both the new and the ancient images brought forward. The new pictures some of the Muscovite painters had gradually learnt to paint, in the likeness of the Frank and Polish pictures. And whereas this Patriarch is a great tyrant, and loves the Grecian forms to an extreme, he sent his people, and collected from every house, where they were found, such paintings as I have mentioned, even from the palaces of the Grandees of the empire, and had them brought to him. This took place during the last summer, before the plague appeared. Then, putting out the eyes of these pictures, he sent them round the city by janissaries, publishing an Imperial proclamation, that whoever should be found henceforth painting after such models should fall under various kinds of punishment. This was done in the absence of the Emperor. Now the Muscovites are vastly attached to the love of images (pictures), neither regarding the beauty of the painting nor the mastership of the painter; for with them a beautiful and an ugly painting are all one: and they honour them, and bow to them perpetually, though the figure be only a sketch upon a leaf of paper, or the daub of children: so that, of the whole army, there is not a single man but carries in his knapsack a gaudy picture within a triple cover, with which he never parts; and wherever he halts, he sets it up on a piece of wood, and worships it. Such is their practice, to which we were eye-witnesses. When they saw, therefore, what the Patriarch on this occasion had done to the pictures, they judged that he had sinned greatly. Vowing imprecations upon him, and making a tumult, they pronounced him to be an open enemy to holy images. Whilst they were in this disposition of mind, the plague manifested itself among them, and the sun was darkened on the afternoon of the twelfth of August. They immediately said: All this that has befallen us is through the wrath of God, for what our Patriarch has been committing, in contempt of our holy images." They were all so violent against the Patriarch, that they made an attempt to kill him; for the Emperor was absent from the capital, and there were but few troops in it: when an order came to him from the Emperor to conduct the Empress and her attendants to the Monastery of the Holy Trinity, to remain there through fear of the plague. They went out, therefore, from Moscow; and the Empress took up her abode in the Monastery of the Holy

Trinity, till the Christmas lent. The Patriarch quitted her there; and went to pass this season in the mountains and forests, through dread of the plague, withdrawn from human society, and dwelling in a tent, under the rain and snow, with no other companion but his fire. For the Muscovites having been unacquainted with the plague for about one hundred years, were exceedingly terrified at it. Most of the Grandees of the city took to flight, and, by the providence of God, mostly escaped danger. When the Emperor came from Smolensko to Viazma, he sent his commands to the Patriarch, to come to him, with the Empress. They repaired thither accordingly; and there remained till the plague had ceased in the metropolis, as we mentioned before. On this day, therefore, the Patriarch, obtaining his first opportunity of making a discourse in the presence of the Emperor, preached at great length, to shew that the painting after this Frank fashion was unlawful; and he called on our Lord the Patriarch to bear him witness, and to certify that certain pictures before them were on the model of the Frank paintings. They anathematized therefore, and excommunicated, every one who should continue painting like them, and every one who should place them in his house. Touching them with his hand one by one, and shewing them to the congregation, he threw them on the iron pavement of the church, to break them to pieces, and ordered them to be burnt. But as the Emperor is extremely religious, and has great fear of God, and was standing near us, with his head uncovered, attending in humble silence to the discourse, he entreated the Patriarch, with a suppressed voice, saying: "No, father! do not burn them; rather bury them in the earth." And in such sort they were disposed of. Every time the Patriarch took up one of these pictures in his hand, he cried aloud, saying: "This is the picture from the house of the Archon such an one, son of such an one (all Grandees of the empire). His design in this was, to put them to shame, that the rest of the congregation might see it, and take warning by their example.

After this, he preached to them on their method of making the sign of the Cross, with the same vehemence as he had done on the former subject. For the Muscovites do not cross themselves, as we do, with three fingers joined together; but in the manner in which the Heads of the Clergy give their blessing. And he called to witness our Lord the Patriarch concerning this. The case was, that our master had told him of it, and had mentioned to him that their manner was not the right: and our master now addressed the Heads of the assembly by the tongue of the Interpreter; saying: "In Antioch, and no where else, were

the believers in Christ first called Christians; and from that See issued the rites of the Church. So that neither in Alexandria, nor Constantinople, nor Jerusalem, nor Mount Sinai, nor on the Holy Mountain, not even in Wallachia or Moldavia, nor among the Cossacks, does any one cross himself as you do; but we all use the same form."

After this, the Patriarch concluded the Service; and they went out to the Emperor, offered him their best wishes, blessed him, and preceded him with the pictures to the outside of the south door, whence he passes to his palace. The carriers of the pictures having formed a circle round him, the Patriarch incensed them, and, taking off his crown, kissed them one by one. In like manner did our master; then the Emperor: and the Patriarchs blessed him as before. On his right hand stood his Prime Minister: on his left were two youths, brothers, standing side by side; we knew them, from their countenances, to be Tartars. They were the sons of the Sultan of Siberia. Their grandfather surrendered to the Czar Ivan his whole territory, without fighting, by convention. The Czar therefore confirmed him on his throne, on condition that he should pay a yearly tribute. His children, and his children's children, have continued his race until now. These two the Emperor had sent for, to come to him; and by words, exhortations, offerings, and gifts, he had made them Christians. The Patriarch baptized them, and the Emperor stood their godfather. Their names previously were Mohammed and Ahmed: they now named them John and Alexius. We were astonished at them, seeing that the one differed not in the least from the other. They were the most honoured of the Emperor's nobles. We said amongst ourselves: "Who could have believed that the children of Satan would become the sons of God? What a miraculous event! Blessed be our eyes for what they have seen, and our ears for what they have heard!" Then the bearers of the images passed before the Emperor, with the pictures: and the bells all rang, and we entered the sacristy to put off our copes. The two Patriarchs then took leave of each other; and we returned in the sania to our monastery, astonished and wonderstruck with the constancy and firmness of this nation, from the Emperor to their very infants. We entered the church as the clock struck three; and did not leave it till ten, having stood there with them about seven hours on our legs, on the iron pavement, enduring the most severe cold and piercing frost. But we were consoled for all this, by witnessing the admirable devotion of this people. Nor was the Patriarch satisfied with the Ritual and the long *Συναξάρια*, but he must crown all with an admonition and a copious sermon!

God grant him moderation! His heart did not ache for the Emperor, nor for the tender infants! What should we say to this in our country? Would to God we were thus patient! Without doubt the Great Creator has granted to this nation to be His peculiar people; and it becomes them to be so, because all their actions are according to the Spirit, and not to the flesh; and they are all of this disposition. Nor was yet this enough; but, after the Emperor and the Patriarch had sent us a banquet, and we had sat down to table, still in a state of stupefaction, the bells immediately began to ring for Vespers!

## BOOK X.

## SECT. I.

*EXPEDITION AGAINST THE POLES UNDER RADZIVIL.—MORTUARY SERVICES.*

IN the course of the first week of Lent, the Emperor dispatched the six Archons, having with them, as we ascertained, more than three hundred thousand troops : and a report was spread, that the Emperor himself would speedily follow them : for he was exceedingly exasperated when the two accounts were brought to him ; one, that the accursed Radzivil had seized on the city of Mohilov ; and the other, of what had taken place in the country of the Cossacks—of the devastation, slaughter, rapine, and burning, which had been committed there ; particularly when he saw the prisoners sent him by Chmiel, taken from the Tartars, Poles, Hungarians, Moldavians, and Germans ; and when he heard from Chmiel how God had granted him the victory over them, by the prowess of the Emperor's high estate, and the dread of his name. We, for our parts, could not believe in the report of the Emperor's speedy departure ; as he had not completed even a month's residence in the capital. But when we were assured of its truth, our joy, which had commenced at his arrival, fled away ; and our grief and sorrow increased as the time of his departure drew near. We began to utter prayers, from the bottom of our hearts, against that enemy of God and of the Christian Church, Radzivil ; as we had before directed our imprecations against Stephani Beg of Moldavia ; for, without doubt, the Creator raised up these two for a punishment on Christians. One would think that these enemies of God were only to appear, in our time, for the increase of our sorrow, anxiety, and confusion, which have driven us from our own country, and do not quit us. One reason why we supposed that the Divine vengeance was exercised on his Church, was deduced from what happened through Vasili, at the time he ascended the throne ; by whose hand were slaughtered more than one hundred thousand Christians, of Moldavians, Wallachians, Hungarians, Greeks, Servians, Bulgarians, Arnaouts, Turks, Arabians, Tartars, Poles, Cossacks, and other nations. For

this, however, we did not weep, but because the Almighty had not patience with us for fifteen days only—from the Thursday before Palm Sunday till the Thursday after Easter; as Vasili had promised us about that time to do us every sort of kindness—to pay off our debts, to furnish us with sacerdotal ornaments, a valuable crown, and so forth. If we had passed the Easter holidays with him, we should have congratulated ourselves on the receipt of all these benefits: he would have sent us hither without fatigue or trouble: and we should have been certain about the time of our return to our own country, and not have been detained here until now. The second reason is, that this accursed Radzivil is at this time in the field, and has roused the dormant ire of the Emperor; who, until the present, had entertained the intention of passing the Easter festival with us; and we rejoiced at the expected opportunity of becoming the objects of his regard, and in the hope that he would inquire into our circumstances: for we had almost despaired, previously, of ever seeing him, and could not believe our own eyes when we had at length the happiness to behold him. O Lord, look upon our condition! How long wilt thou avert thy regard from us? In all circumstances, we are grateful to Thee; and we thought, upon escaping from the troubles of Moldavia, that our afflictions were at an end; but they have never quitted us, even until now. O God! send upon Radzivil sickness and disease, in proportion as he has waded in the blood of thousands, and turned our comfort and joy into uneasiness and sorrow! For this accursed wretch, as we mentioned before, was the origin of all these evils, being a man of ruined circumstances, without fortune or success in war, and without force. When the Emperor marched to Smolensko with more than six hundred thousand men, this said person came to fight him with thirty thousand. As soon as the Emperor's advanced troops met them, they dispersed the whole thirty thousand at the point of the sword; for how could these resist twenty times their number? What insolence and presumption to attempt it! The wretch himself, as soon as he saw the face of the enemy, took to flight, in such mean attire that no one knew him, leaving his troops in distress and in the hands of the enemy, exposed to the worst of evils, till all the chiefs were captured, and but a few escaped with him. Nor did it suffice him to have brought himself to this shameful flight; but he must now return, with twelve thousand men, to plunder the country. Observe, sensible and intelligent reader, this insolence, this pride, and abject meanness! We will, in another part of our volume, complete the history of this affair with minuteness, that thou mayest know how that from God is all empire and dominion; and that he who uses

them with humility increases in power and command ; but him that is haughty and tyrannical, God reduces to a place on the dunghill, amid filth and rubbish, bringing down his nobles and warriors, as happened now, to be contemned and trampled on, under the feet of their enemies.

To return : On the eve of the second Saturday in Lent, the Emperor came to the Monastery of the Nuns, opposite us ; in which, as we have mentioned, are the tombs of the Empresses ; and sent for our Lord the Patriarch ; who, with the Patriarch of Moscow, put on his full robes, according to custom ; and they performed a *Μνημόσυνον* for the Mother of the Emperor, in the Choir. The Archdeacon having said the *Troparion* for the Dead, the Patriarch came down, and threw incense round the boiled meat (سليقة), towards the sanctuary, to the pictures, to our master, the rest of the Heads of the Clergy, the Archimandrites, and the assistant Priests ; then to the Emperor, and all the persons present. In like manner did our master ; and the singers chaunted the “ Benedictus,” and the Canon for laying the corpse upon the bier (قانون التجنيز), as usual. Each Deacon in the mean time repeated, “ Have mercy on us, O God,” with the rest of the prayer, in the proper place, having the censer in his hand ; and, at the suitable time, our master recited the *Troparion*, till the conclusion. Then they began the second service ; and the Archdeacon recited, “ Have mercy on us, O God,” with the rest of that prayer ; at the same time incensing the Empress’s tomb ; whilst the Patriarch, in a whisper, said the prayer, “ O God of our souls and bodies ;” and all the Assistants individually chaunted it, according to custom. Then he concluded with the prayer, “ For thou art the Resurrection ;” and having incensed the Archdeacon, gave to him the censer, saying, “ *Pramudrosti*,” that is, Σοφία. Afterwards the Patriarch recited verses, and concluded the prayer, continually incensing her tomb. Then the Archdeacon, with a loud voice, chaunted, “ May the memory of the deceased Empress (such an one) be everlasting ;” and the singers repeated it after him. Then the Patriarch went round to incense all present, and concluded the service. Afterwards they went in, to put off their copes ; and, coming out again, accompanied the Emperor to the outside of the church door. He gave them his commands concerning a mass on the following day ; and they took leave of him, and he departed ; and we returned to our residence.

Thus, on the morrow, we went as before, and performed mass, with a consecration of Priests and Deacons. After they had finished the prayers, they proceeded to the Empress’s tomb, and began the Prayers for the Dead ; and



the Patriarch, and the Archdeacon, and the singers, did as they had done the day before. After this we left the church. On this day the Emperor was not present at the ceremony, being busied and confused with the preparations for his journey on the following day; as it actually took place.

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## S E C T. II.

### •PREPARATIONS FOR THE EMPEROR'S DEPARTURE.—SIEGE OF MOHILOV, AND DISCOMFITURE OF RADZIVIL.

EARLY in the morning of the second Sunday in Lent, they summoned us, and we went to the Sobor. After the Patriarchs had paid their devotions to the images, and had put on their copes, the Emperor arrived. As soon as he had paid his devotions to all the pictures and the relics of the Saints, and the singers had chaunted for him the *Πολυχρόνιον*, he approached near to the two Patriarchs: and the Patriarch of Moscow, descending from his throne, advanced to meet him, and blessed him with the cross, concluding his benediction with the *'Αγιασμός*. In like manner did our master. Then the Archdeacon brought forward the large cross of gold, with another smaller. The Patriarch of Moscow blessed the Emperor with the one, twice; and the Emperor touched it with his right hand, for success in the war. In like manner our master blessed him with the other, and made him touch it; saying to him, by the tongue of the Interpreter: "As God formerly granted victory to the Emperor Constantine the Great, by means of the venerable cross, over his enemies, so I now beseech Him to grant it unto you." • The Emperor answered, "Amen!" and kissed our master's hand; and he kissed the Emperor's head. Now, this was a prophecy of our Lord the Patriarch's: for the Emperor had heard, that in one of the convents of the Holy Mountain, known by the name of *Παντοκράτωρ*, that is, (الضابط الكل) "the Omnipotent," was the very cross of the Emperor Constantine, which the Greek Emperors had bestowed by a *Χρυσόβουλλο*, or "Golden Bull" (خریصوفولو), on that convent. He sent therefore to ask the convent that they would send it to him, in order that he might receive a blessing from it: and lately, on the Festival of Pentecost, they sent to him this very cross, whilst he was in Poland. We ourselves saw it afterwards; and blessed ourselves with it, as we shall hereafter explain. The Emperor, having bowed to the two Patriarchs, went and stood by his chair, and sent to our master, by the Archdeacon, a beautiful sakkos, astonishing the

beholder with the excellence of its workmanship, the lustre of its colours, and its shining in the dark. We therefore took from him the sakkos he had on, and replaced it with this. Such an occurrence was to us the cause of great joy and exultation; as it passed before so great a multitude of persons, whose eyes were bent upon us, in admiration at the great love of the Emperor towards our master. On this occasion, and at this moment, it was worth treasures of gold: for honour belongs not to riches, but to station. “May God lengthen thy days, O Emperor of the Age! and give thee victory over thy enemies, at all times, and in all circumstances! It was not enough for your exalted mind to be occupied with the preparations for your expedition, O Greatest of the Kings of the Earth, Emperor of the New Rome, which is Moscow, Autocrat of Great and Little Russia, and *Μίγας Αὐθέντης πάσης Γῆς Βορραίας!* but you would not forget the Kyr Macarius, Patriarch of Antioch! May God grant you victory over your enemies, the demons, and perpetuate your reign for ages of ages! Amen!”

After our master had put on the sakkos, he passed near to the Emperor, accompanied by the Interpreter, and bowed to him, thanking him for his goodness, praying for him, and blessing him; and having kissed his head, returned to his place. On this day there was also an Ordination of Priests and Deacons; and at the time of the *Εἰσόδον*, before the Archdeacon said *Σοφία ὀρθοὶ*, two Deacons presented to the Patriarch one of the Officiating Priests, who bowed to him, and he blessed him, and recited over him the Prayer for the Office of Archimandrite; that is, he placed him at the head of a monastery which is within the city, dedicated by the title of the Divine Immersion. Having clothed him with sleeves, and placed on his side an ornament resembling precious stones, he put a mitre on his head and blessed him. Then they led him down, bowing, as he retired, to the Patriarch; then to our master, who also gave him his blessing. Then he went round to the Heads of the Clergy, the Archimandrites, and the Priests, who stood on each side; and kissed them on the mouth, as is their custom, whilst they blessed him. Then he stood in his place; and the Archdeacon having pronounced *Σοφία ὀρθοὶ*, we finished our fifth mass in the presence of the Emperor, and our seventh in the company of the Patriarch of Moscow. After the latter had concluded the prayers, and they had entered the sacristy to put off their copes, they went out to bless the Emperor. At this moment our master begged of the Emperor that he would send him his way. He answered: “No, my Father; but, on the contrary, I entreat you to remain here, praying for me, that God grant me victory over my enemies, that I may return joyfully, and

look into your affairs, and bestow upon you the favours which are suitable for you." Our master replied: "You know, my Lord, that up to the present time I have been more than four years absent from my See; having, to my great misfortune, been delayed on the road, and in Moldavia and Wallachia, nearly the whole of the time. If, then, it is your royal pleasure, dismiss me." The Emperor answered him: "You tarried so long a time in foreign countries; stay then likewise in mine, that it may be blessed by your presence: for, by your prayers, and with my sword, I shall be victorious over my enemies." On this our master was silent, and made no answer. Then the Emperor took him by the hand, and presented him to the Patriarch of Moscow, saying: "This is my Deputy: I commit you to his care. Whatever you wish for, ask of him." Then bidding them farewell, he departed; and we returned to our monastery.

The Patriarch gave us notice to return after a couple of hours, to take our last farewell of the Emperor; to whom, at the toll of the great bell, the citizens hastened forth from every part of the city, to bid adieu. We also went to the church; where the two Patriarchs put on their copes, together with the Heads of the Clergy, the Priests, and the Archimandrites, within the sacristy. We then went out to the *Νάρεθξ*, or Porch, where the Heads of Convents had taken their stations as usual, whilst the great bell tolled. While the Patriarch was coming down from his palace, they rang all the bells together; so that the very earth trembled, and our ears were deafened. The two Patriarchs then went out to meet the Emperor, and to give him their benediction. He was dressed in his imperial robes of Venetian gold brocade, of great beauty, and dazzling to the eye; with all round them, to the breadth of four inches, pearls, precious stones, and gold; being similar to the dress of the Grecian Emperors. He did not stop at his usual place; but came and stood behind the pillar on the right, that which was covered with red cloth, as we mentioned before, near to us. Then they began chaunting the prayers of the War Service, in responses from the two choirs, in the most delightful music; and the Emperor approached the Patriarch, who came down from his throne to the lowest step, and gave to him a letter, which he read. The Interpreter explained it to our master. Its contents were concerning the Voivode of Mohilov:—'That when the cursed Radzivil laid siege to their city, and made himself master of the line of walls raised of earth, the troops of the Emperor sallied forth against him with great bravery, and took up positions round the whole circuit of the city. There came also from the part of the Hetman Chmiel, one of his noble Polkobniks, known by the name of *Zolotorinskos*,

accompanied by forty thousand chosen Cossacks. These attacked Radzivil on the four sides; whilst from within the town they kept up a continual fire upon him with the guns. Seeing vengeance surrounding him on all quarters, he changed his clothes, as before, like Satan, and took to flight with a few attendants. Of the rest of his army, not one escaped.—We rejoiced therefore at this good news.—After they had finished the prayers, the Emperor went into the sanctuary, to perform his devotions; and returning, bent down his head before the two Patriarchs, who read over him the Prayers for War and Victory over Enemies, by the intercession of all the Saints, both ancient and modern, naming each of them, one by one. Then they blessed him; and took him by the hand, and kissed him, weeping. Then the Patriarch stood before him, and raised his voice in prayer for the Emperor, making a beautiful exordium, with parables and proverbs from the ancients; such as, how God granted victory to Moses over Pharaoh, &c.;—from modern history; such as, the victory of Constantine over Maximianus and Maxentius, &c.; adding many examples of this nature, and with much prolixity of discourse running on at his leisure, like a copious stream of flowing water. When he stammered and confused his words, or made mistakes, he set himself right again, with perfect composure. No one seemed to find fault with him, or to be tired of his discourse; but all were silent and attentive, as if each were a pauper or slave before his master. But what most excited our admiration was, to see the Emperor standing with his head uncovered, whilst the Patriarch wore his crown before him; the one with his hands crossed in humility, the other displaying them with the action and boldness of an orator addressing his auditor; the one bowing his bare head in silence to the ground, the other bending his towards him with his crown upon it, speaking to him; the one guarding his senses and breathing low, the other making his voice ring like a loud bell; the one as if he were a slave, the other as his lord. What a sight for us! God knows that our hearts ached for the Emperor. Was not this singular humility? Let us thank God, and praise Him, for granting us the grace to behold these strange and wonderful things. When the Patriarch had concluded his discourse with the prayer, he bowed to the Emperor; and they shook hands a second time. Then they went to bid adieu to the Emperor, at the outside of the south door of the church, where his banners were stationed with his troops; and he placed one of the two crosses which they had given him on a banner, on both sides of which was painted the Golgotha with the cross upon it, the whole in gold leaf. The other cross he set on the banner of the church which is dedicated by the title of The Assumption

of our Lady. Then the Patriarchs returned; and proceeded forth, from the west door of the church, with the Priests and Deacons carrying the banners and pictures, in great procession, on a platform of boards, till we met the Emperor, and passed before him, observing to turn our right hand towards him. The janissaries had strewed the whole of the road with yellow sand as far as the entrance of the castle-gate; and large wax torches, in great quantity, were burning around us, for it was evening; whilst all the bells rang, till the earth shook and our ears were deafened, until we passed through the castle-gate to the open space and court, whence we ascended to the stone circle appointed for prayer. The singers during the procession had been chaunting passages from the *Παράκλησις*, which they finished here. The Patriarch then said the Gospel, and gave his blessing with the cross on the four sides. Then he blessed the Emperor with it, assisted by our master; and they sprinkled him with the *Ἀγιασμός*, and read over him the Prayers for War, a second time, and took him by the hand. In like manner the Heads of the Clergy and the Archimandrites came to make their obeisance to him; and kissed his hand, and presented to him pictures covered with gold, as is their custom. After the Priests, we also, the Deacons, passed forward and kissed his hand. Then he bade them adieu, and mounted his sledge; having the sons of the Sultan of Siberia constantly on his right hand and on his left; and he departed in peace, saying, “Brosti!” that is, “Pardon me!” The image Vlashirnas was set up before him in the sledge; and there were carried round him great quantities of torches, for it was grown dark. We remained standing till all the troops had passed. With the Emperor went also the Archbishop of Tversk, together with his Priests, Deacons, Monks, and painters, in great number. We returned by torch-light to the church; and, having put off our copes, repaired to our monastery. As for the Emperor, he went to pass the night in one of his palaces, distant from the city three versts.

### SECT. III.

#### *AMOUNT AND DESCRIPTION OF THE MUSCOVITE TROOPS.—JUNCTION OF THE SWEDES.—ACCOUNT OF THE POTENTATES.*

OUR master asked the Patriarch of Moscow concerning the number of the troops that marched on this occasion with the Emperor. He replied: “Three hundred thousand chosen troops, of which forty thousand are continually round

his person, armed with excellent steel cuirasses ; besides those he had sent before him, with the Archons, as we mentioned above. He added : “ I myself have given him ten thousand men, with their horses and arms. So many has he also received from the convents in the territory of Moscow, in conjunction with the Heads of the Clergy ; from each according to their condition, and the extent of their lands and revenues.” Even from the very small convents he has been furnished with at least one man, armed and mounted, accoutred and paid : for all of them dispose of the benevolences and territorial grants made to them from the crown entirely to their own benefit, until a moment of necessity comes like this. This quota of men was over and above the treasure which he imposed upon them to be sent to Smolensko.

The steward of the Monastery of the Holy Trinity told us, that they had sent with the Emperor one thousand armed men. They had sent likewise to him, to Smolensko, a great quantity of wheat corn, biscuit, flour, rye, barley, fodder for the horses, butter, and so forth, about three and twenty thousand bushels ; three of which a beast of burden would with difficulty drag along in a cart. They calculated the value at more than two hundred thousand dinars. In this way he took from the rest of the convents, according to their degree.

They sent him from the Monastery of Cyrillus Bielozersko, in which we staid, as being the second monastery after the Holy Trinity, one hundred armed men, and more than ten thousand dinars in treasure carried to Smolensko. Thus they sent to him from the Monastery of Solovka five thousand dinars, which was the extent of their proportion. These three hundred thousand are the Emperor's own troops. He had sent with the Archons about four hundred thousand, as the Patriarch now told us. He took with him of the Dogfaced Tribe (قوم وجوه الكلاب) twenty thousand, at the sight of whom the horses and their riders are terrified. It was not his intention to make them fight ; but to use the terror of their name and character against his enemies, when they should see them eating human flesh. As we mentioned before, Chmiel had sent to him the Polkobnikos Zolotorinkos, with forty thousand Cossacks, on whom the Emperor settled a yearly pay, out of his treasury. A fortnight after the departure of the Emperor, his Vicegerents and Ministers dispatched after him one of the Great Archons, named Vasili Potorlin, with one hundred and twenty thousand men. Of these, thirty thousand were infantry ; the remainder, cavalry. With them marched ten thousand of the Dogfaced *Lobani*. But the greatest part of these troops were Tartars of the Cheramishids, Merdevan, Mogul, Bashkerd, and Calmuck tribes, &c. Many of

them were enlisted with the regular pay: the remainder were levied by taking a man from every two Tartar houses. Thus were collected together these immense bodies; which we used to go out to see, observing the various-shaped faces of the different tribes, which are distinguished from each other by no other names but such as are taken from their peculiar countenances. To each of these tribes they gave particular kinds of arms. But the greatest part of these troops, and of all the Emperor's troops, were armed with a handsome musket. Most of these tribes were furnished with handsome steel coats; and wore small caps on their heads, resembling helmets. Their arms, shoulders, and thighs, even at the joints, were covered with steel. Many of them had lances and hatchets, and such other warlike instruments. We went every day to view them, during this long Lent. These people, by the directions of the Emperor, were sent to Chmiel; that with them he might form a junction with the ninety thousand Muscovite troops who were in observation at Kiof, and march with the whole of them to carry on the war at Kamanitsa, the city of Kiof, and surrounding countries. Chmiel, having left the greatest part of his troops in his own country, to defend it from the attacks of the Tartars, got together, of the Muscovite troops and Cossacks, more than three hundred thousand men, as we ascertained afterwards from the Patriarch. With these he subdued a number of towns in that quarter; of which we shall make mention, in the proper place, hereafter.

The Emperor also sent one of his Archons, with one hundred thousand men, to guard his frontier against the Tartars; besides the sixty thousand (some said, one hundred and fifty thousand) who already garrisoned the castles and trenches on that line, without intermission. He afterwards sent one of his Archons to the cities of Cazan and Astrachan, to take the greatest part of their troops, together with the Calmuck tribe, who are enemies to the Khan and the Tartars; that with them he might subdue the Tartar towns. We afterwards ascertained that he collected together of them more than two hundred thousand.

Then the Emperor sent and commanded the troops of the cities of Novgorod and Pskov, and their territories, to march towards the sea-coast, and form a junction with the army of Sweden, in order to close the territory of the Poles on its three sides: Chmiel, with his army, being on one side, towards Moldavia and Hungary, and on the side of Germany; whilst the troops of Novgorod and Pskov would come along the sea-coast, in company with the army of Sweden, on the other side of the Polish territory. For the Virgin Queen\*, reigning in the kingdom

\* "Queen Christina."—EARL OF GUILFORD.

of Sweden, whom we mentioned before, would not be married to any man. When the people of her country rose against her, she left the kingdom, and chose for herself a place to live in; leaving her nephew to reign in her stead. This new King sent speedily to the Emperor an Ambassador, in token of his friendship; saying: "I am disposed to stand by you, at the risk of my life. But the Poles have taken possession, by force, of fifteen of the towns belonging to my kingdom. My desire is, to rescue them out of their hands." The Emperor returned him an answer suitable to his wishes. We afterwards heard that he came by land and sea, and, having regained his territory, did great damage in the country of the Poles. By sea, he sent fifty large galleons, manned with twenty-five thousand warriors: by land, he marched about the same number. To the Emperor he sent, on this occasion, twenty-four thousand muskets in cases, equal in value to more than one hundred thousand dinars. For all these Kings, I mean the King of England, the King of the Flemings (ريغا الغلمند), the King of Sweden, and the rest of the other Kings, send every year to the Emperor, instruments of war, such as muskets, coats of mail, and beautiful armour of all kinds; and he gives, in exchange for them, wheat and rye, for their food and maintenance. All the Frank ships which come to the port of Archangel take in corn in exchange for their cargoes, in the same manner as the Poles derive their sustenance from the country of the Cossacks. For this reason, these Kings make immense presents to the Emperor, and are ever sending Ambassadors to his court, to maintain their amicable relations: otherwise, were this supply of provisions to be cut off from them, they could not subsist; for their country is vary narrow, and produces no corn, but in small quantities. The import of the word Rega (ريغا), in these countries, is inferior to that of Crâl or Beg; for in Poland there is a Crâl, in Hungary a Crâl, in England a Crâl; but in Flanders a Crâl or rather Rega, from the narrowness of his dominions. In the same manner, also, in Venice is a Rega. Of this kind are also all the Dukedoms (الدوكات). As to the Emperors, as far as we could ascertain, the first of them is the Turk in Constantinople, reigning in the place of Constantine. The second is the Emperor of Germany, surnamed Cæsar; for they pretend, that, after the death of Constantine, he was the first to assume the crown and style himself Cæsar. The third is the Emperor (King) of Spain. The fourth, the King of France. The fifth is the King of the Redheads, or Persians (قرلباش). The sixth, the Emperor of Hindostan. The seventh, the Emperor of China. The eighth, the Emperor of Abyssinia. The ninth, the Emperor of Khota and Khotaia



(Tartary). The tenth empire is what remains of the Empire of the Georgians. The eleventh Emperor is the Emperor of Muscovy : for he acquired the dignity after all the others, as we mentioned before, in the time of the Czar Ivan. They reckon before him even the Emperor of Siberia and the Emperor *Altoon Padishah*, that is, the Sultan of the Country of Gold. But the Turkish Emperor glories in three things above the other Emperors : the first is, that he reigns in the place of Constantine, who was Emperor of the Seven Climes in his time, and was styled Monocrator, that is, the sole ruler : the second is, that the Turks slew seven Emperors, besides Begg and other Princes, and subdued their dominions ; first, the Emperor of Greece ; second, the Emperor Cæsar ; third, the Emperor of Bulgaria ; fourth, the Emperor of Servia ; fifth, the Emperor of the Arnaouts ; sixth, the Emperor of Trebizond ; seventh, the Emperor of Cherson (شروصونه). These make up the number, without including the country of the Tartars. Over all these countries the Emperor of the Turks prevailed, and slew their Emperors ; and not only them, but all their subordinate officers. Afterwards, he subdued the kingdom of Wallachia and the kingdom of Moldavia, and a part of the province of Hungary ; imposing on them a yearly tribute, and forcing them to march whithersoever they are called. They are to the present time under obedience to his commands, which pervade the utmost extent of their territory. In like manner, he has taken Belgrade, Erivan, Wan, and the rest of those countries ; and the borders of Abyssinia and of Yemen are in total subjection to his sway. The Turks have also subdued most of the islands in the White Sea, as Cyprus and Rhodes ; and the twelve celebrated islands, which of themselves formed an independent state. They have also taken a part of Georgia. Their sway is absolute over the whole of the Barbary States ; and extends over the greatest part of the White Sea, the whole of the Red Sea, the whole of the Black Sea, some of the coasts of the other seas ; and over many provinces on the borders of Romelia, taken from Venice, including Canna, Saloniki, &c. All these conquests of the Turks we obtained information of, from well-instructed persons who had travelled round the greatest part of the world, by land and sea. The third boast of the Turks is, that they are in possession of that half of the world which is best for its climate, water, air, and aliments. But the greatest of all is, that they are in possession of the tomb of our Lord God and Redeemer, Jesus the Christ ; and have this to glory in, over all the Christian Princes, who to visit this holy sepulchre must enter their dominions.

## SECT. IV.

*PROSECUTION OF THE WAR AGAINST THE POLES—THEIR NEGOTIATIONS.  
STATE OF THE RUSSIAN ARTILLERY.*

To return: The number of the troops that marched out from Novgorod, Pskov, and those countries which are near the frontier of the kingdom of Sweden, the empire of the Cæsar, and the kingdom of the Poles, was, in all, one hundred and twenty thousand, under the disposition and command as before mentioned. These marched out, and subdued most of the provinces of Poland near them, having a Voivode with full powers for their separate guidance: nor did they cease, on their side, taking towns and castles, plundering the country, massacring the inhabitants, and making prisoners, till they approached the Emperor. This side of the Polish territory is the second, having Sweden on the sea-side. The Emperor in person marched into the midst of it; and let loose the anger of God against the Poles from the four quarters, so that they knew not from which way the main brunt of war assailed them. Nevertheless, they shewed no inclination to make peace and to pay tribute, so great was their haughtiness; but rather had recourse for assistance to the Turks, importuning them with a multitude of embassies; promising them immense treasures, and agreeing to pay them a yearly tribute of thirty thousand dinars; to be under their government; and to march as their auxiliaries whenever they should summon them to war, in like manner as the provinces of Hungary, Wallachia, and Moldavia; declaring openly to the Turks: "When the Crål of Muscovy shall have taken our country, you will be most concerned; for he will then speedily come against you; as we are the people who now make head against him, and repel him from you and your territory." For the further confirmation of their sincerity and friendship towards the Turks, they placed in their hands two sons of the former Crål, as a pledge for the promised treasure and tribute which they offered them. For this Crål, who had assisted Chmiel and strengthened him, the Poles had poisoned, and placed his brother on the throne in his stead. What did the latter then do? He married his brother's wife, with the permission granted to him by the Pope;—a flagitious proceeding, which not even the worshippers of idols were guilty of in their time. His brother's children he sent to the Turks, as we have mentioned.\*

\* "Notwithstanding all their improvements, the Poles are a scurvy nasty nation as ever I conversed with, proud and insolent, hugely self-conceited, always extolling their own country above all others, vain and prodigal in their expenses before company, gaudy in their apparel, rich in their horses and trappings, civil and hospitable to strangers, till they have seen all their pomp, and have been drunk  
twice

In like manner they sent and promised the Tartars immense treasures, to come and assist them. But the Turks, as the report goes, being endued with vast good sense (عقل), refused to help them; giving them two reasons for it:—for the first, saying: “You are Christians; we have no admission among you:” for the second: “If you wish that we assist you, and that we send for that purpose to command the Khan of the Tartars, the Crál of Hungary, the Beg of Moldavia, the Beg of Wallachia, and the Pasha of Silistria, to ride off with all their troops to your succour against your enemies, pay us the amount of the tribute which you agreed to, in your treaty of peace with the deceased Sultan Othman, to be every year paid, to the amount of seventy thousand piastres and thirty thousand head of oxen and sheep;—whereas it is now five and thirty years since you paid us any thing. Pay us then the whole of these arrears, that we may comply with your request.” With this answer they silenced them. But the real motive of the Turks for refusing aid to the Poles, was their fear of incurring the particular enmity of the Emperor; as they apprehended much danger from him, on the side of the Black Sea. The Poles, however, ceased not their correspondence with the Turks till the end of the summer, as we shall detail hereafter. The Poles had hoped also for succour from the Cæsar: but the Emperor had anticipated them, twice or thrice; and then, like Welsh men, they are willing to be rid of them. They are greater drinkers than the *Russes*; and so quarrelsome in their drink, as that few gentlemen are seen without some eminent scars, which they wear as badges of honour gotten in the wars of *Bacchus*.

“Their laws are the most barbarous of any people living; for homicide is satisfied by a pecuniary mulct; a crown (as I remember) for killing a peasant; and so higher, according to the quality of the person.

“Their king may be styled *Rex Bacchatorum*: for in their *Comitia*, when a vote has passed all but one peremptory coxcomb, he will rise up in the spirit of contradiction, and, laying his hand upon his cimitar, saucily protest against it, though not able to give a reason for what he says; and perhaps the business is demurred for that time: next day, being half drunk, he will be the first in passing the very same vote. Their king is little better than a painted rudder; which seems to steer, but does not. *Henry the Third*, afterwards King of *France*, was (as I take it) King of *Poland*; and so weary of his kingship, that he would willingly have changed it for a pair of shoes of good running leather. On a certain day he made an entertainment for many of the nobility, whom he made drunk; having for his own wine nothing but fair water, coloured red. One of these drunken lords he laid in his own royal bed: the curtains were drawn, and waiters stood by the bedside, who knew nothing of the design. In the mean time the king slipped away, and, by horses laid on purpose, made his escape out of the confines. The son of *Bacchus*, being in the interim well attended, at last awakened, and betrayed the plot; whereupon they made all possible haste to catch their king again; but being gone into another country, they treated with him, beseeching him to return, and they would for the future be very civil unto him; but he answered, ‘No.’

“The bird deserves to be a prisoner all its days, that will return again to the cage when he is once got loose. As for mine own part, I had rather be a peasant in *France*, than king in *Poland*!”

by sending first an Ambassador to him, to strengthen the friendship between them; and the Cæsar consequently refused the Poles any assistance. Thus their hopes have been cut off on all sides: and may it please Almighty God completely to root them out, in retribution for what they have perpetrated against their poor neighbours and the Cossacks during these last three years; murdering their children and pregnant women, who knew no harm, setting fire to their houses, and massacring all of them without mercy, particularly in the nights of the Passion-week!

To return to the computation we were making of the number of the Emperor's troops now marched out:—As we said before, he sent with his Archons about four hundred thousand, and with himself marched out three hundred thousand. From Chmiel there came to him forty thousand: the army from Novgorod and Pskov was to the amount of one hundred and twenty thousand. From the first, the Dogfaced Tribe were with him, to the number of thirty thousand: then came to him afterwards, in the summer, a tribe like to them, but wilder than they, as we ourselves witnessed, to the amount of forty thousand. Of the army of Archangel, called Cossacks, there came to him fifteen hundred youths, like fighting dæmons—blessed be He who made them! When we saw them, we likened them to the youths who rove about our own country. After the royal son of the Moslem had been baptized, he marched to the assistance of the Emperor with the ten thousand troops which he had under his command, being sent off by the Patriarch. The Emperor dispatched towards the country of the Cossacks about two hundred thousand, besides the army of Chmiel: he also sent one of his Archons, named Sheranmanz (شَرَامَنْد), with one hundred thousand, to make war upon the Tartar frontier with these troops; and stationed the other fifty thousand in the towers and castles, upon the trenches. Near the person of the Emperor there are always thirty thousand German soldiers, well exercised as cavalry and artillery, belonging to the different regiments of his army, and receiving yearly pay. From ancient times he has always had with him one thousand Poles, in regular pay. Under the Greek banner there exists, in some years, a corps of four hundred men in his pay. Then he sent another Kniaz to take the command of the army of Cazan and Astrachan, and of the Kalmuck Tartars, of more than two hundred thousand men, to lay waste with them the country of the Tartars, and keep them so much employed as to hinder them from marching to the aid of the Poles; for the Crim (الْقَرْم), which is the seat of the Khan, is only fifteen days' journey from Astrachan. Then there came also to the succour of the Emperor one of the Beks of Circassia, residing near Astrachan, with twenty thousand Bashajans

(بشعجان). This is what we ascertained and saw of the nature of the Emperor's army, which Almighty God only can number : for as the Emperor of the Turks boasts, above all other Emperors, of the multitude of his men, so does this Emperor boast still more of the multitude of his. The most wonderful of all was, that all these troops are armed with firelocks ; and not only with one each, but several. The Cossacks of the Don, to the number of forty thousand, are also under the Emperor's government. Those Tartars who live at the mouths of this river, on the Black Sea, keep aloof from the Cossacks ; for they are continually laying waste their country, and making them prisoners, and carrying them to Moscow for sale. For as the Tartars are an annoyance to the Christians who are their neighbours, so do these Cossacks annoy them in return ; and may God increase their power over them ! Even the Turks on the Black Sea fear them ; for they are hardy and brave in war, to a great degree, as we witnessed ; and they fear not death. If we live till next year, we will give their history. Most of this information we verified from the mouth of the Patriarch ; who, in continuation, said : “ The Emperor has taken with him, of last year's artillery, three large guns, the length of each gun being more than fifteen braces ; and each being allotted fifteen hundred horses to draw it, and five hundred janissaries for its management. With them he made a breach in the vast walls of the city of Smolensko, though built of large quarry-stone.” Concerning these guns, certain Greek merchants, who had seen them with him, have informed us, (and we ourselves have seen cannon resembling mortars, which are short, and thick, like barrels,) that, when they are fired, they shoot to the skies what they are charged with, which, falling in the midst of the city or the castle, burns and spreads mischief far and wide, digging up the ground to a great depth.—The Emperor has lately received guns from Europe, which, when discharged, make no noise : these are in his store-houses.

## SECT. V.

### *RELATIONS BETWEEN THE MUSCOVITES AND TARTARS.—WARFARE OF THE LATTER.—PREDICTIONS CONCERNING THEM.*

If any person should ask : “ Why then did not the Emperor, having all this collection of hundreds of thousands of troops with him, march straightway against the Tartars, and root them from the face of the earth ; since they are perpetually

trespassing on his territory, burning and carrying away captives; and committing equal horrors upon the Cossacks, and the Moldavians and Wallachians; though from these latter especially they receive treasures in tribute; thus treacherously breaking their engagements?" We answer, that we inquired much concerning this matter, even of the great officers of government, and ascertained the cause of this to be two things: the one, that the Poles, during the period of their strength up to the present moment, have shewn no constancy nor good faith, on any occasion. How often did the father of this Emperor wish—how often has this Emperor himself desired—to march against the Tartars; but they feared the treacherous attacks of the Poles on their own territory: for when the Poles had conquered Smolensko and its province, there remained between them and the city of Moscow no more than three hundred versts: and Sovereigns have great good sense, superior to ours; none of them ever march forth against an enemy, leaving another behind them:—this is the first excuse for the apparent neglect of the Muscovites. The second is, that the Tartar frontier is above a whole month's severe march distant from the frontier of Muscovy, the whole way lying through deserts and difficult passes, now taking to the right, now to the left, and passable in some places only, as is said, to one at a time. But the filthy Tartars sally forth on a sudden, and load themselves with no provisions but roasted meal in leathern-bags. Each of them, if he is but a poor man, has with him four or five horses; and in one night they perform five or six days' journey, stopping only where they find water: there they put a portion of this meal into a vessel, and, drenching it with water, sup it, making it serve them for both bread and beverage, where the water alone would be bad. Then they slaughter some of their horses, and eat them without cooking; laying a store of the flesh under the horses' saddles, for the prosecution of their journey. For the food of their horses, they collect the dry grass in their own country, and tightly twist it into ropes, which they load upon their horses, giving them sparingly of it to eat. With this parsimony they continue to live contentedly, in their own way. To whatever place they direct their march, thither they rush forward, like wild beasts, on a sudden, spreading fire on every side; hunting and chasing the people from their houses; loading them on their horses and carts, with all the stores they have plundered, and riding off with them. To these captives they give sparingly, from time to time, only a little horse-flesh, such as they eat themselves; so that many of the prisoners die, on the roads, of hunger, thirst, and fatigue. But the Muscovites have not strength to pursue such a way of life on the road; and therefore

are unable to perform the march. This august Emperor, however, as we mentioned before, has not ceased, since the beginning of his reign, to make conquests on that side, and to build castles in that direction, and towns, and entrenched walls; so that the march between his frontier, and the Crim\* under the Khan, is become the work of five days only. For how many years has he not been laying up stores in this quarter, with all kinds of warlike apparatus for the expedition, to be undertaken at a suitable opportunity; which is perhaps now near at hand, and, please God, will be in our time! May be, that this is the prediction prophesied by the late Metropolitan Isa (عيسى), in his poem, saying of the Tartars, who eat horse-flesh: "Surely they are like the Arabs of the desert, sustaining themselves by what they gain in the night of plunder: otherwise their memory would have long since been annihilated, and their root have perished. But, if it please God, whose power is infinite, vengeance will speedily and suddenly overtake them: He will send them the Aga of the Russians, with an army of Polcs, and with horses that in their course resemble the rushing blasts of the wind, who will mow them down as the corn is reaped in the harvest, and will give their filthy bodies for food to the wild beasts: and thou shalt exclaim: "On to the aid of the Christians! The Tartars are perishing without mercy!" Probably, what the deceased prelate said at that time, we are now coming to; and what he desired, is now arrived. Indications of this are manifest: for since the reign of the Czar Ivan, not one of the Muscovite Emperors had marched out to make war upon any one; but they had remained, contented, within the boundaries of their own empire and provinces, regulating their own internal affairs, and, glory

\* "The metropolis of *Tartary* is called *Crim*: it is a strong walled town upon the Tartarian Sea, from whence the great *Cham* is named *Crim-Tartar*. They say the city is built of stone and brick, very stately. The people are tributary to the Turk; and *Moscua* was formerly tributary to them, and paid two thousand sheep-skin coats yearly to the Duke of *Moscovi's* homage, which was, to feed the *Crim's* horse with oats out of his cap: to this, also, he was sworn by a strict oath. But within these years, the tribute has been refused, because the Tartar broke the league by invading the confines. And indeed they are troublesome neighbours. Like flies, when they are routed, they fly in a moment, dispersing themselves one by one, but at night rendezvous again; and it is almost as impossible to get one of their led horses, which will not leave their companions.

"They will march an hundred miles a day, with changing their horses once or twice; for every man is furnished with three or four, at least. If any of them tire or die, they share them among the troop; and being sufficiently chafed under the saddle, they make an hearty meal of them. If any of them fall sick, they give him some mare's milk, or fresh blood from an horse, which they bleed on purpose.

"They bring no salt nor bread along with them, nor do they eat any at all; alleging, that salt makes them dim-sighted, and bread breeds a dull and heavy nourishment."

*A Survey of the Present State of Russia, 1671, p. 86.*

to the name of God! all looking with eagerness for the coming of the Patriarch of Antioch. At our arrival, then, in Moldavia, the world arose against Vasili; and in Wallachia something of the same sort happened. The Tartars, after having been united in friendship with Chmiel for eight years, like brothers, became divided from him; so that he was forced to fly for refuge to the Emperor: and the Poles, who had been very great friends of the Emperor's, were so set at variance with him, that before we reached his presence he had marched against them, and performed the feats elsewhere recorded. Again, after the Tartars had been at peace with the Emperor, he became their enemy, on account of the devastations they committed in the country of the Cossacks, now become his. They have an eye to the wealth of his territory, and fear his encroachment upon theirs. All these circumstances, which are intricate as the meshes of a net, have so confused us, that we know not whether most to rejoice or to fear. God take us in safety out of these countries! which, when they are once thrown into disorder, are not likely again to be pacified. We know not how the end shall be; but God knows whether the period is at hand, and whether we are coming to the end of our time.

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## SECT. VI.

### *RUSSIAN COINAGE.—PUNISHMENT OF DESERTERS, THIEVES, AND FRAUDULENT GOLDSMITHS.—EXECUTION OF FELONS.*

To return to what we were speaking of before:—The Emperor, up to the present time, has not yet opened his stores and treasures, to furnish the maintenance of these troops; but this last year made the money, which he collected from the merchants and grandees of the empire, suffice for their pay and support. It is said that he found besides, in the treasury of one of the castles which he took first, six millions of gold dinars. Moreover, within the course of this last year, great fortunes have fallen into his hands, from the property of the rich who died and left no heirs, as he has entered into the possession of all their treasures and effects. He has also lately issued a new coin, by dividing every dollar into four, and stamping every piece with his image, an equestrian figure. This coin is named *Chertwert*, or “Four pieces.” The piastre is thus made into two piastres. Afterwards, he stamped the genuine piastres with his die and image, and made each of them from one to two. He made also red-



copper coin, which he caused to pass for the value of the piastre, proclaiming their currency in trade, and issuing them for the payment of his troops. All this has resulted to the increase of his power, and to the love of all the Muscovites towards him, nothing inferior to their love of their Creator. We observed, as a proof of this, that when we offered them Spanish dollars, they refused them and spat upon them, because stamped with the image of the Frank: but when we gave them of the currency stamped with the figure of the Emperor, they kissed the coin, saying, "CyΔapb;" that is, "We love this: this is the currency of our Lord the Emperor, which is better than the coin of the heretic Franks."

After the Emperor had taken his departure, and arrived at Smolensko, some of the poor, weak, and sickly soldiers secretly deserted, and returned to their homes, without its being known to any one. They did not, however, long remain concealed; but were soon discovered by the Emperor's officers, who were making their rounds through the city and the surrounding country. They brought them into Moscow, with their hands tied behind their backs, loaded with chains; and carried them before the ministers and deputies of the Emperor, where they immediately stripped them. Then they made them go the whole round of the city, with the executioner behind them, holding in his hand a long lash of a slit bull's nerve; at every stroke of which, upon their backs, he proclaimed the crime of which they were guilty. Each lash was marked by the gushing blood of the sufferer, to the great horror of the spectator; whilst the unhappy wretch only cried CyΔapb (سوداری)! that is, called upon the name of the Emperor to save him. Thus they went on till their return to the Court (برکاز); so that the shoulders and back of the poor wretches were reduced to such a state as to excite compassion, with the blood gushing from the wounds like water from a fountain. Some of them they afterwards threw into prison: some of them they hanged.—In this manner they punish criminals. If a thief has stolen a piece of gold or silver plate, they hang it on his tongue, and shew him round the town, with the executioner lashing him: then they throw him into prison, for the term of his sentence.

Over the goldsmith there is a strict watch by the police; such as we have never found in any other country; for they sell nothing but pure silver, clear of fraud and deceit. All their silver is of Spanish dollars (القراتروش), and their gold of ducats. Whatever article, of whatsoever kind, you may wish to purchase in a goldsmith's shop, in the scale opposite to it are put dollars, silver for silver, over above which you pay a stated price for the workmanship: and if the plate

is gilt, the price of the gold is added. If any goldsmith is ever found committing a fraud in his business, they instantly take the silver or gold, and, melting it, pour it into his mouth. This is a thing well known, and a strict regulation. With them their copecks are more esteemed, by much, than dollars or ducats. We observed that they punished with death four crimes, without mercy or remission — treason against the government, murder, theft in a church, and deflouring a virgin without her consent. Persons guilty of these crimes never escape being shewn round the city, with the lash at their backs; and many of them die under it. We saw some of them, whose heads they beat off with maces (ببلاط) upon a stone, not cutting them off with swords: these had been guilty of the murder of their masters. One we saw them burn in a house they made for him in the square; in which they tied him, and then, throwing (القش) straw on fire into it, burnt him to death: he had purposely set fire to his master's house. Thus they burn the Sodomite (اللوطي) without mercy. As for the adulterer, when the case is unknown to the Emperor or the Patriarch, frequently he escapes, after his exposure through the city, and suffering the lash in the manner we have described and witnessed; then imprisonment, and a heavy fine.

Whoever speaks ill of the Emperor never escapes punishment: this we particularly observed, calling to God for refuge: for it may be, that a person blaspheming his Maker in the most impious and execrable language shall meet with forgiveness among them; but he who reviles the Emperor is sure to lose his head. If any one accuses his fellow of crime, they put the accused to all manner of torture, that he may confess; and if he confesses, the law takes its course: but if he does not confess, and the other has accused him falsely, they punish the accuser worse than they would have punished the supposed criminal, and force him to pay the expenses of the cure of the other's wounds. Woe to the man who commits any offence, whether he be rich or poor! No intercession, no bribery, avails him. They drag him off to judgment, executed, God knows, with the strictest justice, as we often witnessed; for to the degree of good government, which exists among them, no ruler of any other country has arrived. This is strictly and truly what we heard of the state of things here.

## SECT. VII.

*REGENCY, CHARACTER, POWER, AND INCOME OF THE PATRIARCH, NICON.  
ARCHDEACON ARSENIUS.*

BEFORE the Emperor's departure, he appointed a Vicegerent and many ministers, each awarded to a certain duty, with an appeal from them to the Vicegerent or Regent. The Patriarch he placed as inspector over all; so that no affair, whether superior or inferior, should be decided without his advice, nor without their declaring it before him every morning of every day, as it occurred. For they were in the habit, every morning, of repairing to the Court or Divan, to look into the affairs of the state, and the affairs of the people, with all diligence; none ever going, on any occasion whatever, to transact business with them at their own houses. Thus, even in the frosty season, we observed the greatest among the Ministers, the Emperor's Vakeel, or Deputy, repairing to the public office in his splendid sledge, drawn by a pair of white or black cattle, with two or three servants behind, not more; both he and they being dressed in mean clothes; for they are accustomed to dislike fine dresses. Whenever it happened that the Ministers were not all assembled in the divan at the time the Patriarch's bell rang for them to repair to his palace—as the door of it is always closed during prayer-time, and the door-keepers are strict in guarding his doors till the time that the bell rings again and he comes out to his outer hall—those Archons who were too late were obliged to wait at his door in the excessive cold, till he should order them to be admitted. This we saw with our own eyes: for our Lord the Patriarch, during the whole period of the Emperor's absence, every now and then went to the Patriarch's palace, to inquire of the Emperor's health, and learn the news from him. On these occasions, when permission was given him, and he entered into the Patriarch's presence, the latter would never salute him till he had first turned to the images and chaunted "Αξιον ἐστιν in a low voice, and the Archdeacon had said Κύριε ἐλέησον three times, and Εὐλόγησον, whilst they bent to the ground: then the two Patriarchs, having shaken hands with each other, sat down to converse together; with the interpreter to interpret between them, till they had finished their conversation. In the mean time, the Ministers were waiting without. On their being permitted to enter, the Patriarch would turn to the images, and in secret repeat the "Αξιον ἐστιν; whilst they bowed to him, all together, to the ground, with their heads

uncovered, as they remained till they went out. Besides this, each in particular, advancing and making his bow, received the Patriarch's blessing; and this he did twice. Even their little children they brought forward with them, to be blessed by the Patriarch. Thus he conversed with them, standing, whilst they presented to him their accounts of every thing that was passing. To each he gave his answer concerning every affair, commanding them what they should do. By what we observed of the grandees of the empire, they do not much fear the Emperor, nor entertain much dread of him: they rather fear this Patriarch, and by many degrees more. His predecessors in the Patriarchal dignity did not interfere at all in affairs of the state; but this man, from his ingenuity, comprehension, and knowledge, is accomplished in every art and skill as regards the affairs of Church and State, and all temporal affairs whatsoever, by reason of his having been married, and having become acquainted with the world in general. So, after he had dispatched these affairs, he would again turn to the images, chaunting "Αξιον εστιν a second time; and, having blessed his visitors, dismiss them, setting off before them on his way to the church; for he never intermits the service in the church three times in the day and night, besides assisting at mass and vespers. Most days he performs mass himself. At his entering the church, and leaving it, he is presented by many persons with *choloftal* (چولوڤيڤات) that is, memorials of their circumstances and affairs; for there is no possibility for any one to have an interview with him in his apartments, except the grandees, who see him in the morning. But under his suite of rooms are seven courts or halls, presided over by seven judges, attended by numerous clerks. Each divan is appropriated to certain affairs. One of these divans is appropriated to the Monks and convents, and there all their causes are decided. Another is set apart for the Clergy; and here every person coming out of the country, far and near, to be made Priest, presents himself, with his testimonials from the people of his district. The archon of this divan, who is also treasurer to the Patriarch, and a Monk, keeps these testimonials by him till the applicants amount to twenty or thirty, altogether; then he presents the documents to the Patriarch, for each: and as the candidates stand before him, the Patriarch goes round to them with one of their books. He who reads it readily, upon his petition the Patriarch signs his certificate and approval; and those who cannot so read, he rejects: for here the authority of the Patriarch is equal to that of the Emperor. Many of these candidates for holy orders we saw, who had come a distance of some thousand versts, from the districts of Siberia, and other parts.

Neither the Patriarch nor any other of the Heads of the Clergy receives any contribution from his flock. Their maintenance is from the Imperial benefices; and they have a tax on each of their Priests, according to his rank, from year to year.

Another divan is for Inheritances; on which the Patriarch takes ten per cent, besides what is taken by the judge and his officers. So, also, every person becoming a parish Priest has large fees to pay. Every thing that passes in these courts every day is reported to the Patriarch by these judges, who take his answers as to what he pleases should be done. The petitions which he receives from the people he goes into his palace and reads; and to some he returns an answer, and the affair is decided: but if any one's name is passed over, the petitioner knows that his affair has not succeeded.

Attached to every court is a prison, well furnished with heavy chains of iron and large wooden stocks. When any of the Heads of Monasteries, or of the High Clergy, has committed a fault, he is sentenced to irons, and condemned to sift flour day and night for the bakehouse, till he has completed his sentence; and in this condition we used to see them. Around the Patriarch are many Archons, most of whom are in office; some of them being entrusted with the government of provinces, in like manner as the Voivode of Potiblia: the rest are deputies, treasurers, and stewards of different kinds; some being inspectors over the treasury, some over the buttery, some over the cellar: some being for the superintendence of the revenue, others for that of the expenditure. But he never permits the Deacons to pass into the interior of his apartments, nor any person that can read, for fear he should peruse his papers of secrets, &c., or any thing else he should find. He has his own goldsmiths, tailors, iron-smiths, builders, carpenters, painters, and every kind of artist, each paid an annual stipend, found in clothes, and gratified with presents, &c. Such a man is this Patriarch, by means of his vast influence with the Emperor. Where the Patriarchal fief was formerly ten thousand houses of peasants, he has now made it five and twenty thousand; for every time any archon dies, he goes to the Emperor and obtains from him a part of his peasants and farms. In this manner he has got possession of many lakes, which bring him in immense riches from salt and fish. Thus he has been acting of late; having prevailed on the Emperor to issue a *Χρυσόβουλλο*, or ordinance, that whenever any archon dies without an heir, the Patriarch shall enter the succession. In this way has he acquired many salt-lakes, which yield him an immense yearly income; whereas the Patriarchs before him had to

buy their own fish and salt. In like manner, he has forbidden any duties to be paid to the Emperor on his merchandise; and all this by the *Χρυσόβουλλο*. When horses used to be sold in the city, or in any other town of the empire, out of the price the Emperor received two copecks the rouble, and the convent of the Holy Trinity one: so that in every custom-house resided an archon to levy for the Emperor, and another for the convent; the former taking two parts, the latter one. But this Patriarch has taken the half of their revenue on these sales; so that his daily income is said to be twenty thousand roubles. His income from the churches of the capital and the surrounding district amounts yearly to fourteen thousand roubles, as he receives from each in proportion to its revenue; taking a rouble from the poorest. Thus from every church, and all the Clergy of his province, he receives a contribution, which they pay both to him and to their own metropolitan. The revenue of the Convent of the Holy Trinity used to be equal to one-third of the Emperor's income; but this Patriarch has by force taken one half of it, saying, "The Patriarchate has the better right to it." So has he also taken the best part of the collected treasures in the Imperial monasteries, as we afterwards ascertained, and placed them in his Patriarchal church, where they were by no means wanted, enriching it with their splendid copes covered with pearls and stones of the greatest value, their gold vessels, and other riches, and leaving them only a small portion. Being a man of acute intellect, he is sensible of his own ability for taking the lead, and for interfering in the government of the empire; and every one fears and respects him. Whereas formerly no person was raised to the dignity of an Archimandrite but by command of the Emperor, nor deposed but by him, this man has annulled the rule; and promotes to that office, or deprives of it, whomsoever he pleases, without consultation with any one. He from whom God has withdrawn His protection, and upon whom His anger is let loose, is the person who commits any lapse or error before the Patriarch, or is known by him to have got drunk, or to have been negligent in his attendance at prayer: for he is immediately, by his order, consigned to banishment. Whereas formerly the convents of Siberia were empty, the Patriarch, since his power began, has filled them with Chiefs of monasteries and of the Clergy, and with dissolute and wretched Monks. When any of the Priesthood has been guilty of an offence, he immediately takes his calpack from off his head, which is the same thing as annulling his office. If he ever has mercy on him, and pardons him, it must be of his own free motion, for he allows none to intercede: and except the Emperor, no one has the courage

to mediate with him. Against many of the Clergy he has been so much enraged, as to have their hair shaved off; and to have banished them, with their wives and children, to Siberia, there to fulfil their days in a most wretched mode of life. By this severity he makes all fear him; and his word prevails. Latterly he has gone so far, as to deprive thé (كلاري) High Steward of the Convent of the Holy Trinity of his dignity, and has banished him to one of the monasteries; and this notwithstanding his rank was so high as to be the third (حاكم) High Governor:—for they reckon in this country three High Governors or Magistrates; the Emperor, the Patriarch, and the High Steward of the Holy Trinity. We saw him, when he came from his convent and was passing to some place, with many grandees and attendants and troops in his train, such as were not seen attending the Patriarch. After this had been his dignity, the Patriarch placed him, in the convent to which he had banished him, as a corn-grinder (طحاناً).

We were informed concerning the Monastery of Sifska, that it is in the midst of a lake, at a distance from the sea. Its distance from Moscow is fifteen hundred versts. Its inhabitants are reported as exceedingly malicious, and altogether hard-hearted and unmerciful to the persons who are banished thither, giving them no rest; so that the greater part of them die by violence.

The reason why the Patriarch so treated the High Steward was this: information had reached him, that the steward was taking, in numerous instances, bribes from the rich, to excuse them from marching on this expedition with the Emperor; and was sending, in their stead, poor men, destitute of means for the journey:—for the Convent of the Holy Trinity has been charged by the successive Emperors with the burden of furnishing four pulks of troops, each pulk consisting of three hundred men, to be employed alternately in garrisoning the place, and in the general service of the empire. The Patriarch then appointed, as High Steward in his stead, the Archdeacon Arsenius, who had come into our country with the Patriarch of Jerusalem. From Aleppo he had passed to Georgia. On his arrival at Moscow, the Patriarch and the Emperor convened a meeting, and sent him to the Holy Mountain, with a large contribution of alms for the convents; and with letters to the Priors, requesting them to give him whatever they could command of ancient Greek books. This was because the present Patriarch and the Emperor are lovers, to an extreme, of the Greek ceremonies and Ritual; and had observed, that, through length of time, alterations had taken place in their books. They had heard, that on the Holy Mountain all the writings of the Greek empire had been collected. They therefore sent this man

to gather up all he could find of what was curious among them. He went, therefore, and obtained of them about five hundred large books of various kinds. We had met with him, as he was passing into Wallachia. After that, he went to Constantinople, and saw every thing there: then returning, he carried along with him planks of cypress in great quantity, as he had been charged to do by the Patriarch, for the pictures; as that material is much admired in this country. On his arrival at Moscow, he brought all these things with him; and the books were deposited in the treasury. For these they have translators, natives of Greece; who translate them one after another, and print and publish them. In reward for these two services which the Archdeacon Arsenius performed; namely, for going, at the command of the Emperor and the Patriarch, to Mount Sinai, Egypt, Jerusalem, to our country, and to Georgia, to ascertain the condition of all those countries; and for this second service; the Patriarch satisfied him, by placing him in the highest possible situation. *And, there is no gift but from before the Father of Lights.*

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## SECT. VIII.

### STORES SENT TO THE SCENE OF WAR.—CELEBRATION OF THE EMPEROR'S BIRTH-DAY.—DESCRIPTION OF THE DIEVITZA CONVENT.

To return to our information concerning the Emperor:—Stores of victuals and drink, &c. for the men and cattle, and quantities of armour and ammunition, such as swords, muskets, coats of mail, powder, and cannon, did not cease to be conveyed to him till the latter end of the summer. These things continually passed under our eyes. During this week, there came from Archangel more than three hundred carts, laden with suits of iron armour, made to the entire shape of man, so that, when they are put on, not the smallest part of the wearer's body is seen; together with swords, pikes, muskets, &c. without number; all from the country of the Franks, the Emperor having ordered them a long time since. We were astonished at seeing them, having never beheld any thing of the like sort in our own country; for, as we were assured by the Europeans, they never export them to Turkey, such exportation being prohibited.—The Emperor pays for them in eatables.

On the third Saturday of Lent, which was the seventeenth of the month of Adar, was the commemoration of St. Alexius, the man of God. As the august



Emperor was born on this day, completing on it now the seven and twentieth year of his life, and was named after this saint, Alexius, he was in the habit of having every year, on this day, a solemn mass celebrated, and of giving a feast to the nobility and commonalty, with great rejoicings. Besides, he had built and dedicated to this saint a new convent, behind the palace, near to the second wall of the city; and placed in it Nuns of noble birth, in great numbers. This establishment he loves much, and continually visits it with his Empress. If he had been present in his capital on this day, he would, as usual, have convened a great assembly. But the Patriarch perhaps did better than the Emperor would have done, if present: he invited our Lord the Patriarch; and they went together, in their sledges, to the convent; where they arrived in company with the Emperor's Lieutenant (وكيل), and all the Grandees of the empire. Alighting together from their carriages, near the gate, they were met by the Priests and Deacons, bearing the pictures, the cross, and the thurible. The two Patriarchs having paid their devotions to the images and to the cross, the Patriarch of Moscow blessed with it the people, whilst the Deacon incensed him. Then the Nuns came all out to meet him; and conducted us into the church, where the two Patriarchs performed mass together, assisted by the rest of the Heads of the Clergy and the Archimandrites, who always officiate with the Patriarch. On our leaving the sanctuary, the Abbess brought before him the picture of the saint, patron of the church, covered with silver and gold, according to custom; and bade adieu to our master. After the Abbess had presented to them large cakes of black bread, and they had all kissed them, the Patriarch mounted his sledge, covered with satin, the Metropolitans taking their places behind him, and on his right hand and left; and the Archons before and behind him. As for us, we returned to our monastery, where we had a banquet sent to us from the Empress's table.

On the third Sunday, our master said mass in the church of the small convent; and ordained Priests and Deacons, whom the Patriarch had sent to him by reason of their great numbers. In like manner, on the fourth Saturday, he said mass, and ordained Priests and Deacons, as before: and whereas on the morrow fell the Feast of the Annunciation, the Empress sent him wonderfully large and beautiful royal fish, of various kinds, in carts, as is customary with them. On the next day, therefore, which was the fourth Sunday of Lent, and the festival of the Annunciation, they rang their fine bells from an early hour in the morning, to assemble the people to the feast; and the Patriarch said mass in the Church of the Annunciation, as usual, and one of the Metropolitans in the Sobor. If the

Emperor had been present, there would have been a great assembly. Our master said mass in the church of the Convent, and ordained Priests and Deacons.

On the fifth Tuesday they invited our master to the funeral of one of the Kniayinias (الكنايات), or Ladies of a convent without the city, at the distance of three versts: they call it *Dievitza Monastir*; that is, the Convent of the Girls. It is dedicated in the name of the Mother of the Divinity in Trinity and True Direction. We went to it in the sledge, in company of the Patriarch, the Heads of the Clergy, and the whole body ecclesiastic. The Priests and Deacons of the convent came out to meet us, with the pictures, the cross, and the thurible, accompanied by the Abbess and all the Nuns; and having ascended to the church with them, we performed our devotions. This convent is very large, with vast walls, and ten towers around it. It is situated on a lofty and commanding eminence, with a river close to it, and is in the vicinity also of the river of Moscow. It has two large gates, and lies to the westward of the city. In it are two churches: the largest is entered by a very high flight of steps. This church is of vast dimensions, and raised to a great height, upon four pillars. It exactly resembles the church called the *Musallabat* (المصلبة), with its three doors. Its *Iconostas* is like that of the Sobor, with three sanctuaries. The cupola over the table is admirable, being all covered with gold, with arch over arch, supported by angels. There are crosses and cups in it, having the appearance of massive gold. But the picture of Our Lady, which is on the right side of the door of the sanctuary, is beyond all price, from the quantity of gold and diamonds, rubies, hyacinths, emeralds, and pearls, which are lavished upon it. The same ornaments are abundant on the rest of the pictures, which are on the row of the doors of the sanctuary, and in front of the silver candlesticks, going round the whole of the church as far as the outer doors; and round the pillars are also small pictures, covered with silver and gold, in rows, one above another. Many of them are inestimable, from the weight of pure gold, and precious stones of various colours with which they are inlaid. Even upon the windows and lattices of the church are pictures closing over each other, for want of room. I conjecture that the number of all the pictures must be more than three thousand; so that we were perfectly astonished at the sight of them: for the smallest picture among them is valued at five dinars. We found no likeness, not even among the Emperor's churches, to the beauties of this church. The Patriarch told our master from his own mouth: "We possess no convent equal to this in riches; and this is, because all the Nuns who reside in it, and successively resort to it,

are Kniayinias, widows, or maiden daughters of the Grandees of the empire, who come with all their property and possessions, their plate, gold, and jewels, which they settle upon the convent. For this reason it is called the Girls' Convent (دير البنات).” Round this church are large galleries.

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## SECT. IX.

### *FUNERAL SERVICE OF A NUN.—SEVERITY OF LENT IN MUSCOVY. DEVOTIONS OF QUEEN HELENA.*

THEN the Patriarchs entered the sanctuary, accompanied by the Heads of the Clergy and all the ministers, and put on full black and violet copes, with Στιχάρια, sleeves, Περιτραχήλια, Φελόνια, and sakkos, all of the same colour, as well as the Ὠμοφόρια and crowns of the Patriarchs, and mitres of the Heads of the Clergy and Archimandrites, which were old and worn, and all appropriated to the service for the dead. After they had robed and blessed the Deacons, they all met near the chair; and, bowing thrice, went out to the Νάρθηξ or nave, where the body was placed, covered with black satin. Upon it was a large cross, with a row of pictures inlaid with silver and gold; for she had been a professed Nun. Then they all bowed to the east three times, and formed themselves into a line, as usual; and after making their obeisance, two by two, in that order they took their places. Then they presented to the Patriarch tapers twisted in three folds, which he distributed to all the ministers as they came in pairs, bowing to him, with perfect regularity, order, awe, and reverence. In this manner he distributed also to the Grandees of the empire, the relatives of the deceased, her children, and to the wives of the nobles. Then the Archdeacon took the censer and incensed the body, saying, Εὐλόγησον Δέσποτα, and the Patriarch began with the Εὐλόγητος. Then the Archdeacon recited the Τροπάριον appropriate for the dead, with which we are unacquainted, of ten verses, like the great Συνέπετε, incensing the body very closely during the whole time, while the choristers, at every verse, chaunted, Κύριε ἐλέησον. Then the Patriarch said aloud, “For thou art the Resurrection,” and the Anagnostæ began, &c. Then one of the Priests came with a picture of Our Lady, and stood with it on the right of the corpse; and the Patriarch bowed to the picture and kissed it; and then, taking off the veil from the dead body, blessed it with the sign of the cross; and placing upon it a paper of absolution (ورقة استغفار), and the oil, returned to his place. Then the

ministers entered, according to their rank, two by two, bowing to it and doing in like manner; till the Grandees of the empire, entering, approached the corpse; and after they had kissed the picture, they bowed towards the body, weeping. Afterwards the Priest advanced with the picture to the left side of the Patriarch; and the Abbess and Nuns, and the wives of the Grandees, relatives of the deceased, approached to kiss it. Then the Nuns raised the corpse, and carried it out of the church; the Patriarchs and their attendants following behind, till they descended to the lowest of the church vaults; and there buried her, after the completion of the funeral service. The Patriarch concluded the prayers, by blessing her tomb; and we went out, and put off our copés.

As we were leaving the convent, the Abbess presented to each of the Patriarchs a large cake of black bread, on which they placed their hands. Then they blessed her and her companions; and the Patriarch of Moscow mounted his sledge, covered over with violet-coloured satin, having his Metropolitans around him. We also returned towards our monastery; and, on the way, took a turn in the Parade (میدان), which the Emperor had formed to review his troops in, as he sat in a wooden pavilion (كشك) of considerable height, with a dome covered with tin, and surmounted with a gilt cross. At present it was shut up. It is reported, that the Patriarch Patalaron was present at the review, and asked the number of the troops which the Emperor was reviewing. The Patriarch of Moscow answered him, "Seven hundred thousand, all receiving pay."

On the eve of the Thursday of Penance (خمیس انتوبه) they tolled the bells on the fourth hour of the night; and we entered the Church of the Monastery, which we did not leave till after the eighth hour, almost dead with fatigue and with standing up in the cold: for we underwent with them, during this Lent, such excess of torment as one might liken to the violence of the rack, particularly as to our eating. We could find nothing to feed upon, but (مازاري) confection, resembling boiled (جلبان) peas and beans: for they do not allow themselves the use of oil, during Lent, in the smallest quantity, as an article of food. On this account we were in great distress, such as cannot be described; so we readily excused them for not eating fish during this Lent: and as to their eating flesh-meat, there is no fear nor need of any prohibition; for there is no such thing to be found amongst them, as we mentioned before; nor are they even acquainted with lentils, nor with vetches, unless there happen to be some in the houses of the Franks, dearer than pepper. Other vegetables they never see, unless it be pickled cabbage and cucumbers. They have indeed violet-coloured and white

beans, the dearest at three copecks the pound: every three pounds make an okka, and we bought the okka for nine copecks; that is, every five okka and a half for a dollar (قرش ریاں). Except fish, what is there very cheap with them? And what is the poor man, who can call nothing but indigence his own—what is he to eat, if fish is forbidden him? But, except the soldiery, the poor people, and the ploughmen, there is not one person that eats fish; for the rich do not allow it themselves at all, reckoning it a great sin to do so. Oh, how we burnt with desire for the food of our own country! There was not a man, I swear most solemnly, among us, who, after this experience, continued to complain of Lent as kept with us.\* But God knows, the eatables which are found in our country during the Lents, are not found with them, even at Easter and Pentecost; for besides fish, flesh, and quass, they are unacquainted with any food. Without doubt they are the true saints! Even in the places we came from, in Moldavia and Wallachia, we were bewildered as to what we should eat on the two days, Wednesday and Friday, and the rest of the fast-days.

To return:—The Patriarch on this day said mass (برویجیا زمانا), and ordained Priests and Deacons, through the necessity there was of them. On the eve of Saturday of Hymns (سبت الهداج) they tolled the bells, after the third hour, till the world trembled, and we entered the church. They began the Prayer for Midnight, then the Matins, &c.; and we left the church at the eighth hour. In this month of Adar (March) the nights and days are equal. At day-break, our Lord the Patriarch went in his sledge, which was the Emperor's, to the Queen Helena, the Georgian, the widowed wife of David, grandson of Timouras Khan, whom we mentioned that the Emperor sent and had brought hither, with her son Nicolas, to marry him to his daughter. He went to say mass for her; as she had requested him many times to do during this Lent, and he had hitherto found no opportunity: for on the second Saturday he said mass for the Emperor's mother; on the third, for the feast of the Emperor's nativity, as we mentioned; and on the fourth began her period, up to this day, the fifth Saturday. She had fasted the first week of Lent, and wished to receive the mysteries from his hands; but an opportunity had not been offered her till this day; for the Georgians believe that there is great advantage in receiving the mysteries on the Saturday. On this account she would not have mass said for her on the Sunday, but on the Saturday.

## SECT. X.

*A SYNOD HELD.—ADMISSION OF TWO POLISH PRIESTS.—VISIT TO THE QUEEN, AND HER COMMUNION.*

THE Patriarch of Moscow had held a synod during this week, by reason of what our master had said to him, and of his admonition to them concerning various innovations and defects in their religion. The first was, that they do not say mass upon an (انديميسي) Ἀντήμιου, as we do, painted and delineated, as ours is, with the relics of the saints, but simply on a piece of white linen. The second, that they do not sacrifice the sacred host, and make of it nine pieces (τάγματα), but only four. The third, that in the “We believe in one God” they make a wrong inflexion at every word. The fourth, that they kiss the pictures only once or twice in the year. The fifth, that they do not receive the Ἀντίδορα. The sixth, that they make the sign of the cross with a contrary disposition of the fingers. The seventh concerned their baptism of the Poles; for of late they had been baptizing them by the second baptism. The synod was held concerning other affairs also of defective rites and ceremonies, which we have already mentioned, and shall hereafter more particularly mention. The Patriarch, therefore, attended to the words of our master; and on the present occasion interpreted the (قنداق) ritual of the mass from the Greek to the Russian, and explained by it the ritual and rubrics in so clear a manner, that children might become acquainted with the true Greek rite. Of these rituals he printed several thousands, and distributed them to the churches of the country. In like manner he stamped more than fifteen thousand *Andimisy*, so as to delineate and figure on them the relics of the saints, and distributed them over the country, as in the former instance. He corrected also many of their errors, in points of ceremony, by Imperial admonition and ordinances, and by authoritative prophetic testimonies. Then they concluded the business of the meeting by declaring that the second baptism of the Poles was not lawful, according to what our master had told them, and according to what is commanded in the Εὐχολόγιον and the Νόμος; for the Poles believe in the Trinity, and are baptized, and are not far removed from us, as the rest of the heretics and Lutherans are; like the Swedes, English, Hungarians, and others of the Frank sectarians, who do not fast, nor bow down to pictures, nor to the cross, &c. This Patriarch, therefore, being a lover of Greece, corresponded obediently; and said to the Heads of the Clergy,

and the rest of those who were present of the Heads of Convents and of the Priesthood: "I am a Russian, son of a Russian; but my faith and my religion are Grecian." Some also of the Heads of the Clergy corresponded obediently; saying: "The gift of our faith in Christ, and all the rites of our religion and its mysteries, arose to us from the country of the East." But others of them, as there are sure to be found in every nation of men persons of a heavy nature and understanding, demurred inwardly; saying within themselves: "We will not alter our books, nor our rites and ceremonies, which we received from of old." But they had not the force to speak openly; for the anger of the Patriarch is not to be withstood: witness what he did with the bishop of Kolomna, when he banished him! Then he confirmed the sentence, that the baptizing of the Poles is unlawful; and presented to our Lord the Patriarch six Priests from the country of the Poles, ordained in presence of the Cardinal of the Pope, residing in the city of Wilna: they said that they were Priests in the service of the Russians, and of our own church. The dress of the Polish Priests is like ours. The only difference between them and us is, that they exercise their functions in the name of the Pope. Even the (قنداق) ritual of their mass is like ours. These persons, when one of the Emperor's archons had made himself master of one of their towns, and was destroying the Polish churches and killing the Priests, presented themselves before him in a suppliant manner, and informed him that they were orthodox. He sent them therefore to the Patriarch Nikon, to look into their affairs. When they came, they staid eleven weeks; and no one regarded them, as the Patriarch was too much occupied to attend to them until now, that God sent them consolation at the hands of our master; and they passed the whole length of the night in his attendance, chaunting the prayers.

On this day we took them with us to the Queen's Church; where, as soon as our Lord the Patriarch had arrived, he was met by the Queen's archons and the Emperor's deputies, appointed to the Queen's service: these led him up to where her Majesty was; and he went in to her, and blessed her and her son, and encouraged and consoled her. She was dressed in black, according to the custom of widows in this country: even the pillows and coverings of the couches were of black silk. Her son was sitting near her, on a gilt chair trimmed with red satin, dressed in royal robes of gold brocade, adorned with pearls and diamonds. Then we arose and descended to the church dedicated to St. John the Evangelist: and she came with her son, and all her domestics and attendants. We robed our Lord the Patriarch in his cope; and he made an Ἀγιασμός, and sprinkled

the church, and her and him, and all the assistants. Then we brought to the Patriarch two of the Polish Priests we mentioned, after we had taken off from them their gowns, girdles, and calpacks. Bowing to the Patriarch with three Metanoias, they stood before him with their heads uncovered, and with the interpreter standing near them. Our Lord the Patriarch then began to expound to them the mysteries of the true faith, one by one, and belief in the Seven Councils; and they blessed what the Councils blessed, and cursed what they cursed. Then they cursed all the heretics, and the eighth Council. Afterwards he read to them, "We believe in one God," word for word: then he presented to them the pictures, and the cross to kiss, and they bowed to the ground. Having read over them the appointed prayers in the *Εὐχολόγιον*, and the prayers over the chrism, he anointed them with it upon the head only, in the form of a cross. Then we commanded them, and they bowed to him three times, both together; and we took them to the door of the kings, and they bowed before it three times, and before the picture of Our Lady. Thus much for the consecration. Then we took hold of them by their arms, according to custom, whilst we said *Κέλευσον, κελεύσατε, κέλευσον, Δέσποτα ἅγιε*. Then the Patriarch blessed them, and vested them with the *Στιχάρι* and the girdle only, as Deacons, without reciting any prayer; saying to each of them: "Thy soul rejoice in the Lord, for He has clothed thee in the garment of purity," &c. Then he blessed them a second time, and they stood with us. Thus he consecrated, on this day, other Deacons and Priests, &c. At the time that I said the Gospel, I went and presented it to them to kiss, as is customary. So also we mentioned their names, after the mention of the Emperor and the Empress, and their son, and daughters, and sisters. After the carrying round of the body, our master went out with the cross; and they came near him, and he blessed them with it, as usual. Then we brought forward those two Poles; and they bowed before the table three times, and the Patriarch blessed them, and put on them the *Περιτραχήλιον* and the *Φελόνιον*, whilst he repeated the verses. Then he delivered to them the ritual of the mass; and the other Priests kissed them, as usual, and they took their station with them. After the offering of the cup, the Queen advanced forward, to receive the mysteries from his hands. We went out therefore, first of all, with an image, from which she took a blessing. Then she bowed to the ground three times, and the Deacons held the covering of the cup removed. Having given to her of the mysteries, he presented her also with the *Ἀντίδωρα*. Afterwards, when he had finished the communion service, we made a commemoration



(Μνημόσυνοι) for her husband David, over a vessel of boiled meat and a vessel of wine. Then he blessed them, and we left the church and came to our monastery. The Queen sent after us her archons, with a *Τράπεζα* and cups of wine gilt, and jars of honey-water, and other royal presents. On this Sunday eve they performed Matins, and assembled in immense congregations, to commemorate St. Mary of Egypt.

## SECT. XI.

### GRAND CEREMONY ON PALM-SUNDAY.

ON the morning of the fifth Sunday of Lent they tolled the large bell, and thronged in great numbers to the churches; and this was for the sake of the Empress's name; for she was born on the first of the month Nisán, and was called Mary. She is accustomed to hold, every year, a large assembly on this day, and to give a banquet to the Magnates and their wives. This was done now; but if the Emperor had been present, he would have invited every order of the Clergy. As to our Lord the Patriarch, he said mass on this day, in the Church of the Monastery, and ordained Priests and Deacons. On Saturday, the day of St. Lazarus, they rang the bells from an early hour in the morning, for mass, for the sake of those who were fasting from the day before till now, that they might approach the sacrament. But the Patriarch of Moscow said mass before the Empress in a church by the name of Saint Lazarus, which they say is one of the new churches. On this day the country people brought in their sledges branches of a plant resembling the (بَاب) palm-tree, which had put forth buds without leaves. They were selling it in the markets; and the priests were buying it for all the churches, to distribute to the people at night. Observe the providence of the Creator, and his care for these his people in this country; for seeing that not only is the olive-tree not found among them, but that at this season there is not a tree in their forests in leaf, he has brought forth for them this blessed plant, with branches, as if it were the very palm-tree itself; that they may be deficient in nothing, which the rest of Christians in the other parts of the world possess. In the evening, they tolled the huge bell, for Vespers; and tolled it again, with all the other bells, at midnight, for Matins. We arose therefore in the night to prayer, the earth all the while trembling with the vibration of the bells: and after the reading of the Gospel, they brought large twigs of the

afore-mentioned branches, which they call, as the Greeks do, Βαίων (فایون), and fix tapers on their points. Our Lord the Patriarch came and incensed around them; and having recited the usual prayers, took the branches, as they were given him, with his right hand, the Priests and the Κανθηλάπτης cutting them for him, and fixing on each of them a lighted candle; and he distributed them to all the congregation; who ceased not to hold them, with the tapers burning, till the third Eudiet (اودية). When the reader began the lesson, and they sat down, they extinguished them, and went out of the church. When he had finished, and they rose again to prayer, they lighted them till the seventh: in like manner, also, they lighted them at the ninth: then they extinguished them, and went out from the church, each with his branch in his hand, to their homes, to which they believe it imparts all kinds of eminent blessings; and there they fail not to keep it from year to year. If the Emperor had been present, the Patriarch would have given him a branch of the real palm-tree; for there is none who aspires to hold a branch of the real palm-tree in this country, but the Emperor, on this day. On the morning of this great Sunday of Palms, they rang all the bells round, one after the other, as usual, to assemble the Priests of each district and the people of the city; for the festival observed on this day is with them exceeding great, as is the Feast of the Immersion. On these two festivals they assemble in vast numbers, greater than at Easter or at Pentecost, as we witnessed. The Patriarch had sent to invite our master, since the day before, to perform mass with him; for he gives a banquet also on this day. We went therefore to him. The janissaries, during the previous week, had put the road in order, from the great church to the entrance of the castle-gate, nailing on it planks, and drying the clay with sand; for in this week the ice had begun to thaw, and the rain to fall. After they had rung the third hour, the Patriarch descended from his palace, clothed in a mantya of green velvet; having for its emblems, as we mentioned formerly, the Cherubim and Seraphim, in gold pearls and precious stones; for its border, on both sides, white small clear pearls strung together; and for the red in the middle, valuable red shells. His white latia, like the mitre on his head, was adorned with gold and precious stones, having a cross at the top, and having its lappets, which hung down, equally covered with gold and gems. All the Deacons and Readers and Subdeacons had come and put on their surplices in his palace; and now preceded him, with tapers in their hands, chaunting the Hymn of St. Lazarus, till they reached the church; whilst the chief Deacons supported him on each side, &c. Then they brought to the Patriarch branches

of the afore-mentioned tree ; and he took one of them, as did also our master. Then he distributed some to the attendants ; then to all the archons of the Emperor : these had clothed themselves, on this day, in vests of gold brocade, to attend the festival. Afterwards, we all went out of the door of the church, on the western side : first those with the banners, then the Priests, after them the Heads of Convents, in innumerable multitude. In front of all was a large tree, formed of those branches we mentioned, which they had been preparing from the dawn of day till now : they had tied on its several twigs, bunches of dried grapes, pieces of sugar, and apples in great quantity. They had then placed it in two sledges, fastened together, and formed around it benches of boards, on which they placed six little Anagnostæ in their surplices, chaunting the Hymn of St. Lazarus with a very loud voice ; the whole drawn by two horses, at a quick pace. They had got ready also, from an early hour in the morning, one hundred boys, sons of the janissaries, and had given them out of the Emperor's Treasury, as was customary every year, one hundred cloaks of various colours—green, red, blue, yellow, &c. Each of them had put on his cloak ; and they had been altogether trained and were under the direction of a Yeuzbashi. Then they brought before the Patriarch a horse all covered with linen, as white as a shirt, so that nothing of it could be seen but the eyes. It was well exercised, sensible, and manageable ; and was tied up from year to year, no one ever riding it till this day. Upon it was a kind of saddle, thickened to the size of a chair, and covered with velvet, set on one side. The Patriarch requested our master to ride upon it, instead of him ; but he would not, wishing that we should be mere spectators of this their strange ceremony on this day—a ceremony which excited our utmost astonishment. And now they brought before the Patriarch a chair covered with black cloth, on which, sitting, he was mounted upon the saddle before mentioned, with his feet hanging down on one side, and his back leaning against the chair on the other. He held in his right hand the cross ; in his left, the Gospel. Then the Archons, with the Magnates of the Government, all clothed in brocade, richly bordered with pearls and gems, took their places on each side of him. Then came forward the Emperor's Vicerent, and took hold of the horse's bridle, which was of a great length : and they led the horse forward, step by step, before him. If the Emperor had been present, he would have led it with his own hand, according to custom. Thus we went forth in Imperial procession, the janissaries being drawn up on both sides, and the chiefs of the six hundred around them. The boys we mentioned

before, being fifty on each side, vied with each other in spreading their cloaks, which we have described, under the horse's feet across the path; and, when the horse had passed over his cloak, each took it up, and ran forward, to spread it again, as before. It was an hour of delight, such as we should wish every true friend to enjoy. Meanwhile the bells rang violently, so that the earth trembled; and the Patriarch gave his blessing, with the cross on the right hand side and on the left, to the crowds assembled; our Lord the Patriarch and the Metropolitans following behind him, as also the Grandees of the empire and the Patriarch's archons; whilst the chiefs of the six hundred were, some behind him, some before him, and others on each side of him. But nothing transported us with so much joy as the sight of the boys with their cloaks of various colours, which they spread with so much diligence and emulation. In this manner they continued to proceed, till we went out of the castle-gate, and descended to the plain. The Chief of the Deacons and his companions were all this time incensing the Patriarch, as he rode, from a distance; till they came to a large church, singular in the beauty of its structure and form, and the variety of the paintings of its cupolas. It is not indeed a single church, but many churches joined together: the name of the whole is the well-known name of The Holy Trinity. Here they set down the tree and the banners, and the Patriarch in his chair covered with cloth, till he alighted by the steps. We went up with him to one of the churches, which is dedicated by the name of (الشعائين) The Palm Procession: for the before-mentioned churches are likened to the house of Ania (عنيا) or Ananias, and the Palace of Jerusalem. In it they performed the service of (الباعوث) the Procession; and the Patriarch said the Gospel; and, after reading it, took the cross upright in his hands, and gave a blessing with it towards the East, moving it, perpendicularly, three times. The Archdeacon, in the mean while, incensed him thrice; saying, "An Sabodo" (عن صبودو); and coming to kiss a picture, added "Bomolimsa Risa Mifsi" (بو مو ليمسا ريسا مفسي), that is, "From the Lord we ask, we say." Then the Patriarch turned with the cross to the other three sides, and moved it for a blessing in the same manner; whilst the Archdeacon incensed it, as before, three times, with the same exclamation. Then they kissed it, and placed it in its stand or box, and came and kissed the picture of the (شعائين) Palm Procession, together with our master. Then they concluded the prayers; and we descended from the church. The Patriarch mounted the horse, as before; the sledges with the tree moved forward; and all the Deacons walked before the Patriarch, with every other person in the place assigned him; whilst the boys spread their

garments on the path. Thus we returned to the Sobor, which we entered amidst the ringing of the bells. With the tree they stopped before the south door of the church. Then the Patriarch ascended his throne; and, after the lesson for the day and the conclusion of the prayers, came down, and went out of the south door of the church, with us attending him. Approaching the tree, he incensed it, and blessed it. Then he gave orders that branches should be cut from it; and one of the janissaries cut some off with an axe, and carried them into the church; where the Patriarch cut them small, and placed them in vessels of silver, together with dried grapes, sugar, and apples. These he sent to the Empress, and to her son and daughters, and the sisters of the Emperor. The rest of the tree the people divided among themselves, having great faith in the branches of this tree, and taking them home with perfect confidence in their virtues: for they assured us that they are good for all diseases, particularly for the tooth-ache: if a small piece is put under the tooth, the pain abates immediately.

When we had put off our copes, we went up with the Patriarch to his palace, to dine with him: for the banquet is given by him on this day; and he sent to the Empress, and to the whole of the Emperor's household, dishes of meat from his table, with wines first. Then our Lord the Patriarch sat down to table; as did the Heads of the Clergy, and all the Archimandrites. We also sat down at a board on his right hand: the Grandees of the empire all sat at a table on his left. If the Emperor had been present, he would have sat at the head of the table; and at his departure from the feast, would have had a claim on the Patriarch for the sum of one hundred gold dinars, as a remuneration for his fatigue in walking at the procession, and guiding the reins of the horse by a cord at a distance. It was mentioned, that the Emperor deposits these hundred dinars every year in his treasury, for the day of his funeral; it being the price of his sweat and toil. Observe how beautiful are these regulations! The Patriarch makes him a present, also, of three soroks of sables, two satin dresses, and two of velvet, as a recompense for his walking, whilst he himself rides.

Then they brought forward to the middle of the board-room two poor blind men, and two maimed and crippled, and set them a table near the Patriarch; who called them one by one to his side, and gave them meat and drink with his own hand, with very great respect and reverence; so that our hearts were moved at the sight. Afterwards, he arose, and they presented to him a basin and ewer; and he went round to the poor men; and having washed their feet, one after the other, dried them and kissed them, and then gave alms to them all. We

wondered much at this spectacle, and were moved to tears by these affecting circumstances. Thus, they say, it is usual for their Emperors to do at their banquets, constantly. This festivity they did not terminate, remaining at table, until the evening; when we arose and came to our monastery, penetrated with the utmost astonishment at what had occurred. As for the boys, when they had returned with the procession, and the Patriarch had entered the church to say mass, they all went to the river; and having washed their cloaks from the mud, put them on again, and came and stood in the Patriarch's way, as he came out of church, crying out all together aloud, and praying for him. He commanded, therefore, that they should be treated with a meal, as usual; and after they had eaten, he distributed among them a dollar (غرش ربال) each: and they ceased not to sing hymns the whole length of the day, standing in front of the Patriarch's banquet-room, from the time he left the church till the evening. This joy of being equipped in the cloak, and of receiving the dollar, they look forward to from year to year: none but the children of the janissaries and chaoushes (چاوشية) dare enter themselves among them: to these the turn goes round, annually. What we have described of surprising things, Christian brethren, we saw with our own eyes in the city of Moscow, as the Greek ceremony observed by the Muscovites on Palm Sunday. May God preserve the Muscovite empire to ages of ages! Amen.

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## SECT. XII.

### *CEREMONIES IN HOLY WEEK.—LIST OF HOLY RELIQUES.*

ON the day of Great or Holy Wednesday, after the performance of the Hours, the Patriarch gave absolution to all present, and took the cross in his hands; and they all advanced forward to kiss it, and begged pardon of it. In the evening they began to perform in all the churches the great Service of the Sleep, which they do not interrupt till the eve of Easter-day, as we observed. During this week they do not open the markets for buying and selling, except for eatables; but all are patient in prayer during the succession of prayer hours, with great circumspection and devotion, and many bowings and metanoias. On the morning of Great or Holy Thursday, they tolled the bells from dawn of day; and our Lord the Patriarch went, at his invitation, to the Patriarch of Moscow. After the tolling of the third hour, they all came together from the Patriarchal palace to the church: then they robed in the porch, as usual; and the Heads

of the Clergy, and of the convents, and the rest of the Clergy, in their copes, came out to them, and took their places around them, in the usual order. The Ἐκκλησιαάρχης had placed in the middle a table like a reading-desk, of carved marble and of European manufacture, supported on four wooden legs. He had covered it with a veil of gold brocade, with beautiful fringes; and on its four corners had set four candlesticks of silver-gilt. In the centre of it he had placed a large gilt silver vessel, furnished with rings to carry it by, as though it were a huge cup, or a large marble (شادران) bowl, filled with oil: near it was a silver jar of wine, and a tall cup (مطعم) filled with wheat (وكاس عالي مطعم), on which they had fastened seven burning tapers, and seven twigs of wood covered with rolls of cotton, as is the custom. This is what they set on the left side. On the right side they placed the Holy Gospel. But the Patriarch of Moscow having asked our master if this rite of theirs was correct, he was answered, "Yes; but one thing is wanting. It is, that the minister should take the vessel of wine and pour it upon the oil, according to what is commanded in the book and the Holy Gospel; where it says, 'He, whose name be exalted, poured, upon the wounds of the person who had fallen among robbers, wine and oil together.'" The Patriarch was delighted, and perfectly agreed with our master in this. Then they began the service of the Lamp; that is, of the Holy Oil, according to the ritual, &c. After the Patriarch had finished the prayers, he took from the vessel of wheat one of the twigs of wood, and signed with it the form of the cross upon the oil. Then he set fire to it, and fastened it on its place; and taking a burning taper, extinguished it in the oil. In like manner our master said the gospel, and then recited the Prayer for the Oil; and having signed on it, with a stick, the form of the cross, set fire to the stick; and having extinguished a second taper in the oil, returned to his place. In the same manner did the Archbishop of Servia; then the rest of the Heads of the Clergy, till all seven had performed the rite. After the burning of the seven twigs, and the extinguishing of the seven tapers, the Patriarch of Moscow descended from his throne with our master near him; and the Heads of the Clergy opened the Gospel over their heads, near the oil. Then he took a beautiful silver ladle, and stirred the oil with it from top to bottom, as they think, to spread the blessing equally through every part of it. Then he laid out three glass vessels; and a Karandilet (كرنديلة) of silver gilt, of exquisite workmanship, which he had ordered to be brought from his treasury, to send to the Emperor. Having

\* The translator knows not what meaning should be given to مطعم.

blessed it, and recited over it a prayer, in supplication for his Majesty, he requested our Lord the Patriarch to do the same; and he blessed it, and said over it the Prayer for the Oil, as before. Then the Patriarch sealed it, and delivered it to the Emperor's Lieutenant; who sent for one of the sotniks, to dispatch him with it to the Emperor. The Patriarch had written a letter to him, as he stood above in his place; and he now sealed it, and prayed a blessing on the messenger, bowing low to him, as if he were bowing to the Emperor in his person. After he had sent away the messenger, he turned towards our master, to (ليقنده) chrism him; and they two did it to each other: then they two stood with the Archbishop of Servia, and with the Deacons before them holding the three phials, and they began to chrism all the congregation, from the Heads of the Clergy and the Priests to the Grandees of the empire, and all the people, with extreme composure and tranquillity. After they had finished, they sat down in their chairs a little while, until the desk was removed with all the vessels.

It was their practice formerly, when the Emperor was present, to conclude the prayer and depart, and afterwards return. But now, to our good fortune, God inspired the Patriarch; and they entered the Sanctuary all together, for the washing of the table. Having ranged themselves around it, they took off from it its covering of gold brocade. Through the love of this Patriarch for the rites of the Greeks, he was continually entreating our master and Lord the Patriarch, that whenever he saw any fault in theirs, he would inform him of it, and conform in his own practice to what he knew was right. Now, it had been their custom to take off the table the upper covering of damask only, and to wash its under linen covering, by drawing a sponge over it; because all their tables are of wood. But our Lord the Patriarch now commanded them to take off the linen also, and then to wash it with the sponge as usual. Besides, there was always the *Τυρικόν* (التبييكي) on the right hand of the Patriarch, in which he was constantly looking; as well as into the several rubrics, one after another. After they had dried and dressed the table, they went to the outside, and began the Hours; and we finished the mass with an ordination of Priests and Deacons.

Then we went out to the porch, for the washing. They had placed a long chair on the left of the choir, covered with a large carpet: this was the chair for the Disciples: and at the head they had placed a high chair, covered also with (طنفسه) a carpet, on which they seated our Lord the Patriarch, as in the chair of St. Peter, the founder of his See. Observe this coincidence—blessed be the Creator for it! Below him, on his left hand, they placed another chair, on which



they set the Archbishop of Servia. Then the Archdeacon, with his companions, entered into the Sanctuary; and first brought out the person representing Judas, and placed him on a high chair near the candelabra. Then they went in and brought out, two by two, first the Heads of the Clergy, then the Heads of Convents; and bowed with them to the Patriarchs, as they stood supporting their arms near the door of the Sanctuary, and made their first salutation: then they advanced with them a second step, and made their second salutation; then a third step, &c.; and seated them on the high chair near the candelabra, till they were all placed. Then the Patriarch rose from supper, and laid aside his garments: and they took off from him his crown and sakkos. When he had said, "And he girt himself with a towel," they brought him a linen apron with long strings, which they tied under his arms, crossing them before and behind. Then they put on him white linen sleeves, tied as before. When he had said, "He poured water into a basin," they brought before him a large silver ewer; which he took, and poured from it into another beautiful ewer. Then they set down the basin before him; and he began to wash the feet, first of the person representing Judas. When he had finished, he kissed his feet, and blessed him. In like manner he did with the rest. After he had washed their feet and kissed them, he gave them his blessing; till he finished with our Lord the Patriarch, and said the well-known saying concerning Peter; the dragoman interpreting between them. After the gospel, the Patriarch came down to the middle of the church, and began to sprinkle the people, with the assistance of our master, with that water, with a brush of hog's bristles, from the Heads of the Clergy and the rest of the attendants to the Grandees of the empire who were present; and when they crowded upon him, he sprinkled them to as great a distance as was practicable. Afterwards the Patriarch mounted the pulpit, and read the portion of Scripture set apart for this day, of such a length, that our legs were near dropping under us from lassitude, having stood from the early dawn of day until now. Then he concluded the service; and the choristers chaunted a *Πολυχρόνιον* for him first, then for the Emperor as usual. Afterwards, they went in, to put off their copes, and made their salutations to each other. We did not leave the church till after the chiming of the eleventh hour; and were cursing our very souls from fatigue, as our legs dropped under us. God grant us His especial assistance for the whole of the present week! As for the Muscovites, their feet must surely be of iron! and yet, from their perpetual standing in their churches, they are subject to a disease in the feet, which attacks all ranks, from the Emperor to the beggar, and

is incurable: and this, and the gout, are the only complaints they appear to be afflicted with.

On this day, the greatest part of the laity, both men and women, go to confession in the churches, where they make for them holy oil. It was told us, that the Priest places before the person confessing, the cross, the Gospel, and the appropriate picture, in order to frighten him into an exposition of his sins, one by one; and that, with them, confession out of the church is not permitted. For this reason they do not open the markets during this week, as we mentioned before; but are assiduous in confession and prayer, and continual metanoias.

In the evening they rang the bells, and went in to the Sleep Service (صلوة النوم). At the second hour of the night, on the eve of Great or Good Friday, all the bells were tolled at once, and they arose to the great matins. When we entered the church, they began to distribute, to all the assistants, tapers, which they lighted at each Gospel &c.; and at the third hour of the morning we arose and went to the great church, whence we ascended in grand procession to the Church of the Annunciation, in which are the reliques of all the Saints. In the mean while, all the bells rang, till the very earth trembled; and the janissaries were ranged on each side; the Emperor's Lieutenant, and all his Ministers, also attending. On entering, the Patriarchs, as usual, took some of the church pictures in their hands. Before the door of the Sanctuary was placed a long table, covered with brocade, with small long boxes, set in rows upon it, made of silver gilt; in none of which does any one know what is contained, nor of what Saint the reliques are, except by his picture, which is stamped upon it and accompanied by his name. They are all together thirty-five boxes. In many of them are contained the reliques of several Saints, having their pictures and names on the outside, worked with great skill.

The Patriarch took the censer, and incensed around them, and kissed them, with his head uncovered, one by one. In like manner did our master; and I, a poor sinner, with him, giving thanks to God Almighty for having granted us such mighty favours, blessing us with the sight of these treasures of venerable reliques, and with the opportunity of taking a blessing from them on this day of Good Friday:—for no one enjoys this privilege, except the Patriarch, and the Archdeacon devoted to his service, who continually appears at his right hand. After he had incensed them, he took a picture for himself, gave a second to our master, and gave a third to the Archbishop of Servia. Then he distributed the remainder to the Heads of the Clergy, and the Archimandrites, and the rest of the Priests, till he had gone through the whole of them. Then the two Patriarchs first, with

their heads uncovered, and we near to them carrying their crowns, went forth from the church; and they carried the pictures upon their heads, whilst the Deacons in turn threw incense before them; and the Heads of the Clergy, together with the Heads of the Monasteries and the Priests, walked behind, two and two. In the mean while the bells rang all together, and the people stood on the ground, facing the procession, and bowing, till we entered the Sobor. Here the Patriarch passed on, with all attending him, to that part of the church where are the treasury and the beautiful brass cupola which has in it the precious jewel—and what a jewel!—of Our Lord's garment, namely the shirt of Christ—glory be to His name! which is above all price, for the sight and blessing of which all the kings of the earth sigh. On a signal given by the *Ἐκκλησιάρχης* to the ringers, they rang the whole of the bells in honour and respect to it. Then the Patriarch and our Master bowed down to the gilt box containing it, and incensed it; and the Patriarch carried it on his head, and advanced with it step by step, whilst the bells rang till the church quivered with the sound, and all the persons present bowed down to the earth, weeping, crying, and saying, “Gospodi pomilui!” (هو سبدي بوميلوي) that is, “O Lord have mercy!” When he came to the nave of the church, he put it down from off his head; and having broken the Emperor's seal which was impressed upon it, he opened the lid, and took out of it a kind of small thin book, inlaid with gold and precious gems, and placed it on the middle reading-desk, on the beautiful covers, with extreme veneration and reverence. Then having placed the box on its side, he opened a corner of the covering a little, so that the very shirt of Our Lord appeared; and he incensed it, and bowed down to it, and, taking off his crown, kissed it. In like manner did our master; as did I also, a wretched sinner, though unworthy to touch it with my mouth, or even to set my eyes on it at a distance. It was of beautiful dark-coloured linen, dazzling the eyes with its lustre, and inspiring those who approach it with fear, awe, and trembling. Blessed be God Almighty, who, of His exceeding goodness and mercy to us unworthy sinners, was pleased to vouchsafe to us the favour of kissing and beholding it on this day, when Our Lord was hung upon the wood of the cross, and the soldiers parted his garments among them! The Georgians think, that the soldiers to whom the lot of this shirt fell, which has no seam, were Georgians also; and that when they beheld the wonders of that time and hour, they set great value by it, and carried it into their own country, to preach upon it and its Divine Master, as the Magi had done; and that it was kept in their treasuries till the present time. For our parts, we gave entire credit

to this their report; because the Empress Helena acknowledged its truth, as well as some other European sovereigns. Moreover, they now informed us that the cloak also of Our Lord is in their possession, laid up, until the present time, in the treasury of one of their churches; that no one dares to uncover it, to look at it; for they imagine that fire comes out of the earth and burns the beholders, as it has often happened, with an earthquake and many terrors. They have also in their possession a chemise (قميص) of Our Lady the Mother of God. These blessings and treasures were formerly in the possession of the Georgians; but now, by the gift of God, the Russians possess them.

To return:—Then the Patriarch ascended to his throne; and all took their places around him: and they began the Prayer of the First Hour. At the time of the gospel, he himself read it in his place, with his head uncovered, as is always the custom, word for word, amidst perfect silence: and woe to him that coughs, or sneezes, or spits, when he has once begun! For this reason they preserve always very great silence and quiet, though the church is full of men and women and children. After the gospel, the Patriarch came down; and, standing before the water, dipped the cross in the two vessels three times, after he had first signed it with the form of the cross, whilst they chaunted “Inordani” (اينورداني). Then he placed the cross in its case: and the Protopapas, together with the two Ἐφημέριοι of the church, advanced, and began presenting to the Patriarch the boxes of reliques, one by one; and, as he read the name of the Saint whose reliques they were, and the choristers chaunted his τροπάρια, he dipped one side of the reliques in the water which was in the two vessels, and kissed them: then our master also kissed them, as I did too; and we looked at them. Then he gave them to the officers, who dried them, and replaced them in the box. Afterwards they brought forward others, till they had presented them all. These are the names of some, which we were able to observe—a hand and wrist of Mark the Evangelist, being the right hand and the five fingers with which the Gospel was written: an arm of Stephen, the chief of the Deacons: the right hand of the Emperor Constantine the Great: the head of Gregory the theologian: the head of Christophorus the martyr, resembling the face of a dog with a long mouth, and as hard as adamant; so that we were very much astonished to see it: the right hand of Theodosius the Great, &c. These are some of the large reliques, preserved in salt, which we noticed, and of which I wrote the names. I had a very great desire to write the names of all; but I found it difficult, on many accounts. One was, my fear lest any one should know that I was busy writing every thing I saw; which

would have been very disagreeable and dangerous: for they were very cautious of us; and not one of them allowed us an insight into their secrets, because we were strangers to them, and dwellers amongst the Gentiles. The second was, the perplexity surrounding us at this moment; for who could, in so short a time, commit to memory a thousand names of limbs and reliques? But what facilitated to us the whole affair was, that I prevailed upon our Lord the Patriarch to ask the Patriarch of Moscow, saying to him, "Is there any List or Book among you that gives information as to all these holy things?" He answered, "Yes; but it is in the Emperor's Treasury."

To return:—The pieces of the wood of the cross, which were fixed on the pictures and on the rosaries in the trays to a vast number, he dipped all in the water; and with the towel which he held in his hand he wiped off from them the dirt, and then wrung it into the water-vessel. Then he took the chest in which was the garment of Our Lord, and, opening one half of it, plunged the whole into the water-vessels. Then taking it out, he wiped it with the towel, and, shutting it up, put it in its place. Afterwards he took a silver ladle, and mixed the waters together, stirring them from top to bottom, that the blessing, as they think, may be spread equally throughout, to the very bottom. Then the Empress's steward came with a China tray, in which were suns belonging to the Empress, and crosses, and rosaries of gold, and the Emperor's jewels, and those of her daughters, and of the Emperor's sisters; and he dipped them in the water, one by one;—some said, that they might be sanctified by it; others, because in the greatest part of them there was some portion of the precious wood of the cross, and it was necessary to dip them, to clear away any dirt. After he had done so, he placed them in their tray, and the steward went away with them. Then they brought him large and small silver vessels; and he filled them with the water, and sent them to the Empress and her daughters, and to the Emperor's sisters and all their relations. But, before all, he filled for the Emperor a beautiful silver vessel; which he sealed up, and sent to the Emperor's Deputy; who immediately called one of the sotniks, and, giving him a letter, committed to him the vessel; and he set off with it immediately to the Emperor. Then he filled a vessel also for our Lord the Patriarch, which we preserved with exceeding great joy. Afterwards, he filled also for the Grandees of the empire. Then the Patriarch uncovered his head, and incensed the box containing Our Lord's garment, and raised it upon his head. Immediately they gave a signal to the ringers, who rang the whole of the bells; whilst he proceeded, step by step, to

the place where it is kept, chaunting "Αγίος &c. Then he incensed it, and the two Patriarchs bowed to it together. Then they entered, and took up the covered table which is placed here, having first incensed it. It is this table upon which the before-mentioned box always stands, with candles burning before it, in imitation of Our Lord's Sepulchre, in the Church of the Resurrection, at Jerusalem. He carried it, assisted by our Lord the Patriarch in front, and the Heads of the Clergy behind, all round the church, till they came with it before the door of the Sanctuary. It is the Table of the Heart (الجدان), and they placed it (lengthwise) from the door to the choir, before the table of the reliques. Then they entered the Sanctuary, and took the 'Επιστάφιον (الابيطايرين), upon which is embroidered the Descent of Our Lord from the cross, with portraits of Joseph, Nicodemus, the Redeemer, and the Women, from off the table; and, placing it on their heads, carried it out, to set it on the other table, with the head to the west and the feet to the east. Then the Patriarch took the censer, &c; and when they had begun the Prayers for Sun-set, four Deacons stood facing each other, two on each side, with large long silver fans in their hands, with which they fanned upon the 'Επιστάφιον in a very pretty manner; so that the fans resembled the wings of angels, each two in the form of a cross: and when those at the head ceased, the others at the feet began to fan in like manner. They were like angels fluttering with their wings; so that we were delighted and amazed, and wept with joy at the sight of this ceremony. The persons bearing the banners, the crosses, and the tapers, were stationed all round. When the Order of the Prayer for Sun-set was completed, they returned with the reliques and images to the Church of the Annunciation, where they placed them on the table we mentioned, &c. Afterwards, we returned to the Sobor, which we did not leave till the eleventh hour, half dead with fatigue; with our legs dropping under us, from standing since break of day till the evening. The peace of God be upon the Muscovite people, men and women, boys and girls, for their patience in standing still, and enduring from morning until now! When we were come to our convent, and the Priests had departed from the Sobor to their own churches, this which had been done did not suffice them; but the bells were tolled again, and they went in with their flocks to the Prayer for the Setting Sun. As for the Church of the Sobor, they rang their bells again for the Prayer for Sleep. What a prodigious wonder, what a surprising thing, is the corporeal energy which we remarked in these people! What bodies, what legs can they be, unless of iron, that feel no weariness, no fatigue! May God Almighty preserve them!

On the morning of Holy Saturday, or Saturday of Light (سبت النور), they rang the bells, and we went to the Sobor. After the Patriarch had read the Morning Prayers, &c. they brought him triple tapers, lighted; of which he took one for himself, giving one to our Lord the Patriarch; then to each of the Heads of the Clergy, and of the Archimandrites, who came, two and two abreast, to receive them. Then he distributed them to the Emperor's Lieutenant, and to all the Grandees of the empire; afterwards to the rest of the ecclesiastics, who attended, and were standing in their places: for in none of their churches is there found, in this country, a single stall or chair: but the Priests stand, in rows turned towards the east, on their legs, without chairs to sit on, or posts to lean against, in the middle of the church\*. The length of the service of the Ἐπιτάφιον, during this night, was such, that we did not return to our convent till sun-rise.

\* "I had, in the course of my travels through Greece, in 1803-4, enjoyed frequent opportunities of witnessing the service of the Greek Church; and, by way of comparing it with that performed according to the Russian Rites, while in St. Petersburg, I attended more than one of the principal churches. The first thing that struck me, was the undistinguishing equality with which all ranks of persons, from the prince to the boor, assembled promiscuously in the body of the church, and near to the sanctuary, standing or kneeling; but never sitting, there being no sort of accommodation for that purpose. The service is long and complicated, and, like that of the Roman-Catholic creed, varies in many points every day; but that part which is permanent, and of daily occurrence, is striking and impressive. The monk, priest, or dignitary of the church, reads prayers, collects, and psalms, from a variety of volumes, all of which are written in the Slavonic language; and, like the Latin used in the services of the Roman-Catholic churches, is not readily, if at all, understood by every class of people. The greater part of the Russo-Greek Church service consists in psalms and hymns; which are either sung, or read in a sort of recitative. No musical instruments are admitted in the Greek Church, and on this point the Russians are very strict observers; but they are permitted to have experienced and well-taught choral singers, to assist them in increasing the solemnity of the worship of their church, already considerable from the magnificence of its decorations and the splendour of the ecclesiastical vestments. Three distinct services are performed each day in the week, at all churches; the Vespers, and on festive days the Midnight service (Mesonyction), the Matins or Morning Prayers, and the Liturgy. The Greek Church observes its festivals from sunset to sunset. The benediction of the people by the priest, and the frequent exclamation of 'Let us pray!' which he or his deacon pronounces, with the responses by the clerks or singers, of 'Lord, have mercy!' form an essential part of them all.

"The ordinary religious ceremonies, which the Russo-Greek Church requires to be observed on many occasions in the course of the year—the celebration of anniversaries of the Imperial Family, of important events and victories, by singing the *Te Deum*, either in the Imperial Chapel, or in the Church of Our Lady of Kazan—the practice of observing certain solemnities or festivals at Christmas and Easter; such as, the Benediction of the Waters in January, the Lavipedium and the Offering of the Paschal Lamb, or Egg, at Easter—the Imperial christenings, and the lying-in-state in the cathedral of the bodies of deceased sovereigns, and of the great in all other churches, afford so many opportunities for the Russo-Greek clergy to display grandeur and magnificence in the celebration of their rites; and of which they fully avail themselves, to the edification of the congregated Christians."

The Patriarch told our master this morning, concerning the Emperor of Moscow, that he was passing the holidays at Smolensko ; and that he intended to march out thence against the Poles, on the ninth of the month Iyar (ايار), having assembled with him, at this moment, more than six hundred thousand troops.

To return :—They did not come out from mass, on this day, till the evening. We did not attend them, through the excess of our fatigue : for God is witness that we returned home in the morning so weak, that we could not stir ; particularly my wretched self, who remained many days entirely overcome with weakness. However, we did not escape altogether from mass ; for the Patriarch sent to our master two candidates for holy orders ; and he said mass, therefore, in the Church of the Convent ; and consecrated, the one Priest, the other Deacon. In the evening they rang the bells for the Prayers for Sleep. •



END OF PART THE FIFTH.



**LONDON:**  
**PRINTED BY R. WATTS, CROWN COURT, TEMPLE BAR.**  
**1834.**

THE  
**TRAVELS OF MACARIUS,**

*PATRIARCH OF ANTIOCH:*

WRITTEN

BY HIS ATTENDANT ARCHDEACON, PAUL OF ALEPPO,

IN ARABIC.

---

PART THE SEVENTH.

NOVOGOROD,  
MOSCOW, AND THE COSSACK COUNTRY.

---

TRANSLATED

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LONDON:

PUBLISHED FOR THE ORIENTAL TRANSLATION FUND  
OF GREAT-BRITAIN AND IRELAND,

BY RICHARD BENTLEY, NEW BURLINGTON STREET.

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M. DCCC. XXXVI.



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# PART THE SEVENTH.

## NOVOGOROD, MOSCOW, AND THE COSSACK COUNTRY.

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### BOOK XIII.

#### NOVOGOROD.

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##### SECT. I.

###### *CELEBRATION OF THE NEW YEAR—DESCRIPTION OF THE CONVENT OF SAINT GEORGE.*

ON the eve of the first of Ilool (ايلول), the beginning of the year Seven Thousand One Hundred and Sixty-four since the Creation of the World, they rang the bells, to assemble the people for the commemoration of St. Simeon the Stylite, to keep the first day of the year, and to offer up a Πολυχρόνιον for the Emperor; and they performed the small Ἐσπερινόν. In the middle of the night, they arose at the ringing of the bells, and began chaunting the Evening Psalms. At the Εἰσοδόν, the Heads of Monasteries put on their copes, as usual; he who was the chief, and took precedence of them all, being the Archimandrite of the Convent of St. Barlaam; the second being the Archimandrite of the Convent of St. Nicolas; the third, the Archimandrite of the Convent of St. Anthony; the fourth, the Archimandrite of the Convent of the Holy Ghost. These four are they who, with the Patriarch and the Metropolitan, put on mitres, and give their blessing, as Bishops. Each of them has two Deacons to support his arms, at all times, as a Bishop has: and when they came out at the Εἰσοδόν, the Archimandrite of St. Barlaam stood in the centre, with the rest around him. Then they placed the five loaves, which were very small, in a sort of silver chandelier of great beauty, around which they set vessels of wine and oil. At the Πολυέλαιον, the Metropolitan, with the Archimandrites, put on their copes as above, and they set

the image of the year in the middle : then he came down, and incensed it, as also the church, according to custom. After this, our Lord the Patriarch came and blessed himself before it, first ; and the rest followed after him.

On the striking of the third hour of the day, they rang the great bells ; and on our entering the church, the choristers chaunted a *Πολυχρόνιον* for our Lord the Patriarch, as they always are accustomed to do ; and he put on his sacerdotal robes &c. ; for on this day they meet in great congregation, to perform the *Πολυχρόνιον* for the Emperor. When we came out of the church, they placed, under the feet of our Lord the Patriarch, the Servian Archbishop, and the Metropolitan, three circles of the eagle ; on which they stood, turning towards the east, according to the perpetual custom of the Heads of the Clergy in this country. After our Lord the Patriarch had said the Declaration, we went out to an area in front of the church, where they had placed benches and chairs in rows, and the janissaries were standing round in a large circle : in the middle they had set a reading-desk, upon which they placed the Gospels, and between them the cross. The Clergy took their stations around it, carrying the images with their faces turned to the west : near them they placed a stand, with the vessel of the *Ἁγιασμός*. Our Lord the Patriarch they stationed at a high chair at the head of this circle, with his face turned to the east, and the Voivode of the city on his right hand. The Archbishop of Servia, with one half of the Archimandrites and Clergy, stood on his right ; whilst the Metropolitan, and the rest of the Archimandrites and Clergy, took their station on his left :—and now they spread the whole of this area with carpets. At the end of the Canons, they gave our master the cross : and he raised it in his hands, and moved it, in conformity with their practice, in the shape of a cross, three times on the four sides ; whilst I, standing before him, incensed him, saying, “ From the Lord we ask, and say ” &c. Then they brought before him a basin and ewer ; and he washed his hands, and went down to the vessel of the *Ἁγιασμός*, and incensed it. The Priests, in the meantime, stood round him, and recited the Canon of the *Ἁγιασμός*, the Epistles, Gospel, and the Prayers. Then he took the cross, and dipped it in the water, as he chaunted, “ Save, O God, thy people,” &c., three times over ; and the choristers responded to him. As the water dropped from the cross, we caught it in a vessel of silver : then he added to it water from the large vessel ; and when they had given him a sponge, he dipped it, and went and wiped the faces of the images and the cross, and came and squeezed it into the water : then he returned to his chair. Afterwards, they brought before the Servian a book containing a Prayer for the

Emperor and his Ministers, with a recital of all his provinces and sovereignties, one by one, which is the Πολυχρόνιον; also a Prayer for the Empress and their son, and for the daughters and sisters, by name. All this solemnity and rejoicing, on this day, is on account of this prayer for the Emperor.

And now the Voivode came forward, clothed in a beautiful brocade dress, with a collar, turned back and over the shoulders, ornamented with large pearls, and gems of various colours, of great value, and having on a breast-plate of the most costly workmanship. Approaching our Lord the Patriarch, he bent down, and prayed for the Emperor, saying: "I am the servant of our glorious and praiseworthy Emperor;" and so he dilated in his praises, enumerating his titles, and mentioning his name;—and, "I am the servant of the Empress," he continued, and glorified her by name;—and, "I am servant to their son the prince;" and he glorified him in like manner;—and "servant to the Emperor's sisters;" and he glorified them by their several names, together with the Emperor's daughters. All these speeches and praises issued from his mouth in the likeness of an encomium. Afterwards, he prayed for them, that they might enjoy a long life, and a multitude of years; and wished them, for the present, a happy new year; and thus dilated much in his praises and prayers. Then he prayed for our master in like manner, and wished him a happy new year, bowing to him. Thus he did also to the Servian and the Metropolitan.

Afterwards, the Servian advanced, and performed a Πολυχρόνιον for our master together with the Metropolitan, in the same manner as above. After them came forward the Archimandrites, and did in like manner. Then all the persons present began to wish each other a happy new year; for with the people of this country this is a very great day, greater than Easter. They had all put on their best clothes, particularly the women, for this beginning of the year, and for their love for St. Simeon. When the Emperor is present in Moscow, he does in like manner as the Voivode here; and all the Voivodes of this country, together with the Clergy, perform a prayer for the Emperor, and a Πολυχρόνιον in the same manner, on this day.

To return:—Then they brought before our master the cross and the Ἀγιασμός, and he sprinkled the Voivode and the other Grandees. We then returned to the church; and they began the Hours and the Mass. The Metropolitan, at this period, put on his sun (star): for the Metropolitans in this country are not accustomed to put on their sun over their copes at all times, but they never



remove it from their ordinary clothes. After our master had sat down on the *Καθίδρα*, there came before him three Archimandrites; and he prayed over their heads, and gave them power; that is, he presented them two burning tapers, and gave them permission, at the time of Mass, to spread the carpet for them, and to go round behind them, carrying the cup and the fans: for none but the Patriarch gives this power, which is esteemed great among them. During the Mass, the Deacons went round with a figure of the Church of Mount Sion, and a dome like that of the Resurrection, made of silver, and the Priests, two and two, with the *Ἐπιτάφιον* on their heads. The choristers were exceedingly long in their chaunts. It is the custom of the Russians, for the Anagnosts, in their copes, to chaunt the responses for the Mass outside, and the Canonical Subdeacons over the *Ἀμβων*. Nothing caused us so much pain, as to observe the fatigue of the Anagnosts, and the length of time they were compelled to stand upright, during the night as well as the day, heated with service; for it is not usual with the Heads of the Clergy, in this country, as we mentioned before, to hold their crosiers at their seats; but one of the Anagnosts holds it beside them, from the beginning of the prayer to the end, and at the proper times they put on their copes.

To return:—We did not go out from the church and mass on this day till the ninth hour; the people having stood on their legs during the whole of that time. What patience and perseverance! Undoubtedly, all these Russians are saints, surpassing in devotion the hermits of the deserts. As to us, we left the church almost dead with the fatigue of standing upright, and with fasting.

After the refecton, they rang the bells, and went in again to the Evening Prayer.

In like manner, on the morrow, the Metropolitan said Mass, attended by all the Priesthood of the city, and performed a *Παράκλησις* for the Emperor; so that we remained in church, and did not sit down to table till the ninth hour; for such is their way: and we never, as long as we were with them, on any day broke our fast till the ninth hour.

On Monday the third of Ilool we performed our parting devotions in the Church of St. Sophia, in the forenoon; and having gone on board the boats, we took leave of the Metropolitan and Voivode, and returned to the Convent of St. George, in which they first met us. The Metropolitan had previously made a present to our master of a large gilt silver cup, containing a number of dinars, with some dresses of satin and damask, and an image of St. Sophia,

inlaid with gold. So also he had distributed to each of us, by name, an image, and a gratuity in money; as had also the Voivode, first and last.

To return:—The Convent of St. George is magnificent and beautiful; and its church is equally so, being large, wide, and cheerful. Above it are Κατηχύματα, with two Chapels; the one in the name of the Holy Ghost, the other in that of the Annunciation. From this place we mounted to the highest part of the church, and to the roof, which commands a view of the whole town and country: there is a spacious dome upon it.

After we had assisted at Mass in this church, they took us to the Refectory; which is superior to the refectories of any of these convents, for its beauty, grandeur, vastness, and cheerfulness.

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## SECT. II.

*VISIT TO A RUSSIAN MERCHANT.—RETURN TO VISHNI VOLOJOK AND TORJOK.  
CONVENT OF ST. ARSENIUS OF TVERSK.—VILLAGE OF SHOSHA.*

In the evening, we were invited by the merchant, whom we mentioned before as having lent to the Emperor that large sum of money, to one of his country-houses on the further side of the river; and we went down to the boat, accompanied by the Metropolitan and the Voivode. The merchant received us with great respect; and we went into a church by the title of The Annunciation, in which is a Grecian image of our Lady, said to have been brought from Cherson; and there we assisted at the Ἐσπερινόν: afterwards, we went up to his house, which is beautifully furnished with various kinds of gilt silver cups and other vessels; and he made us drink some exquisite red wines, and set before us several kinds of sweetmeats, melons, &c. Then we returned to the convent, and on the morrow assisted at Mass.

From an early hour in the morning, we had been stowing our baggage and provisions, and arranging our attendants, in the boat: and as soon as we had breakfasted, we bade farewell to the people here; and proceeded, in company of the Metropolitan and the Grantees of the city, about twenty versts on the river, sighing at our separation from this blessed land, and its cheerfulness; from its numerous churches and convents, lining the borders of its lake; and from its plentiful rivers, flowing into the lake with such abundance. God preserve its

prosperity, till the Day of Resurrection! It is not only superior to every other part of Muscovy, but to the whole world besides.

They brought us, in the evening, to a place where the Metropolitan owned a mill, on the bank of the river. He had built here, of wood, a large house for us, in the space of fifteen days, that he might now take leave of us here, this night. He sat before us a great feast; and on the morning of Wednesday, having bidden him farewell, we proceeded six versts on the river, and landed at the village where we had formerly embarked. Here we took carriages; and travelled fifteen versts, till the evening, when we halted. On the Thursday, we performed sixty-five versts; and having changed the post-horses, we went on fifty other versts, hastening all we could to return to Moscow before the winter; for the distress and difficulties we encountered in coming, from the abundance of rain, were beyond description. We arrived on Saturday, which was the festival of the Birth of Our Lady, at the village of the convent; and the Archimandrite came in the boat, and conveyed us to it. We then assisted at the Sunday Mass. On the Monday, we intended to depart; but were unable, in consequence of a violent tempest which had taken place on the lake, caused by a storm of wind. Its waves were like those of the ocean; till, on the morning of Tuesday, it calmed a little, and we departed, bidding farewell to the Monks. We performed other ninety versts; and arrived at the town of Vishni Volojok, where we changed our horses: then we proceeded seventy versts further; till we came, on Friday, to the market-town called Torjok, and again changed horses. We then went forward sixty versts; and arrived, on the morning of Sunday, at Tversk. That night we slept in a convent, built of wood, in the middle of the forest, by the title of The Resurrection; and assisted at Mass, in the episcopal church. After breakfast, we went to visit one of the convents of this district, at a distance of four versts, called by the name of St. Arsenius, Archbishop of Tversk. It has a very beautiful church, in which lies his revered body. The sanctuaries in it resemble those of our country; one of them being named after the Assumption of Our Lady; the second, after the Napkin of the Face; and the third, after St. Arsenius. Having performed our devotions to them, we returned to the town; and thence departed on the morning of Monday.

In the evening, we crossed the river Volga a second time; and slept in a village on its bank, very beautiful, and situated on a delightful eminence, called Shosha. Here we witnessed a surprising sight. We observed boats on the river moving

towards Tversk—for its course is in that line—without any one to row them, but drawn by horses along the bank!

We now proceeded ninety versts further, and arrived at the Patriarch's convent; which we passed by, and went onwards seventy versts. The Patriarch had come out to meet us at one of his country-houses, distant twenty versts from the city; and sent twice to inform us of it, during this day's route. He had been waiting for us three days; and when we came near him, he sent to meet us, first his archons, afterwards his Metropolitans and the Heads of Convents; and they conducted us into his mansion. Then he took leave of us, and returned to the city. As for us, we slept here.

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### SECT. III.

#### *RETURN TO MOSCOW.—FURTHER CONQUESTS OF THE EMPEROR OVER THE POLES.—RECEPTION GIVEN TO AMBASSADORS.—TREATMENT OF POLISH CAPTIVES.*

EARLY on the morning of Thursday, the twentieth of Ilool, we entered Moscow. We had been absent from it seven and forty days: and thus finished this curious journey, which no foreigner before us had performed since the most ancient times.

On the eve of Saturday, we assisted, vested with our copes, at a *Μνημόσυνον*, in the Convent of the Nuns, opposite to us, in honour of Czar Ivan; and on the morrow, after the Mass, we assisted at the banquet in the lofty hall above. On Friday, the twenty-eighth of Ilool, our master said Mass, and consecrated Priests and Deacons, in the Church of the Convent. In the evening, we attended another *Μνημόσυνον*, in the Convent of the Nuns, as before, in honour of the Emperor Michael the First together with his two sons; and on the morrow, after Mass, at the banquet, in the usual place.

On the eve of Tuesday, and the morning of the first of Teshrin the first\*, the people assembled in large congregations, to celebrate the Great Festival with them, called *Ποκροβъ Богородицы*; that is, the Veil of the Virgin (*سكاباس العذرا*); the object seen by Andræus Salus (*صاروس*) together with St. Romanus.

\* In the *Μηνολόγιον* for the one day is marked 'Η Κατάθεσις τῆς τιμίας Ζώνης τῆς Ὑπεραγίας Θεοτόκου: and for the following, 'Η Σύναξις τῆς Θεοτόκου: both of which, apparently, are observed here together.

They rang the bells, from the morning early ; and the whole of the Clergy of the city assembled, with their images. One of the Metropolitans went out in procession to the outside of the castle, to that place where they perform prayers for the Emperor ; and, having performed a *Παράκλησις* for him, said Mass in the great church there, which is dedicated in the name of the Trinity.

On the eve of Monday, the eighth of Teshrin the first, we assisted at a *Μνημόσυνον*, in the Church of the Archangel, for the Kniaz Demetrius, son of the Emperor Alexius, who died, unmarried, eight years ago. On the morrow, they rang all the bells together, from an early hour in the morning ; and we went to the Sobor, where the Patriarch, attended by the whole body of his Clergy, put on his cope. They then performed a *Παράκλησις*, in supplication for the Emperor ; because there had come to them a letter from him, informing them that he had made the conquest of nine fortresses in the country of the Poles ; that the archons who were with him had taken five, and the Boterlin (بوٹرلین) with Chmiel, on the side of Kamanitza, had captured four. They had also taken prisoner a great Hetman, one of the four Hetmans who were in the country of the Poles. He was of the house of Potoski, and his name was Paul. With him they took his whole household, with his children ; and they had sent him to the Emperor. After the *Παράκλησις*, the Patriarch, having mounted the *Ἄμβων*, read the Emperor's letter, and gave an account of the conquest of the above-mentioned places ; of the ruin of a number of the convents for Monks and Nuns, in Poland ; of their taking them prisoners ; of a number of actions which had been fought between the Poles and the Muscovites, in which the latter were victorious ; and particularly of the main action between them, in which the scene of battle extended over seven versts. Then they concluded the prayer, and took off their copes.

To return :—On Sunday, the people of the town sallied forth in a body, to meet two Ambassadors ; the one from Palodorus (بالودوروس) Cæsar, and Emperor of the Aleman and the Nemsah ; the other from the King of Sweden. We had seen them in Novogorod ; for they came by sea, and up the river to that place. The Russians observed great solemnity in their reception, and lavished upon them every civility. As the number of troops in the city was small, an order was issued for the merchants and shopkeepers of the town, and others, to march out on foot and horseback, in arms, to meet the Ambassadors. It is the custom of the Muscovites to exhibit spectacles of this sort only in the evening, not in the day-time ; and it was thus the Emperor managed his departures and arrivals. Two of the Emperor's archons came walking on the right and left of the Ambas-

sador; thus, by this great cunning, making a show of placing the Ambassador in the middle out of civility, while he thinks that it is done to honour him: but it is not, but rather to shew that their Emperor is greatest, and that they hold the other under their hands. We admired not a little this artifice of theirs, as well as the cunning they used in other respects on this day: for their troops, as we before observed, being few in number, and the meeting at the distance of seven versts from the city, the troops came in bodies, to pass before the Ambassadors; and then, returning, changed their banners, and made repeated appearances, that they might be supposed to be very numerous.—Not a single person knew upon what business the arrival of this embassy was, till the Emperor afterwards came; and it was then known to us, that they had come merely out of respect to him.

To return:—A report was now spread, that the Emperor was preparing to come back; for a great mortality had prevailed among the horses, to such a degree, that the service was interrupted. On this account the Emperor granted the men a *yeklema* (يقلما), that is, a dismissal, and disbanded of them about eighty thousand, who had been ascertained to be poor, and destitute of horses; sending them to their homes, to repose themselves till the first of the month Adar, when they were to return for a new and important expedition. We saw them coming in, and bringing with them countless thousands of captives. We did not see one of them without a prisoner or two, or five or six, and more: and yet, in consequence of the mud caused by the rains of late, and the death of their horses, they had abandoned the greatest part of their prisoners on the roads, and left them to die of cold and hunger.

Afterwards, the Patriarch informed our master, that the Emperor had captured, from those countries which had not saved themselves by surrender to him, three hundred thousand prisoners; all of whom they found on the hills and in the woods, and seized with the intention to fill with them the houses which had become empty in the city, and the farms which were depopulated by the plague. And so it was done: and happy were the prisoners whom the Emperor took as his own! for he settled upon each, including even the children, however small, four copecks a day, besides an allowance of mead and beer, and wood for fuel; and placed them in those houses which were empty, and in the farms that had been deserted. All his endeavour was, to lay waste his enemy's country, and people his own: for so had the Poles done, when they formerly obtained possession of these provinces by fraud: they laid them waste, and destitute of inhabitants; transporting these, or most of them, to their own territory, which

had been depopulated, and peopling it with them. When, therefore, the wheel turned round, and the time of justice and vengeance came upon them, they suffered even worse than they had inflicted on their neighbours. The grandees of the empire, and the military and Timariots (التيمارية), in like manner filled up their farms with captives, and made them cultivate the land\*. For if anywhere the people ever lived despised, and abject slaves, it was the hereditary cultivators of the soil for the Poles; who now became cultivators for the Muscovites. Our hearts were truly afflicted for these poor wretches; seeing the sales of their little children, in lots of five or six, seven or eight, at a dollar; and even the interested spectators were moved to tears at the sight. All this befel them through the wickedness of their superiors; and the whole sin rests on the shoulders of the accursed Radzivil. God reward him with the bitterest and most speedy ruin!

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#### SECT. IV.

##### *FEAST OF ST. NICOLAS.—FOUNDING OF THE GREAT BELL.*

To return:—At the festival of St. Nicolas they keep three days' holiday, from their great love and veneration for this Saint, as we have before mentioned; but they shut up the wine-houses from the eve of the festival till the end of it. The Patriarch sent an invitation to our master; and he performed Mass with him in the Sobor church. It was an exceeding cold day. After the Mass, he took us up to his palace, where he gave a great banquet to all the attendants, instead of the Emperor; who, if he had been present, would have assisted at the Mass in the church, which is dedicated in the name of the Saint, in the neighbourhood of the Sobor; and afterwards would have given a splendid entertainment in his palace: for their love of St. Nicolas is very great. After the banquet, they arose, and performed the devotion to the Παναγία; and the Patriarch took the censer in his hand, and incensed the images and the attendants; and then performed a Πολυχρόνιον for the Emperor and Empress, and for their son and his sisters and daughters, by name. Then he poured out, with his own hand, for all the persons present, a round of cups of mead, to the health of the Emperor; and we went out. We learnt from him, that the Emperor

\* لأن الرعية في اين ما كانوا عبيد مهانين كانوا اولاد فلاحون لللاه و صاروا الان فلاحون للمصكونيون \*

still continued residing at Smolensko, on account of the mud and rain, which had accompanied the arrival of the autumnal season, to the ruin of the roads. The worst of this was experienced at Moscow, where the wagons and horses were utterly unable to pass along the streets; and as for us, we could not go out of the house to market, on account of the deep mud and clay; deep enough to sink in, over head. For this reason, at this period, the price of provisions rose very high, there being but little importation of them from the country. All the people, and most of all ourselves, prayed to God that he would cause the earth to be frozen, for the relief of his distressed servants. The Emperor therefore remained at Smolensko, for the sake of his baggage, till the ground should be frozen, and he might move away thence. A report was spread, that he would come this day; but the Patriarch informed us, that on this day he had gone to assist at Mass in a convent on his road, by the title of St. Nicolas, and commonly called Mojaiska. The portrait of this Saint they always draw with a naked sword in his right hand, and, in his left, the city of Moscow; as he appeared in a vision to the Kniaz of Moscow, at the time of the war with Timourleng, which we mentioned before. The convent is about ninety versts distant from the city. We were much delighted at this news. Afterwards, he passed from that convent to another, which he had newly built, in the name of St. Saba the Younger; and there he assisted at Mass on the Saturday.

On the Sunday afternoon they rang the great new bell, to announce the coming of the Emperor; and all prepared to meet him on the morrow. This bell is the one we gave some account of before, observing on the nature of the works, and the machines and engines which they had been busy about during the summer; that is, a great number of janissaries, under the direction of their able and ingenious master. They had been incessantly employed about this bell, from the month of Ishbat, till this feast of St. Nicolas. Our principal amusement, during the summer, was going to see them. Before we set out for Novogorod, their labour had been very great, in transporting the large pieces of copper, weighing them, and placing them in the five furnaces. Each piece was, with great difficulty, moved by forty or fifty janissaries, assisted by machinery, and placed in the scales; and then in the furnace. Thus they were employed till we returned from Novogorod; and then they luted up the doors of the furnaces, and burnt the fires for three days, till the whole of the copper melted, and became like water. They stirred it with long iron rods, through holes in the doors of the furnaces; and from the violence of the heat, its surface had become red hot. Then a



number of janissaries came and took off the covering, which was of the bark of the *Flamor* (جملی) or Linden-tree, which had been erected to keep the place from heat and rain. Some fear began to be felt, lest a great fire should break out in the city, from the heat of these furnaces, which truly resembled the fire of Hell; and one of the Heads of the Clergy came and performed here, over the pit, an *Αγιασμός*, and gave his blessing to the work. And now they let go the issues of the five furnaces from under them; and the copper ran all into the channels leading to above the ears of the bell. This was at night; and they would not permit any person to look on. Till the end of this day, they had been continually scumming the metal. From the great weight of the copper, it made a hole in the bottom of one of the furnaces, and ran away among the bricks; and so there was lost a part of what had been prepared by the master: but they immediately brought him much brass and silver; and put it into one of the furnaces, where it soon melted; and they let it flow over the other, till the whole was filled up. They had to wait three days for this new bell to cool; and then they began to take away the bricks and earth which were around it; an operation which consumed a considerable portion of time. As soon as the report was spread of the coming of the Emperor, they worked day and night; and the Patriarch continually overlooked them, accompanied by the Emperor's lieutenants, stimulating their exertions to the utmost: most times he used to invite our master, also, to accompany him in viewing the work. And now was perfected a bell, which must rank among the wonders of the age for its magnificence and the vastness of its size. After this, for a long time, they were employed in cutting away the furnaces and the mounds raised for the purpose of confining the copper within the mould, and in cleaning the surface of the bell; until the first of the month Canon the first, when they resolved to remove it from the pit, and hang it up.

On this occasion came one of the Heads of the Clergy, with all the Priests and Deacons of the Church, in their copes, and performed an *Αγιασμός* a second time; setting figures of the Church of the Resurrection and Jerusalem, made of silver, and sprinkling the bell and the place around. In the mean time, the engines, with large ropes fastened to them, were made ready before us, and the people of the city collected to see the sight: each of the engines, which were sixteen in number, was worked by seventy or eighty janissaries; and on the rope of each engine sat a man, to direct them from it, and to make them pull all together and equally. It was a day that exhibited a spectacle which will be

accounted for ages. A great number of the ropes broke ; and they immediately substituted others for them. After great exertions, and immense labour, surpassing all description, they at length so far succeeded in raising it, as to suspend it about the height of itself over the pit; and this was at the end of three days' continued efforts, assisted by every contrivance that art could suggest. They then placed a bridge of immense timbers over the mouth of the pit, and covered it all over. Above this, again, they placed another bridge ; so that this wonderful bell rested upon it. Afterwards, they began to hang to it the iron clapper, the weight of which is two hundred and fifty poods ; the thickness such, that we could with difficulty embrace it with our arms ; and the length more than a stature and a half. They now began to clean this surprising bell, both inside and out, and to polish it : and now appeared the exact effigy of the Emperor, with that of the Empress opposite to him ; with the Messiah over them, giving them His blessing, as they, on the face of the bell, turn themselves towards the church on the east side. On the back of the bell is the image of the Patriarch Nikon, in his cope and crown, with his crosier in his hand ; an exact likeness. Under the shoulders, at the top of the bell, are figures of Cherubim and Seraphim, with six wings, spreading all round : over them is a circular inscription in very large characters, as there is also on the rim below. The thickness of the rim of this bell is more than an ell, as appeared to me. When we went in, and stood under it, we seemed to ourselves to be under an immense tent ; but no one knew how many braces its circumference was ; for none ventured to measure it, as it was continually guarded by a janissary standing near. For my part, I ceased not to scheme and to pay my court, till I made acquaintance with the artist himself ; and, inviting him to my lodgings, prevailed on him, by my civilities, to tell me the extent and measure of its circumference. It is eleven braces, which I found, by measuring with my hand, to be just ninety-three spans. I inquired of him the sum it had cost : he said, fifty thousand dinars : and to the same purport the Muscovite Patriarch secretly informed our master. I asked him also the weight : he told me it was only a few poods short of twelve thousand five hundred. We reckoned that every pood is equal to thirteen okkas and a half, and every thousand poods to thirteen-thousand okkas, neglecting the halves. The ten thousand poods are, therefore, one hundred and thirty thousand okkas, without the halves ; and the two thousand, to make up the twelve thousand, are, six and twenty thousand okkas. The whole sum is consequently about one hundred and sixty thousand okkas complete. The like of this extraordinary,

immense, beautiful and singular bell there is not in the world, nor has there ever been, nor is likely to be. It surpasses the understanding of man to conceive such a wonder; achieved, notwithstanding, by the present monarch, in his reign; by which he has exalted himself above all his contemporaries. To our good fortune, the work was completed in our presence. A person, who had been in the country of the Franks, told us, that in the city of Paris (پاریز), capital of the kingdom of France, there is a bell resembling this new bell, except that its circumference is only seventy spans. They glory much in it, saying that it has no equal in the world: but this new one has surpassed it greatly.

To return:—On this day, which was Sunday, and the third of the Feast of St. Nicolas, the Emperor departed from his monastery, and came to one of his imperial palaces in the neighbourhood of the city, at a distance of only three versts, and slept there: on this account, after Mass, they began to toll the new bell. For this purpose, they tied to the clapper four long ropes, which about one hundred janissaries began to pull on the four sides, so as to bring the clapper to the sides of the bell: and now a sound issued from it that astounded and terrified the hearer; for it resembled the voice of thunder, and the beams of wood upon which it was suspended, though of immense size and thickness, undulated like ropes with its motion, and quivered violently. We ran away to a distance from them, fearing they would break and fall upon us. Thus they continued to toll it till the evening, to announce the Emperor's arrival on the morrow. As to the Patriarch, he went on the evening of this Sunday, accompanied by his superior Clergy, to meet the Emperor on the road, by night. Having seen him, and made his salutations to him, and blessed him, he returned in the morning early.

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## SECT. V.

### *RECEPTION OF THE EMPEROR, ON HIS RETURN TO MOSCOW.*

ON the morning of Monday, the tenth of Canon Alavval, they tolled the new bell, together with all the other bells around, the whole length of the day; and going to the Sobor, we assisted at Mass with the Patriarch. Afterwards, we went up with him to his palace; and after the fifth hour had struck, we descended to put on our copes, and the Patriarchs theirs, in the Νάρθηξ. The Patriarch of Moscow robed our master in one of his own sakkos and Ὠμοφόρια, braided with

pearls, and placed on his head his Stambouli crown. Then they walked out, in grand procession, to meet the Emperor, with banners and tapers, attended by all the Clergy of the town, as well Priests as Deacons. The image of Our Lady Portartissa, which we mentioned formerly, the Patriarch gave, with all its gems and gold, to be carried by the Monks of the Holy Mountain who happened to be present, and the Monks of the Cossack monasteries; who chaunted to her a *Παράκλησις* in the Greek language. When we came near the gate of the imperial castle, we observed that they had adorned the rails (المصاطب), and the steps, which are on both sides of the gate, with green baize. We then went forth to the open court, to the oratory, built of stone; and after they had performed a prayer, and thrown incense, the Patriarch bestowed a blessing with the cross, on the four sides. As we thence went down, the troops and people were standing in rows on both sides; and we proceeded towards the river on the Kalouga road. The rails (مصاطب) also, on both sides the two gates of the second wall, had been adorned with red cloth. When we had passed the bridge over the ice, and were come to the famous *Meidan* or race-ground, we found they had also, in the middle of it, set up two rows of rails with high steps, and had covered them with green baize. The day was excessively cold, and the snow very deep; yet the people were all barcheaded. Every moment there came, on the part of the Emperor, an archon to the Patriarch, to beseech him to stop where he was, for fear he should be fatigued with walking along the road. But he would not; and we moved on at a quick pace, the choristers chaunting all the while, with the intent to meet the Emperor at the earthen wall. And now came forward the military and the grandees, and the troops (يدكات) of horse on both sides the road, whilst we proceeded in the middle on foot; every time we came near a church, being received with the ringing of the bells, which the young men plied with alacrity; and by the Priests and the whole Clergy coming out with the images of the church, the cross, and the censer, to meet the Patriarchs. Thus having walked for a whole hour, we at length approached the earthen wall; where the Emperor came up, and we joined him. He had been sitting in his sledge, which was ornamented with the banner of the church of that title, representing the Assumption of Our Lady, beautifully painted and adorned. As soon as he saw us at a distance, he alighted; and advanced on foot, attended by his grandees, having his head uncovered. He came and stood opposite the to Patriarch, at a little distance; having his grandees on his left;—and the Archbishop of Tversk, carrying the Cross of Constantine

in a sort of house or frame, such as is used for pictures, with folding-doors of gilt silver to shut over it, which the Emperor had lately had made; one of the Archimandrites carrying the head of St. Chrysostom in a silver box; (both of which reliques we gave an account of heretofore, viz. that he had sent and had them brought from the Holy Mount;) another carrying the image of Our Lady Vlashirnas; and others carrying other images; on his right hand. Thus the banners and images were ranged close to each other, all around him. Then the Archdeacon took the censer, whilst all were silent, and said *Εὐλόγησον, Δέσποτα*. The Patriarch replied, *Εὐλόγητος*: and he read a Gospel from St. Luke, with his head uncovered, as usual, "Who has a son; and he shall ask his father for bread, and he shall give him a stone?" At the end of the Gospel, the Archdeacon went and presented the book to the Emperor to kiss, &c. Then the Patriarch, having concluded the prayer, gave a blessing, with the cross, on the four sides; and, advancing near to the Emperor, began to praise him, and thank him, strengthening his good intentions by examples and encomiums, as Moses did with Pharaoh, &c., and as Gideon and Abraham, and by such other examples from ancient histories; speaking also of Constantine and Maximianus; and saying such words as guide to wisdom, distinctly and at length. Then he blessed him with the cross, and sprinkled him with *Ἁγιασμός*; as did also our master, and the Servian. Then the Emperor, having passed with his archons before all the images, returned to his place; and the archons advanced near the Patriarch, that he might bless them. Reciting their praises, and thanking them, he gave them his blessing; saying, "I thank God for your good fortune, and your victory over your enemies," &c. At this moment, the Emperor advanced towards him, and said to him: "Father, you have given yourself sufficient trouble about it. This victory, which God has granted us over our enemies, was not gained by our sceptre, nor by our sword, nor by our alms, nor by our troops, but by the great number of your holy prayers in our behalf: these produced the effect of what we have done, beyond our hopes." When we heard these words, we were astonished at the greatness of the Emperor's humility, and confidence in God. Then the Patriarch advanced, and presented to him a gilt image of Our Lady, and, in a silver dish, a cake of bread, with a beautiful silver salt-cellar upon it, full of salt; then a pitcher of wine; making many parables upon them. The Emperor took them in his hand, and, kissing them, delivered them to his pages. Then the Emperor took the Cross of Constantine, with the Head of St. Chrysostom, and the rest of the images, and delivered them to the Patriarch; as much as saying,

“ Let them henceforth remain in your keeping.” The Patriarch having kissed them, delivered them to the Chief of the Deacons; and the Deacons carried them among the other images. There were standing with the Emperor, on his right and left, four Βασιλόπουλα or Princes; namely, the sons of the King of Siberia, the Tartar; and the son of the Georgian, whose face shone like the sun, stood nearest of all to his Majesty. He had gone out to meet him, together with Kasimobo, who had been lately baptized. Then they returned in procession: and when we had departed to some distance, the Emperor resumed his seat in his sledge, with the banner of the church over his head. When we came to the Meidan, the Archimandrites and Deacons went on before, and, standing upon the scaffolds or railings (المساطب), sprinkled the Ἀγιασμὸς they carried with them, upon all passing by on each side; the scaffolds having been erected for this express purpose. In like manner did others of them, at the scaffold by the gate of the city, and at that by the gate of the Palace Castle. When we had ascended to the Circular Oratory, we took our stations round it; and the Emperor came and stood there, whilst the Archdeacon incensed him. Then we descended, and entered the precincts of the Sobor Church, amidst the ringing of all the bells. Out of the church came a congregation of many persons, carrying a great number of wax lights, for the hour of night was come. We entered the church by the western door, the same we had passed through going out; and the Patriarch ascended to his throne (مخنة), the rest placing themselves around him. The Emperor then entering, kissed all the holy pictures of the church, as also the bodies of the saints: then he paid his devotions to the images carried by the Clergy. Afterwards, the Patriarch descended, and presented to him the box containing Our Lord’s garment: then, having waited a long time, till the key was brought, the Patriarch broke the seal; and taking out the garment, gave it to the Emperor, who opened it, and kissed it. After the box had been again shut up, and sealed, it was carried back to its place. Then the Patriarch went out, to give a parting salute to the images carried by the Clergy of the district, and incensed them without the church. Afterwards, they carried them back to their places: then he returned; and having concluded the prayer, went out with the Emperor and his suite: then, having blessed him, and wished him happiness, together with our master, he passed on to his palace.

As for us, we disrobed with the others; and returned to our convent, an hour after nightfall, almost perished and dead, with the fatigue of walking, the excessive cold, and extreme hunger. Nor do we know how long this constancy must

endure. God help us to the end! What excited our astonishment most was, the conduct of the Emperor, who, though come from so long a journey, walked so far in the procession with his head bare; and not only that, but stood such a while waiting for the key to open the box of Our Lord's garment, which he kissed, as he did all the images, with perfect thanksgiving. Yet he had been absent from his wife full ten months; I should say, a whole year: for, as we mentioned before, on the first day of the month of Ishbat, last year, she brought forth a daughter; and yet the Emperor was not engaged about her:—God prolong his reign for ever, Amen! From the greatness of our joy at his arrival, we forgot all our troubles and sufferings on this day, when we beheld the beaming light of his countenance; for it shone and beamed wonderfully, and was exceeding full, from the abundance of his joy, for his victory and conquest of provinces, and the defeat of his enemies.

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## S E C T. VI.

### *TREATMENT OF AMBASSADORS AT THE RUSSIAN COURT. RECEPTION OF THE CÆSAR'S ENVOY.—SECESSION OF THE SWEDES FROM THE RUSSIAN ALLIANCE.*

ON Saturday, the sixth day after the Emperor's arrival, he called to him the ambassador of the Cæsar. The janissaries, with their banners, drew up on both sides, from the ambassador's lodgings to the palace, in close lines: and when the ambassador passed along, they turned their muskèts in his face (داروا التفنك لوجهه). The meaning of which is this: "O you! if you are come to stir up a war, we are ready for you." In store for every ambassador coming to the court of the Muscovite Emperor, great affliction is laid up. First of all, they place round his dwelling a great number of janissaries, to guard him day and night: these are changed every day. Then they suffer no one of his suite to go out alone, to take a turn in the city. The lodgings of the present ambassador they had been guarding with very great caution; and had not suffered any stranger to go in to him, nor even to enter the precincts of his house. This was entirely from fear, lest there should be among them spies, to steal the news, or take letters to the citizens, or receive letters from them to send to their country. On the day the ambassador is called before the Emperor, they have great care to watch him closely. It is their custom, when an envoy like this comes, not to make

known the ostensible cause of his coming, or the design of his appearance, till they have first drawn from him his real motive: and the Ministers of the Emperor inform themselves of his personal demanour, not once, nor twice, but a great number of times, before he is presented to the Emperor; that they may see if his answers and discourse are in conformity with his letters, which he has brought with him; and they observe whether the contents of these are in perfect accordance. On this point, their investigations are so multiplied, that I am unable to enumerate them. When they wish, as on this day, to invite the ambassador into the Emperor's presence, they are incessantly and most diligently busied, from morning till night. They are accustomed, when they take the imperial sledge or horses for him, upon arriving at his abode, and at the moment he prepares to mount, to dispatch swift messengers, to inform the Emperor that he is descending the steps of his hotel; then, that he is mounted: and they ceased not, on the present occasion, sending messengers, to the number of some forty or fifty times, on pretences enough to make the heart sick of their futility. There sat on each side of the ambassador one of the Emperor's archons, making various pretexts for their attendance.

This ambassador brought to the Emperor, from the Cæsar, a small casket full of gems, and, in a rich vase, some of the miraculous reliques of St. Nicolas of Mira: for the body of this Saint, as we mentioned before, is in the country of the Germans. This present they knew would be in high estimation with the Emperor, who treated this ambassador with great respect. We succeeded, afterwards, in learning the cause of his coming. It was to say, on the part of his sovereign: "I praise God, and thank Him, for having given you victory over your enemies, and that we are thus become neighbours." For the city of Wilna is on the confines of the Cæsar's territories: they said, it was only five or six days' journey distant from his capital. He does not love the Poles; and between him and Sweden exists great enmity; they having been engaged in continual wars for the space of fifteen years, in which the Swedes were victorious; for they are extremely valiant; and had taken from him fifteen fortresses, sword in hand. On this account, he had made peace with them in spite of himself, and, as it was said, paid them tribute.

These Swedes had been hitherto carrying on war in conjunction with the Emperor, and assisting him; and had taken back their towns which were in the hands of the Poles, as the main object of their wishes; when, on a sudden, the



cursed Radzivil repaired to them, with his brother, and, paying them homage, delivered to them what remained to him of his territory, and, with the consent of the Poles, the two seats of their government, viz. Warsaw and Cracow (برشاوا و قراکوب), which the Swedes took possession of, and garrisoned. Thus they broke the ancient friendship which existed between them and the Emperor; and produced that opposition to each other, which we shall speak of in the sequel, by joining the Poles in their war against the Emperor at this time. The Cæsar therefore, having learnt this, sent the present ambassador to inform the Emperor of the treachery of the Swedes; and to ask him to unite with him, in word and deed, in making war against them; for the occasion now presented itself.

It was said, that the Cæsar's ambassador was accompanied by two others, sent by the Pope to the Emperor on business of concordance and friendship, and to intreat him as to certain affairs of God, best known to himself, of which we are unable to give any account. The Emperor, therefore, bound himself in the greatest amity with Cæsar, to the infinite delight of the latter; as we observed and knew, from his sending afterwards, by an estafette, a letter to the Emperor, to reply to him, in thanks for his great and wonderful kindness to his ambassador, and for the policy of his conduct; entitling him, in his letter, and saying, "As I am the Cæsar of the Empire of the Franks, so have you now shewn yourself worthy that I name you The New Cæsar of the Empire of Orthodoxy." The Emperor was delighted in his heart with this new title, to an infinite degree; and his friendship and kindness to the ambassador increased greatly.

Afterwards, on the passage of the Cæsar's ambassador, the troops turned their muskets back, through respect to him; but, on the contrary, whirled them in the face of the ambassador of Sweden, on account of his hostility and treachery. As to the latter, when he was sent in the summer by his sovereign the king of Sweden, he came on terms of friendship, as formerly, and brought to the Emperor, on his presentation, very splendid gifts; which we saw carried before him by fifty or sixty janissaries, in trays of silver gilt, heaped with various kinds of valuables, surpassing description. For when the king sent these presents, there existed not, as yet, between him and the Emperor, any hostility; and the latter had hitherto treated his ambassador with great respect, and daily caressed him. But as soon as the Emperor ascertained the truth of the king's hostility towards him, he fell into a great rage with the ambassador, as we shall detail hereafter; and now sent to cut off all the supplies of provisions, which had been

usually carried and transported into Sweden, so as to prevent their receiving any eatables from Muscovy; issuing a strict prohibition, to all the ports and frontier, to sell them any thing of their products; so that their means of living were completely interrupted on this side.

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## SECT. VII.

### *APPEARANCE OF A VENETIAN AMBASSADOR AT SMOLENSKO.—PERFIDIOUS CONDUCT OF THE POLES TO THE VENETIANS.—VISIT OF THE EMPEROR AND EMPRESS TO THE SOBOR.*

WHEN the Emperor was lately in Smolensko, there came to him a great ambassador from Venice (البندقية), who had travelled, over the ocean, to the port of Archangel; and having, at the invitation of the Emperor, repaired to him, was presented to his Majesty in Smolensko; when he laid at his Majesty's feet some magnificent presents from the Venetian treasury. No one knew with what intent he was come. From the most ancient times, no ambassador from Venice had come to the Emperor of Muscovy: and now the Emperor refused to let him come to Moscow, lest his business should be disclosed; but he sent and took from his treasury some valuable furs, as we ascertained, to the value of more than one hundred thousand dinars, to clothe him and his retinue, and as a return for the presents of those who sent him. And now, after the arrival of the Emperor, I ceased not to inquire, and ask of my companions and friends, on what account this ambassador had come; till I learnt the truth; which was, that formerly no mention was made in the country of the Franks of the Emperor of Muscovy, nor any notice taken of him; but now, when the news reached them of his victories and conquests, and of his capture of Smolensko—that great city so renowned over the whole world, that second Bagdad—they became astonished at his greatness; and the Venetians, alarmed on all sides with the cry of war, sent to him this ambassador, with letters, congratulating him on his conquests, and requesting the assistance of his troops for the next ten years. This was done by the unanimous agreement of the Prince (البرنچيوس), that is, the President or Doge of Venice, with the twelve Archons: for they knew that the Emperor, in strict conformity with his engagements, and for the sake of his religion, had marched out against the enemies of his faith. With great joy, the Emperor now hastened to

give them a favourable answer; writing to them, that they should be patient and persevering, till the time it should please God to grant them their desires. As soon as this letter reached the Venetians, they rejoiced exceedingly; their learned men produced poems and sonnets in his praise, in the Greek language, which we saw afterwards; and the love of the whole nation for him was great, as we shall presently have occasion to shew.

At the beginning of the war between Venice and the Turks, when the power of the latter was great, the Venetians feared much, and sent an ambassador to the Crál of the Poles, first; and with him four hundred thousand dinars, supplicating his Highness for succour, and begging him to employ this money to pay for ships and troops, to be sent by the Black Sea, in order to cause a diversion to the Turks on that side. The Crál answered them according to their wish, in concert with the Grandees; and took the affair in hand. But the treacherous Polish Grandees afterwards turned from their word, and, proving false, refused to co-operate, saying, "We, who are inhabitants of our own country, employ the means we have for the removal of evils from that country; but the Turks by no means molest it." The Crál, having no power over his nobles, was reduced to make a wretched and despicable appearance before the Venetians. The worst of it was, that the afore-mentioned persons expended the dinars shamelessly; whilst the ambassador continued among them until he died: and the Crál, on this account, very much enraged against them, formed his plan to punish their misconduct. Sending the Hetman Chmiel to the Cossacks, he brought his designs to bear, till he arose, and, attacking the Polish Grandees, killed the greatest part or nearly the whole of them, and took possession of most of their lands and villages. The remainder of them, seeing this, ceased not to machinate, till they contrived to poison their Crál, as we have already mentioned; and he died. For his successor, they appointed his brother; and it is he who still exists. For these reasons, the Venetian State was most amicably disposed towards the Emperor; whilst the Franks, in general, do not love him, because he is orthodox. But the Venetians, having seen that the Poles, though of their own kindred and religion, had refused to assist them, and, proving treacherous to them, had wasted their money; whereas, on the contrary, this Emperor, though so far removed from them, and an enemy to their religion, had given them a favourable answer to their message, and promised them assistance; became greatly increased in their affection towards him. He afterwards sent them an ambassador, in company with the afore-mentioned minister of the Cæsar; as he had to pass through the Cæsar's territory, to come to them.

To return:—On the morning of Low Sunday (الاجداد), the Patriarch invited our master; and they performed Mass together in the Sobor, in presence of the Emperor and Empress. The latter, from the time of the Emperor's departure last year, at Pentecost, had not come down to the church. It was this Patriarch who first enjoined the Empress to come down, and made her a particular chair for herself. Formerly the Empresses were not in the habit of resorting to the church by day, but only by night. When the Empress descended from her palace, the janissaries were employed to drive away the people on both sides; whilst all the wives of the Grandees walked before her in troops, in admirable order, in the same manner as the الشطار والسلاقيده before the Emperor; every two dressed in a different way, but most of them in dark or violet-coloured velvets; bearing on their heads, above the calpack, a small white veil, hanging loose; above it, a kind of lappet of sables, or costly black fox, slit in two, to the shape of their heads; and copes on their backs. The Empress entered after them, with her mother leaning on her right arm, and attended by her sister, who is married to the Grand Vazir, on her left. The rest of the serving-women and girls followed behind; the married women wearing on their heads a large white veil; the maids, a kind of shimas (شماس) made of sables. On the present occasion, the choristers chaunted for her the Πολυχρόμιον. After she had made her adorations, she stood by her chair; and they let down her veil, on the right side, that the people might not look on her. Her parents and uncle stood near her; and all the wives of the Grandees, with her maids, stood on her left hand, near the door of the church, on the north side. They let down a curtain (ضرايب) from the centre pillar to the wall, to keep people from seeing them; so that they were as in a house, enclosed on every side. Then the Patriarch went down to her Majesty, and gave her a blessing with the cross; and having sprinkled her with the Ἁγιασμὸς, returned to his place. After the Empress came the Emperor, who, having kissed the images and the reliques of the Saints, according to his custom, approached the two Patriarchs; and they blessed him with the Cross, and sprinkled him with the Ἁγιασμὸς (ولكشمته), and he passed on to stand by his chair; when they began the Hours: for it is usual with them, for the Patriarch to robe, and sit waiting till the arrival of the Emperor. After the Body, or sacred Host, had been carried round, the Patriarch came out, and blessed the Emperor and Empress with the cross; and after the Mass, he ascended the Ἀμβων, and read the Lesson of that day. Then he gave to the Emperor and Empress of the *brote* or consecrated bread (بروي), and to most of the Grandees of the

empire, the Priests, and the Monks. The two Patriarchs then entered, and put off their robes; and coming out again, blessed the Empress, as before. At this moment the Emperor stood in his place; whilst the Priests, Deacons, and choristers, all came and kissed his right hand, as performing their salutations. After the Patriarchs had accompanied the Emperor out, and he had departed, the whole congregation left the Church; and after they had closed the doors, the Patriarch went round before the Empress, who paid her devotions to the images one by one, to the reliques of the Saints, and to the box containing the shirt of Our Lord. They then led her out, and she departed. When we came to our lodging, they set before us a repast, furnished by the Emperor and the Patriarch.

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## SECT. VIII.

### *DESCRIPTION OF THE PATRIARCHAL PALACE.—FESTIVAL OF ST. PETER. PERSEVERANCE OF THE RUSSIANS IN PRAYER, DRESS OF THE MONKS AND CLERGY.*

THE Patriarchal palace here is very ancient, having been first begun to be built by St. Peter, the first Metropolitan of Moscow; but on a very small and confined scale, without any court, and overhung by the buildings inhabited by the Empress. But since this Patriarch has been raised to his station, he, being a man fond of building and of ever renewing, asked of the Emperor the grant of an enclosure near to him, on the north of the Sobor: and having obtained it, he began upon some large and beautiful buildings, in which he employed German architects. Under these buildings he constructed seven halls, a bakehouse, and a large kitchen; so that the heat should ascend to the rooms above. The steps to this building he ordered in an admirable manner, placing them opposite to the old road to the Sobor; so that he always stands here, to give his blessing to the Empress's court. On the top of it he has raised a divân, looking over the country; and thence has made a passage leading to the Empress's palace, for the convenience of secret communication. He has also made another way, reaching to the ancient apartments. In the centre of the divân he has built a beautiful church, dedicated to their Metropolitans, the Saints Petrus, Alexius, Ivana (ايرنا), and Philip thé Minor; and painted these Saints upon the door. On the inside he has painted the portraits of the six Patriarchs, from the time the Patriarchate was erected, at the epoch of the Constantinopolitan

Greeks. The first of them was named Job; the rest, Germanus, Gerasimus, Philaretus, Josephat, and Joseph. His own portrait he has placed after them; for he is the seventh Patriarch. This church he has ornamented greatly; and the most of his time he used to perform his devotions here. This divân has, on the outside, immense balconies, commanding a view of all the Empress's palaces: from this you enter into another large divân, wherein those persons who wish to see the Patriarch stand waiting, until he has given them leave to enter. Thence you pass to the great divân; the architecture of which surprises the mind, from its extraordinary height, length, and breadth. Its greatest beauty is an exceeding wide cupola, without any pillars in the centre; all around which he has made rows of steps. The pavement remains like a lake in the middle, to which nothing but water is wanting. He has also adorned this hall with beautiful tapestry, of a variety of colours. This apartment has its immense windows (glazed with panes of beautiful crystal, prettily ornamented with various flowers, which might be mistaken for real) looking over the Sobor; and, on the other side, over the court of the Patriarchal palace. He has furnished it with a large stove of handsome glazed tiles, standing near the door. The whole of this building is joined with iron, from side to side. This divân he has named the *Christov*, that is, the Christian Divân. Within this place is another room, which he has placed as a *νάβηξ*, or porch, to a large, beautiful, and very lofty church, built by him, and dedicated to the Trinity; which commands a view of the open ground before the Convent of the Judabi. On the top of it he has made *κατηχύμυνα*, which go all round. From the *νάβηξ* of this church he has carried out three passages, with steps: one begins the descent from it to the Sobor, as it is in front of its north door; another descends to the new palace-yard; and the third, going up, leads with steps to the highest part of the precincts; where he has built two other similar churches; and rooms for the Deacons, towering over the whole town. At the corner of the *Christov* is a door, leading to the new wooden structures, with rooms within rooms, to a great number, for his habitation during the winter: since all the inhabitants of these countries are averse to living in stone houses; for, when their stoves are heated, they strike the head, and cause severe headaches: on this account, they are obliged to have all their buildings with close passages. All the doors of these apartments of the palace are covered with cloth; and the wooden houses, for winter, are close to those of stone. All round these buildings are close passages, and the doors of all the apartments are covered with green baize. In a word, these buildings are an object of wonder to every

one; for scarcely in the royal palaces is there any thing to equal them. The ablest masters of the age, from every country, were employed three years upon them. I was informed, by the Archdeacon and the Treasurer, that the Patriarch spent upon this edifice more than fifty thousand dinars, without counting the value of the stone, tiles, &c., which the Emperor furnished to him; besides the contributions of all the ministers of state; and remembering also, that the greatest part of the workmen were his own serfs. It might appear that the building was just now completed, and furnished this last week, for he had kept it shut up until now. The reason was, that it happened on the Friday of this week, the one and twentieth of Canon el Avval, to be the commemoration of the decease of St. Peter, first Metropolitan of Moscow, whose body is preserved in the Temple, or High Church. It is the custom with them to assemble on this day, for the purpose of commemorating him with very great solemnity; as we mentioned formerly, and witnessed on the present occasion; and even with greater solemnity than they celebrate the Birth of Christ. The Patriarch is accustomed, after the Mass, to give a banquet to the Emperor, to the Grandees, and to all orders of the Clergy, with great splendour, in his own palace. Fortunately, it happened that his new palaces were just now completed. As, however, the Saint's anniversary fell on a Friday, on which day the eating of fish is not allowed, and no feast can be perfect with them without fish, they put off the festivity to the next day, that is, to Saturday. The Patriarch sent word to our master, that he was to rise at night, to attend Matins with him in the Sobor. On the morrow, after Mass, was the banquet at the Patriarch's new palace: in the evening they performed Vespers; and after the eighth hour of the night they tolled the great bell for Lauds, at which the Emperor attended.

This night, our Lord the Patriarch presented to the Emperor a petition, beseeching him to let him go his way. His Majesty answered him, "Have patience, till after the Feast of the Immersion." We did not go forth from the church till the sun was risen. After the Patriarchs had given their blessing to the Emperor and Empress, we at length came out; and returned to our convent, nearly dead, with the fatigue of walking, and standing from the ninth hour to the sixteenth.

We suffered, during this night, from the severe cold and frost what was sufficient to kill us, especially as we had to stand upon the iron pavement. God is witness, that our souls were ready to depart from us. In regard to my poor self, I actually attempted to go out and run away from the sacristy; but it was

impossible, for the Emperor was standing before the south door, and the Empress before the north door, so that patience became a necessity. When I arrived at the hotel, God knows that I remained three days without the smallest power of standing on my feet. Though they should be cut with a knife, or if I plunged them into boiling water, there was no feeling in them, either for heat or cold. In this disorder they continued for nearly two months. Now what, in the name of God, is the meaning of all these Prayers and Vigils? But what surprised us most was, to see the boys and little children, not those of the common people, but the sons and daughters of the great officers of state, standing bare-headed, and motionless, like statues, without betraying the smallest gesture of impatience. What wonderful constancy and faith! This is only a sample of what we noted down, of the Vigils observed in this city of Moscow; this great city, so celebrated throughout the world.

About an hour after our departure from the Sobor, they tolled the bells; and we returned to it again, though we were perishing and dying with fatigue, want of sleep, and cold. The two Patriarchs vested their robes: and on this day robed with them, three Bishops, ten Archimandrites wearing mitres, regular and secular Priests twelve in number, twenty Archdeacons, and upwards of five and twenty Readers and Sub-deacons. These, with the two Patriarchs, and the Archbishop of Servia, made, in all, more than seventy Ministers within the sacristy. After we had come out from the Mass, and had taken off our robes, the two Patriarchs went forward to the Emperor's palace, to give their blessing to his Majesty.

The Patriarch Nicon, out of his great love for the caps and latias of the Greeks, had just now made for himself a new white latia, in the cut of those of the Greek Monks; only over his eyes were cherubim of brocade and pearls: for the latias of the Russian Monks, and of the Heads of their Clergy and Patriarchs, are very ugly. None of them have caps of knitted wool; but all have them small and stitched, without border or fringe: the Monks, in particular, wear very large latias, which cover their eyes, with ears flapping down upon their shoulders. With difficulty can their faces be discerned, especially when they look on the ground. As for the rest of their clothes, the filth of their dress is very great; for they never wash their shirts, but wear them continually, till they drop off: and the garments under their cassocks are mostly of green woollen cloth; such as their vests and hose, which are made of the green baize which the Persians bring them. In a similar way are dressed the Nuns and Abbesses; having their faces always covered with latias, instead of veils. Behind their necks, the Monks wear a



round cowl of wood, covered with cloth, and marked with the figure of a cross: this habit, they say, has been passed down to them, by tradition, from ancient times, that they may be distinguished from the Greek Monks. The Patriarch and the Heads of the Clergy wear stitched caps like theirs, with fringes; but their latias are very small, close upon their heads, like the dresses of the Syrian nobles: this they have received, by tradition, from the time of St. Peter, preserved until now. This Patriarch had seen no suitable opportunity till this day; when, conscious of the great love the Emperor bore him, and sensible of the advantage afforded him by the presence of our master, one of the Patriarchs of the habitable world, he mentioned the subject first to him, and then deposited his new latia, as usual, together with the cap, in the sacristy, secretly. Then he besought our master to intercede with the Emperor, that he might wear them; for he much feared the people, lest they should say that he annulled their ancient customs, and the habit of the Heads of their Clergy worn by their earliest Saints. And so, indeed, it happened to him afterwards; for when he put them on, the people murmured greatly, but in secret, through their fear of the Emperor. Our master, therefore, now approached his Majesty, and thus addressed him: "We are four Patriarchs in the known world, and the dress of all of us is alike: by our consent and permission, this our brother has been made Patriarch of Moscow, in the place of the Pope of Rome; and a token of the Pope is, that he is distinguished from us by his white dress. If it is your Majesty's pleasure, I should wish that your Patriarch wear, like us, this cap and this latia, which I have newly had made for him." The Emperor, through his love for the Patriarch, was delighted at hearing this speech, and answered our master, saying, "Bati-oskha, Dobro!" that is, "Very well, Father!" then, taking the cap and the latia from our master, he kissed them, and commanded the Patriarch of Moscow to lay aside those which he had hitherto worn, and put on these. The Patriarch had no sooner put them on, than his face was lighted up with joy, and the Grecian head-dress fitted him splendidly; for his former cap shaded his countenance too much, as we have before stated, and had a mean appearance, being without border; and his latia was small, and docked too short. With this new latia the Patriarch was greatly pleased; but when the Heads of the Clergy, and the Heads of Convents, the Priests, and the Laity there present, saw his new dress, they murmured much; saying among themselves, "See how he has changed the dress of the Heads of our Clergy here, which they received, by inspiration of the Holy Ghost, from the time we became Christians, at the hands of St.

Peter! and does not the earth tremble at his act, who, having been hitherto dressed as a Muscovite, has made himself a Greek?" The people exclaimed against him violently, for a long time afterwards; but in secret murmurs, for fear of the Emperor. Subsequently, all the Heads of the Clergy, and the entire body of Monks, desired to change their ancient dress, as it is very much despised by them. Many of them used to come to our master, asking him to give them some of our caps and latias; but we had none to dispose of. If it had happened, that, at this opportunity, any of the Monks of the Holy Mountain had been here with loads of caps and latias, they would have sold vast numbers at a very high price. Those who obtained them, and were clothed in them by their own Patriarch and by ours, shewed faces brilliant with delight. Great jealousy, in consequence, arose among them; and at last they began to make themselves caps of black cloth, exactly on the model of ours and those of the Greek Monks, and latias of black silk. They used to complain before us of the burdensome weight of their old latias, and throw them off their heads; saying, "If this Greek dress were not of divine origin, the Patriarch would not have been the first to wear it." They told us, as news from the Convent of the Trinity, that all the Monks there, to the number of five hundred, had begun to make new caps and latias, changing their dress by permission of the Patriarch. When our master was in Novogorod, two of the Grand Archimandrites, namely, the Archimandrite of the Convent of St. Barlaam, and the Archimandrite of the Convent of St. George, begged of him, and the Voivode interceded for them, that he would give them our caps and latias to wear; which he did. This is the wholesome benefit which our Lord the Patriarch operated among the Muscovites, on this occasion.

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## S E C T. IX.

### *OPENING OF THE NEW PATRIARCHAL PALACE.—CHRISTMAS FESTIVITIES.*

THE Emperor then took the hand of our master; and conducted him to the Empress, to bless her: and after the Emperor was gone out, they closed the doors of the church, till the Empress had paid her devotions to the images, as usual on such a day as this; and she departed. Then all the Deacons went forth with torches, chaunting, before their Patriarch; till they conducted him to his new palace, which he opened for his habitation on this day. As soon as he

entered, first of all advanced towards him our Lord the Patriarch, presenting to him a gilt image of the three Patriarchs, and a large cake of bread, with a salt-cellar full of salt upon it; and blessing him, he wished him joy of his new habitation. After him entered the Heads of the Clergy; presenting to the Patriarch gilt images of the titles of their Sees, cakes of bread and salt, large gilt cups, pieces of brocade and velvet, &c., and making their salutations to him. After them entered the Heads of Convents, and even the stewards, who resided in their palaces in the city, from distant convents; and in the same way, presents were made to him by the children of the Princes (اولاد الملوك). Then the Priests of the district, the merchants of the city, the Grandees of state, and the tradesmen, presented to him cups, soroks of sables, &c. He accepted nothing from any one, but the images, and the bread and salt; with the exception of the presents made to him by the Heads of the Clergy and the convents. There was great bustle and confusion; till, at length, the Patriarch sent to invite the Emperor to his banquet. As soon as the Emperor was come, he bowed, and presented to the Patriarch, first, a cake of his own bread, some salt, some soroks of high-priced sables; and similar presents from his son and Empress: then three cakes of bread, and three soroks of sables, from his sisters; and the like from his daughters; in all, twelve cakes, and twelve soroks of sables. The Patriarch was standing at the top of the room; and the Emperor went each time to the door, to bring in the presents with his own hands, with great fatigue; calling to the archons, who carried them, to deliver them to him quickly; and he was like a waiting slave, wonderful as it is to relate! As he presented each gift, he bowed to the Patriarch, saying, "Your son, the Czar Alexius, bows to your Holiness, and presents to you, &c." Thus, when he offered the presents from his son and Empress, from his sisters and daughters, he mentioned their names.—What surprising condescension is this, which we stood and observed on this day! Was it not permitted to you, O Prince of the age, to stand in your place, and command your slaves to bring in the presents to you? but you must go and bring them in yourself! May God, for your great humility, and for your faith in your Patriarchs, vouchsafe to perpetuate your empire for endless ages!—In his hand, the Emperor bore his black staff, with two small branches. Afterwards, the Patriarch bowed to him, and expatiated on his kindness. Then he seated him at a royal table, which one of his archons had previously set for him, with its gilt vessels, such as cups, salt-cellars, small vinegar-cruets, &c., in a corner of the room, near two windows; one looking towards the Sobor; the other commanding a view of the Judabi

Convent. For the Patriarch, they set another table, near it, on the left : and near that again, another large table, reaching the whole length of that side of the room, which is towards the Sobor, at which they seated all the Boyars and Grandees of state. Our master they seated on the right of the Emperor, at a table by himself : next to him, the Archbishop of Servia : and near to them, the Georgian Prince, at the head of the room, at a table by himself : next to the Prince were the three sons of kings, at a table by themselves. Each body of butlers and waiters was charged with the service of one table only. Then they seated the Metropolitans, the Archimandrites, and the rest of the Heads of the Clergy, the Protopapas, and the Clergy of the Sobor, at a large table opposite the Boyars. Near the beautiful large stove in this room they had set a large table, like a high scaffold, with shelves, and covered with cloth, on which were arranged gilt silver cups, and other splendid vessels, for the liquor. From the ceiling were suspended five magnificent chandeliers : one of them, of silver, was near the Emperor's table ; and in the middle of its bulb was a concealed clock, which struck the hours. Just at the moment they sat down to table and began to eat, it struck the sixth hour of the day, so that there remained less than an hour till evening.—See what sufferings we underwent during the preceding night, and the greater part of this day ; that is, during four and twenty hours, standing up, and fasting!—Having entered among the crowd in the hall, we went thence to our apartments to dine, and returned afterwards to the festivity. As they had begun to eat, one of the Anagnosts began to read the History of the Saint, according to their custom, at a desk in the middle of the room, with a loud, harmonious, and sweet voice. For a little while, the singers came and chaunted : but, for the most part, the Patriarch and the Emperor delighted only in the chaunting of the Cossack children ; many of whom the Emperor brought with him from Poland, and gave them to the Patriarch, who dressed them in the finest clothes, gave them pensions as his servants, and afterwards ordained them Anagnosts. They always took the lead in singing ; and their music was greatly preferred to the harsh and gross intonation of the Muscovites. These chaunted for some time, and then the Cossacks sang after them. When they had finished, the reader resumed the completion of his History. From the beginning to the end of the repast, the Emperor never ceased to offer to our Lord the Patriarch plates of meat from his table, and presented to him many cups of drink ; talking to him, and shewing him great friendship and familiarity. The interpreter between them was the Servian Archbishop. The Emperor asked our master to pray for him,

that he might know the Greek language; as Basil the Great had prayed for Ephraim the Syrian, and he became acquainted, in consequence, with the Greek language. When it grew dark, the candles of the chandeliers were lighted, and the room blazed with splendour. Then the Patriarch took the Emperor, with some of his great officers of state, the Princes, our master, and the Servian Archbishop, into his new apartments of wood, where they caroused jovially with princely liquors. It was then the Servian informed our Patriarch of the presents which the Emperor had made to Nikon; and of those which Nikon had made to the Emperor, flowing like the Black into the White Sea, and the White into the Black. Afterwards, the Patriarch presented to the Emperor a large piece of the venerable cross, a relique of some Saint, twelve large gilt cups, a dozen pieces of brocade, &c. Then they came to the outer apartment, and continued the feast till the eighth hour of the night. In the mean time, the Emperor arose, and filled cups of wine for all present, to the health of the Patriarch; which, as the company emptied them, they placed inverted on their heads, to shew that they had drunk the health complete. In like manner the Patriarch filled cups for them all, to the health of the Emperor; and these, having emptied, they placed on their heads, kneeling previously and subsequently. After the healths of the Empress, the young Prince, &c., our Lord the Patriarch, and the rest of the company arose, and retired to their homes. The Emperor remained with the Patriarch till the tenth hour, till the bells rang for Morning Prayer; when they went down together to the Sobor, to Matins and *Ἀγρυπνία*, in commemoration of St. Philip, their countryman; and they did not leave the church till day-light. See what patience and endurance!

In the forenoon of the above-mentioned Sunday, our Lord the Patriarch went to the palace of the Patriarch of Moscow, to thank him for his kindness, in company with all who had been present the day before at the banquet: and many who had not been able to offer their gifts the day before, presented them now.

Early in the morning of Monday, the *Παραμονή* or Vigil of the Nativity, the bells rang, and they entered, to recite the Hours, and to perform a *Πολυχρόνιον* for the Emperor, &c., in his presence, in the Sobor. Having returned to Mass, they did not leave the church till evening. From night onwards, for several successive nights, the great and minor Deacons of the Patriarch, together with the singers, are accustomed to go round to all the houses of the Heads of the Clergy and Convents, and of the Grandees of the city, in troops, to sing Christmas

hymns, and after them a Πολυχρόνιον—to obtain a gratuity : they used to come to our Lord the Patriarch ; and the Deacons and singers of the other prelates went round in the same way. At the ninth hour of the Eve of the Nativity, that is, at midnight, the bells rang, and the people flocked in haste to the churches. Between the two great bell-towers is a church dedicated under the title of this festival, and resembling the Cave at Bethlehem, exactly in its shape : for, as we mentioned before, the late Czar Ivan sent a person to view the cave ; who then came and built this church on its model. It is usual therefore for the Emperor and his Grandees to perform in it the Vigils of this eve, in company with the Patriarch : but as the machinery for erecting the scaffolding of the bell, and for the construction of the tower, was in use around it, the Patriarch and the Emperor did not go up to it to Matins, but sent thither one of the prelates, and themselves performed Matins before the Empress in the Sobor. The new bell, and all the others, were tolled for the beginning of the service, at the Πολυέλαιον, three times, and as many times at the Gospel. The Emperor had sent, over night, one of his sotniks to our Lord the Patriarch, to invite him to Matins and Mass, and to the banquet, as usual : but the Patriarch Nikon, knowing what we had suffered from the intensity of the cold and from fatigue, during the former night, did not send to summon us to Matins ; and it was to us a blessed hour of repose. God reward him for his kindness !

In the morning early, they rang the bells ; and our Lord the Patriarch went to Nikon's palace, and was conducted by the Patriarch to the Emperor and Empress, to whom they gave their blessing, and made their festive salutations. Then they went down to the Sobor, and robed together. In the common churches, Mass had been performed at an early hour of the morning. After robing, the Patriarchs sat down to wait for the Emperor. The Patriarch Nikon put on, for this occasion, a new sakkos, which was said to have cost seven thousand gold pieces. After the Empress was come down, the Emperor followed her, wearing a beautiful new crown. His upper garment of heavy brocade was like a sakkos, only with sleeves of *chikpan* (چکپان) ; and round it were hangings of fringe, studded with stones, pearls, and gold-spangles, according to the usual richness of imperial robes. His under garment was similar ; and on his shoulders was the purple or imperial mantle : it was like that cape which the Sakman (السکمان) put round their necks to carry their muskets on : and he never wears it but on great festivals. Being round, it covers his shoulders, breast, and back. It is studded with gold, pearls, and gems, exceeding description ; and is embroidered, all round,

with the representation of the Dominical Festivals, about the size of the palm of one's hand, in emeralds and gold. The emeralds are most admirably engraved with the festivals, each being a palm in size; and between the emeralds are similar engravings in pure gold, with the lines blackened, so as to excite admiration at the beauty of the workmanship. Our sight was dazzled with the lustre of the emeralds and other gems. On his Majesty's neck hung a cross, large and valuable, of white bone, we knew not of what animal, carved on both sides with the representation of the Dominical Festivals, in the shape of the crosses of the Holy Mountain, and suspended by large gold chains. The Emperor's staff was of white bone; being one single horn, which made the whole staff, smooth and beautiful; and was, as they said, sent to him, among other presents, by the Persians. One of his great officers held it near him; and two of his Grandees stood by his chair, supporting his arms. After the Mass, the Patriarch read the Lesson of the Festival, at the *Ἀμβων*; and distributed the *brote* to the Emperor and Empress, as our master had instructed them.

After the departure of their Majesties, our Lord the Patriarch went up with Nikon to his new apartments, preceded by all the Deacons in their copes, bearing torches, and chaunting. Having remained here a short time, we passed on to the Emperor's banquet-room; where the feast was prolonged till the third hour of the night; when the Emperor dismissed our master, sending with him some of his great officers, with torches, to accompany us to the hotel. At this moment, the bells rang for Matins, and they went in to the Service.

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## S E C T. X.

### *SIEGE OF KAMENITZA.—CAPTURE OF LUBLIN.—DEFEAT AND SEIZURE OF PAULUS POTOSKI.—DISCOMFITURE AND RETREAT OF THE KHAN OF THE TARTARS.*

ON the morrow, after the Festival of the Nativity, news came to the Emperor, from his army, which he had sent, under the command of the Archon Potorlin, to join Chmiel; with which they marched off together to Kamenitza. On their pressing the siege of that fortress, a letter was sent them from within, by a little boy, the contents of which were: "We do not make war with you: go first and

make war against our Crál. When you have killed him, and taken possession of his throne, we will then bow in submission to your sovereignty, without the force of arms." And to this they engaged themselves by oath. Stephani Beg of Moldavia sent to the Emperor's Archon his service, with many presents of dinars, barrels of wine, oxen, sheep, bread, &c.; and they quitted the place, marching away towards the city of Liov. Here they were offered a large sum of money, and other presents, to leave them in tranquillity. On their road, they subdued eighty-four castles and towns from the Poles; and, among them, a city called Lublin, which, in their language, is the City of Meetings: for the Poles, during the period of their glory and prosperity, used to hold their assemblies there for solemn council. There are said to be in this city no less than eighty Government or Judgment Halls, built of stone; and of palaces and large hotels, built of the same material, there is a surprising variety. The whole town is surrounded with stone fortifications, with three castles. When the Emperor's troops had taken two of them, and pressed the siege of the inner fort, the besieged offered them a resistance not to be easily overcome. It happened, that in this town there had existed, from the most ancient times, a piece of the wood of the venerable cross, formed into the true shape of the cross, and working miracles perpetually. The Poles gloried in its possession; and the Pope of Rome is said to have offered them for it a sum of forty thousand dinars, which they refused. When the Emperor's Archon heard of it, he asked them for it; but they declined to give it him, until, after much suffering and distress, they at length brought it to him, to save themselves from slaughter and obtain a capitulation. Proceeding forth in a body, attended by their Priests in their copes, and bearing torches, they presented themselves before the Archon with this invaluable treasure, weeping, and wailing, and regretting to part with it. The Muscovites having received it, broke up the siege, and returned to the city of Kiov, carrying with them immense booty and a great number of prisoners. The distance from this city of Lublin to Kiov is said to be near two months' journey.

The army had made prisoner a great Hetman of the Poles, named Paulus Potoski; who, on their retreat from Kaménitza, came out to attack them with ten thousand troops. As soon as they heard of his movements, they turned back; and stationed themselves, on his road, in ambuscade, among the forests and mountains. He had no sooner begun to pass by them, than they ran down upon him from every side, and he had no resource but in flight. They overtook him, however, and seized him, after destroying the whole of his force. His wife,



as soon as she heard of his captivity, is said to have instantly burst with grief. They sent him, with his son, to the Emperor.

The Poles had made a compact with the Khan of the Tartars, that he should come to their assistance; and that they would meet him, on their side, to encompass Chmiel, and the Emperor's Archon, with their troops; and take them in the the midst, between them. To the execution of this compact they urged him incessantly; and strove to move him by splendid largesses and repeated embassies. At length, roused by his anger and indignation against Chmiel for his submission to the Emperor, he arose, and marched into the country, with fire, war, and slaughter. As soon as Chmiel and Potorlin were informed of this, they came down upon him; and, meeting him, fought a severe action with him, which lasted three days. At last, seeing himself overcome, he sued for peace, and offered to join them against their enemies. He had made captive a near relation of Potorlin's, whom he had intercepted on his way to Moscow: for his sake they made peace with him, in order to release him out of his hands. Then the Khan requested of Chmiel fifteen hundred Cossacks, to escort him to the Moldavian frontier; and deposited with him, as pledges, a number of Mirzas or young noblemen, until he should have passed the Moldavian territory. Thus he departed for his own country; and when the Cossack escort returned, they discharged the Mirzas.

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## S E C T. XI.

*DEATH OF POTORLIN.—KIND TREATMENT OF THE POLISH GRANDEES,  
ON THEIR SUBMISSION.—BENEDICTION OF THE WATERS.—  
DEFEAT OF THE POLES, BEFORE WILNA.*

WHEN this affair came to the Emperor's knowledge, he was much enraged against Potorlin; and sent to have his head cut off, for his treachery on three occasions. The first was, his taking bribes from those towns and fortresses: the second was, his ravaging and destroying those places which he captured, and neglecting to secure their government and possession: the third was, his making peace with the Khan. As soon as Potorlin heard of the Emperor's indignation against him, he swallowed poison, and died at Kiov: of which the Emperor was no sooner informed, than he sent a person to commit his body to the flames,

so greatly was he enraged at his conduct and misdemeanours. Afterwards, the Patriarch employed much entreaty; and obtained from the Emperor, that his remains should be brought and buried in Moscow.

To the Hetman, Paulus Potoski, the Emperor granted a pardon; and he was ordered to reside six weeks, or forty days, in the Judabi Convent, in the Order of the Catechumens. At the end of that time, the Patriarch took him under his protection; the Emperor's father-in-law became his *اشبين* or godfather; and the Emperor himself granted him degrees and robes of honour, pensions, &c. He used to come every day to the palace, with the Grandees of the empire, in great pomp, according to the usual haughtiness and grandeur of the Poles. He was not the only one who made his appearance on these occasions. There were also many other Polish Grandees, who had submitted and tendered their obedience to the Emperor, and had been confirmed by him in their respective ranks. In like manner, great numbers of the Polish military, and others, to the amount of thousands, were settled by the Emperor in the Muscovite territory, and stationed in the ranks of his army, with their regular pay. By this means, he gained their love; and immense numbers of the Poles submitted to him; so that the shops of this city were now filled with the treasures and rarities of Poland, which were sold for almost nothing. The captives were on sale in the slave-market.

When the Emperor made the conquest of the city of Wilna, he sent to the Patriarch twenty large buffaloes, an animal with which the Muscovites had been hitherto unacquainted. We saw, in the court-yards of the Grandees, a great number of asses, which had been brought also from Poland. In the Muscovite language, asses are called *kalterki* and *eshek*; and we found some of them in the imperial stables.

On Saturday, the Eve of the Immersion, we went to the Sobor, and performed Mass with the Patriarch; and having gone out and returned, we assisted, in the evening, at the Prayers over the Water. The custom with them was, as with us, always to perform the Prayers over the Water twice; once in the evening, in the church; and again in the morning, over the river. This Patriarch has found, in some book of the Holy Mountain, a testimony of Euotius, Patriarch of Constantinople, to the effect, that the blessing is to be performed only once; and to this he has conformed, by command of the Emperor. After the *Ἐσπερινόν* &c. they went forth in grand procession, with banners; and torches, as it was dusk; the Emperor following the Patriarchs, clothed in his imperial robes designed for the great festivals, with the purple mantle, and his cross on his neck, and his

crown on his head, &c. As soon as we had passed forth from the Water Gate, we came to a large strong platform, which they had erected the preceding day; and in the middle of which they had made a pool, with steps down to it. One of the janissaries held in his hand a kind of spade pierced with holes, with a long handle, with which he cleared the ice from the water as fast as it formed upon it, and continually stirred the water to prevent it as much as possible from freezing. As soon as the Emperor came, he ascended his platform, and, bowing, was blessed by the two Patriarchs. The Priests, with their images and crosses turned towards the east, stood round the water; and the great officers of state round the platform. On both banks of the river were stationed numerous janissaries, in close order, forming a large circle, at a distance; and on the walls and towers were crowded men and women, from all parts of the town and country. Three persons, with three triple-twisted torches in their hands, stood over the water. After the Benediction &c., they brought to the Patriarch large and small vessels, which he filled with water; and then he went up to sprinkle the Emperor, the Grandees, and all the assistants. We then returned to the Sobor, the Patriarch carrying the cross on his head. It was now night. When we entered the church, the Patriarch ascended to his throne; the Emperor stood behind the pillar; and the assistants, having placed a table in the middle, set on it the vessels which had been filled with water, and three large bowls, one of which was taken up by the Patriarch, another by our master, and the third by one of the Metropolitans: and the Emperor, with his officers, came and received of the water from the two Patriarchs, bowing with veneration. Then the Patriarch finished the ceremony of giving the water to the Metropolitans and the Grandees; our master, to the order of the Clergy; and the Metropolitan, to the Laity. Concluding the prayers, we went forth; and, returning to our convent, received a message from the Emperor, by one of his archons, for our master to attend at Mass the next day, and dine with his Majesty. At midnight, the bells rang, and we entered the church. In the forenoon, we went to the Sobor; and the two Patriarchs performed Mass together, in the presence of the Emperor, who wore his imperial robes, with his purple mantle and crown. At the end of the Mass, the Patriarch delivered to our master one of the bowls of water; which he carried to the Emperor, to drink of first, from his hand: and then the Emperor went to receive the *Avridwpa* from the Patriarch of Moscow, as did all the Grandees and assistants.

Then the Patriarch went up to his throne—whilst all the attendants placed

themselves around him, and the Emperor stood behind the pillar—and began a *Παράκλησις* and supplication for the Emperor: for at this moment had arrived the news, that the army of the Poles had returned, on the traces of the Emperor, to retake Wilna. The Voivode of that place had marched out against them with his troops, defeated them, and killed of them upwards of six thousand men, taking eight and twenty of their standards. More than thirty of their Archons and Voivodes gave in their submission, surrendering themselves to the Emperor's Voivode, who asked them why they fled without fighting. They answered: "At the moment we drew up for battle to fight with you, we saw, on a sudden, in the sky, a figure of Alexius, Emperor of Moscow, riding on horseback, with his name written upon him, and St. Michael with his drawn sword, before us, in the act of assailing our army. On this account, we broke away in flight and disorder." These very words the Patriarch read from the letter which the above-mentioned Voivode of Wilna wrote to the chiefs of the Military Council. At its recital, the Emperor wept, out of joy and humility. After the Patriarch had finished reading it, he went down and stood before the Emperor, offering up many prayers for him, accompanied with parables and proverbs. Then he prayed for the Emperor's Officers and Grandees; and the singers began to chaunt for him a *Πολυχρόνιον*. The Emperor made his compliments, in return, to the Patriarch, and ordered a *Πολυχρόνιον* to be chaunted for him. In chaunting for the Emperor, they styled him, "Sovereign of the Great, Little, and White Russias;" for the city of Wilna is the capital of the country of Litfa (ليتفا), which in their language is called Bielo Roussi, that is, White Russia. Thus they sang, "Veliko Tsar, i Velika Imla, i Bielo Roussi Samoderstswο," that is, "Great Sovereign of the Great, Little, and White Russias, Autocrator;" which last word is Greek, and signifies "of himself Ruler." In like manner, the Emperor styled the Patriarch of Moscow, "Patriarch of the Great, Little, and White Russias." Then the two Patriarchs gave the Emperor their benediction; and we passed to the banquetting-room, where the same festive ceremony took place as on the day of the Nativity. The banquet lasted till after night-fall; and we returned to our convent by torch-light. On this night, the Patriarch set out, to go and see his new convent, and to visit Novogorod.

On Saturday the twelfth of Canon Essani, the great bell was rung for Vespers and Matins, to commemorate St. Tatiane, the patroness and namesake of the Emperor's youngest sister: and the Emperor gave a banquet on the occasion, and sent meats to our Lord the Patriarch from his table.

Observe, that it is the custom for the Patriarchs, who travel to this country, to ask of the Emperor permission to visit five monasteries, and perform Mass in them, in order to obtain their alms and presents. The first is the Judabi Convent; the second, the Convent of the Nuns; the third, the Convent of the Spas, outside the city; the fourth, the Convent of Simon; the fifth, the Convent of the Nuns and Young Ladies, without the city. They are accustomed also to perform Mass, for the same reason, in the Church of the Annunciation.

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## SECT. XII.

### NEW CONVENT FOUNDED BY THE EMPEROR.—CONVERSATION OF THE PATRIARCH WITH HIS MAJESTY.—ACCOUNT OF THE METROPOLITAN MIRA.—GREAT INTEREST TAKEN BY THE EMPEROR IN THE CHURCH SERVICES.

THIS Emperor has just built a new convent, situated between the north and west of the city, at a distance of forty versts, on the bank of the River Moscwa, in the name of St. Saba the Minor, one of their Saints. He has taken the utmost pains, and gone to the greatest expense, in building it like the edifice of the Convent of the Trinity: and all this is out of his great love for churches, convents, Monks, and the whole order of the Priesthood. On the Thursday in this week, the seventeenth of Canon Essani, he went to see it, accompanied by his Grandees, to assist there at the Festival of the Saint; and at the anniversary of the foundation of the convent, on the nineteenth of the same month. Before he went, our Lord the Patriarch wrote him a *jolofita*, begging permission to visit the above-mentioned convents, and to visit his convent also. The Emperor granted the permission: and, on arriving at his convent, on the Friday, he was pleased to think of our master; and, sending a courier to the Minister, ordered him to expedite the departure of our Lord the Patriarch the same night, that he might arrive in time for the Mass of the Festival on the Saturday. The Minister immediately appointed five janissaries, fully accoutred, to go before us: the dragomans brought a vodvods to carry us; and for our Lord the Patriarch, an imperial sledge, with its black horses, and out-riders on each side: and the Minister deputed one of the Párinójki, and an interpreter, to attend us. We set out from the city a little after the fourth hour of the night, with lamps burning before us, in the hope of arriving in time for Mass. We travelled five and

twenty versts, of the forty, by day-break; when we alighted, in one of the villages, which are contiguous to each other along the road from the city to the convent, to warm ourselves a little, as it was extremely cold, and the snow was falling upon us; and to give rest to the cattle. We then arose; and, having travelled the other fifteen versts of the forty, arrived at the village of the convent, distant from it three versts. Here the Emperor sent one of his Grandees, with his attendants, to make his compliments to our master: this Grandee was voluntarily accompanied by many others. And now the janissaries, appointed to the guard of the convent, drew up on both sides of the road, for the space of a verst. In the mean time, the Emperor every moment sent one of his Grandees after another, to make his salutations to our Lord the Patriarch, and inquire concerning his health; until we arrived at the convent, and our master was taken out of the sledge without the gate. Supporting him by the arms, they led him up, till he was met by the Archimandrite; who came forth, in his cope and mitre, attended by all his Priests and Deacons, to receive him. After our master had bowed to the images which are over the gates, he bent in like manner to the cross which they bore with them in its case; and having kissed it, and given his blessing with it to the Archimandrite, he was taken by the latter by the arm, to mount the steps to the second gate; for the convent is situated on the summit of a beautiful hill, and is surrounded by walls. At this moment, the Emperor came out in person to receive our master, bowing to him, and receiving his blessing with the cross. Then the Emperor took his right arm, and the Archimandrite his left; and they led him up to the level of the convent, and into the church. In the mean time, the bells had been ringing since our first approach to the convent; but we came too late for the Mass, as it was now past mid-day. As soon as the Patriarch entered the church, he paid his devotions to the images, and to the body of St. Saba the Minor, which is placed in a gilt silver coffin, laid in the right-hand corner of the church, in a chapel resembling that in which is kept the garment of Our Lord, with its cupola and brass-railing all round, filled up with panes of stone-crystal. Then he blessed the Emperor a second time; and they saluted each other by the tongue of the interpreter. On retiring, the Emperor conducted our master to the apartments of the Empress, situated in the south-front of the church, his own being on the north; and here we took up our lodgings.

For his own part, the Emperor went to table, to entertain the Fathers of the convent, in celebration of the Festival.—See what wonders and strange things it

pleased God that we should behold, and observe the transcendent humility of this monarch, who went round to serve with his own hands the Monks of this convent, as they sat eating and drinking till they were all satisfied!—At the end of their repast, the Emperor sent to invite our Lord the Patriarch, by one of his Cabinet Ministers. When we had ascended the steps to the banqueting-room, the Emperor came out to meet us to the very top; and taking the right arm of our master, led him into the apartment. Here the Patriarch chaunted, first, the Ἀξιὸν ἱστῆν before the images, and then bowed to them: and the Emperor, having received his blessing, seated him by his side, at a table apart. His Grandees and attendants sat at another table, by themselves on his left; and we, with the Fathers of the convent, on his right. For the poor, the blind, the lame, &c., a table was set on the ground, in front of the Emperor; and he continually served them with meat and drink, till the last. The Priests then began to chaunt the Prayers before Meals; and the Παναγία having been brought to our master, he elevated it, in the name of the Trinity; and cutting it in pieces, gave of them to the Emperor. With the remainder, in a plate, I went round, to make a distribution to all the Grandees and Clergy. After the Patriarch had given his blessing to the table, they all sat down; and as the dishes of meat were brought in, the Emperor gave of them to our master, to distribute to the Grandees as it pleased him, according to custom.

During this day, the Emperor held much conversation with our master, which discourse he had treasured up in his heart for a long time. He knew our master's history minutely;—of his setting out from his See; of his continued endeavour to repair to the presence of his Majesty, in consequence of his distress &c., as though the Emperor had intervened in his affairs from first to last. The most wonderful was, his Majesty's saying to our Patriarch: "I know that the principal cause of your quitting your See, were the evils and afflictions brought on your Holiness by that wretched Metropolitan, Mira, in return for the benefits you had conferred upon him." At this speech, our Lord the Patriarch was very much surprised; as we were afterwards, when he told it us: and we said within ourselves, "Who can it be that has informed the Emperor, and continues to inform him, of these affairs and circumstances?" But, in truth, no secret is hid from Princes. Then he said to him: "Why did you not send, to tell me of him, and of his bad behaviour, at the time he came to us?" We had met the afore-said person in Moldavia; and there he manifested towards us great friendship and humility. When, therefore, we proceeded onwards, to enter Muscovy, our

master was not inclined to write any evil of him, nor to requite his injuries. On the other hand, the Metropolitan requested our Lord the Patriarch to give him a letter of recommendation to the Emperor; which, on consulting Vasili Voivoda, he would not permit us to do, knowing the impurity and wickedness of the Metropolitan, and the injuries he had been guilty of towards our master. By this excuse we contented him; and he departed, in company with the Patriarch Patalaron, before us. When they had entered Moscow, and resided there some time, the Muscovites observed the vices of the Metropolitan's Archimandrites, Deacons, and relatives; their wicked actions, and their smoking tobacco. Instantly they sent them into banishment; but the Metropolitan, by the intercession of Patalaron, escaped this punishment. Leaving Moscow, he returned to Potiblia after some time; and then it came to the knowledge of the Emperor and the Patriarch, what infamous vices and actions he had been guilty of, and what injuries he had committed against our master. Immediately they dispatched one of the interpreters, with a troop of cotriers, in search of him. They overtook him in the town of Crasna, which is the first in the province of the Cossack country. On seeing them, he was troubled, and gave up his mind to despair. Being fully sensible of his errors and misdemeanours, he supplicated the messenger, and offered him above two hundred dinars, to have mercy on him, and let him go his way; saying, "Tell them that you could not overtake me." The messenger, being thus prevailed on, returned to Moscow; but in great fear, lest the affair should not remain concealed, and his falsehood should be detected. The Ministers soon discovered the truth; and immediately bound the culprit, lashed him all through the town, and banished him to the same place which had been destined for the exile of the wretched Mira.

The Emperor therefore said to our master, "Ya Batioshka, make your heart content, and be not impatient; for though I am here on this spot, the arm of God is long enough to extend my hand to reach him with vengeance, in whatever place he may be." We were surprised at this speech; for the words of Princes express not half their intentions. To this monarch, for his love to us, may God grant a perpetuity of empire! Thus, he ceased not to converse with our master from the beginning of the banquet to the end. Lamenting the death of the Monks of the convent, during the time of the plague, he said, "Satan envied me the greatness of my happiness, whilst formerly there were more than three hundred Monks in my convent; and he has destroyed most of them; for there are now left, of them all, but one hundred and seventy, and no more."—See,



brother, what an extraordinary prince this is, and how remarkable such a speech! that he should weep and sigh over the death of his Monks, and the smallness of their present number! What a blessed spirit! what a pure and holy affection in a prince of his exalted state, to mourn for the death of his Monks! In truth, his heart and soul must be absorbed in theory, and in heaven, and not in things of this earth. What joy and gladness we felt at what we heard and saw, of the rare and excellent virtues of this monarch, both now and, as we shall have occasion to relate, hereafter!

Then they arose from table: and our master having elevated the Παναγία, the singers chaunted a Πολυχρόνιον, and the Emperor distributed cups of wine to all the company, to the health of the Patriarch of Moscow, standing in his place, and taking the goblets from the sotnik; and as each person received his cup, he bowed to the Emperor first and afterwards. Then they chaunted a Πολυχρόνιον for their Patriarch. Our master then offered up prayers for the Emperor, and, after a Πολυχρόνιον had been chaunted for him, he first drank by himself to the health of the Emperor, and then passed the cup to his Majesty. Afterwards, the sotniks began to bring cups of mead to our master, and he distributed them to all the company. The Emperor called and invited the Fathers of the convent, each by name, to take his cup and drink, saying, "Sodari Joseph, Sodari Simeon, Sodari so and so," that is "Master so and so:" and not only did he call to the Father and Elders, but even to the meanest of the Monks and the cooks; so that we were astonished at his extreme condescension. It is usual for the Arch-deacon to hold up the Patriarch's right arm whilst he distributes the cups, to prevent his being fatigued; but as the Emperor was standing near him on his right, I was ashamed to place myself between them, and raised up his left instead. As soon as the Emperor saw this, he called me gently by my name, spoke to me kindly, and placed me between them, to hold the Patriarch's right arm; for, in the space of time we had been at Moscow, he had learnt who I was, and had heard my history. Already, at the beginning of the banquet, he had called me by my name; as he knew that I was bashful, and saw that I was withdrawn backwards at a distance; and he had made me take a seat above the Fathers. Hither he continually sent me dishes of meat, and cups of drink, till the end of the repast. Each time I stood up, and bowed to him to the ground twice at a distance, according to the usual practice; until I became totally abashed and confused, and melted away with heat.

After our master had finished the distribution, the singers chaunted a

Πολυχρόνιον for the Emperor, and then, by his Majesty's command, for our Patriarch. At the conclusion, the Emperor began to distribute cups to all present, to the health of our master, with very great cheerfulness and alacrity. Then he called one to pour out drink for me: and I made the accustomed obeisance to him. Receiving the cup from his hand, which I kissed, I retired backward, and drank off the wine; then bowing to him a second time, I was called by him again, and he conversed with me, through the interpreter, for some length of time. During our residence in Moscow, I had learnt certain prayers in Russian, such as, "In peace of the Lord we ask," &c.; "We all say," &c.: and I know not who had told him of it, but he said, "I request you will do me the favour to recite the Prayers, and to read the Gospel to-morrow, in Russian:" for I had begun to peruse the Russian books. During this dialogue, I melted away through shame and my great reverence for the Emperor; and sweating like a stone, I was only able to answer, "Your Majesty's pleasure is my law."

As soon as the Emperor had finished the distribution, a Πολυχρόνιον was chaunted, for his Majesty, and the Patriarch of Antioch and of all the East. Then a Πολυχρόνιον was chaunted for the Empress; and they drank to her health, and that of all the Imperial family. One turn the Emperor distributed, and another turn our master; till all the healths had been drunk standing, according to custom. Afterwards, the Patriarch concluded the prayers with Ἄξιον ἔστιν, and gave his blessing to the Emperor; who took him by the right arm, and led him out, attended by all his Grandees, to his apartment.

In the evening, the bells were rung; and having assisted at small Vespers with the Emperor, we left the church. At the tenth hour of the night the bells were rung for Matins, and we again entered the church. When we had proceeded forth from the sacristy, the Emperor came; and, having paid his devotions to the images, advanced towards our master, and, meeting him, received his blessing, and came and stood near the coffin of the Saint, without any chair. Under his feet they placed a mat of sables, which it is usual only for Princes to stand on: then he commanded them to spread a carpet near him; and our master stood on it, by his side, close to the door of the church. I stood on his left hand, behind; and our companions stood, in their ranks, on the left of the church-door. In the mean time they began to chaunt the Evening Psalms, and the rest of the service, slowly, and with a long intonation: at the end, the Reader opened his book to read the Lesson, and the History of the Saint; saying, "Blagoslofi, Otcha!" as they say to their chief or prelate, that is, "Bless, O Father!" The Emperor had sat

down in a chair, and our master in another: on a sudden, the Emperor started up; and chiding the Reader, said to him, "Shto govori, Mojik bladins!" for the great reproach with them in this country, from the Patriarch to the Emperor and the rest of the Grandees, is "Mojik bladins!" that is, "You stupid fellow!" The meaning of "Shto govori" is, "What are you saying?"—"Why do you say, 'Blagoslofi, Otcha,' i tot yesti Patriarch? Skajo, 'Blagoslofi, Vladiko';" that is, "Why do you say, 'Bless, O Father,' when here is present a Patriarch? You should say (Skajo), 'Bless (Blagoslofi), O Lord (Vladiko)'." The Reader was thunderstruck, and fell prostrate on the ground, saying, "Sodari, brosti!" that is, "O Lord, pardon me!" The Emperor answered, "Bog brostit," "God pardon thee." Then the Reader rose up, and repeated as he was told; and our master responded, "By the prayers of our Fathers, the Saints of God."

As soon as the Lessons began, the Emperor commanded all present to be seated. From the commencement of the service, to the end, he had been busy teaching them the order of the Ritual; saying to them, as he went round, "Chaunt so;" repeating such a Canon, such an *ارهس*, or such a Troparion, in such a tune. If they went wrong, he scolded them, and made them go back; being particularly desirous, as I suppose, that they should not do amiss in the presence of our Patriarch. In a word, he was as it were the *Τυποκάρη*, that is, master of the *Τυπικόν*, going round to them and teaching them. One might suppose, too, that he had undertaken the office of *Κανδηλάφτης*, so attentive was he to the lighting, extinguishing, and snuffing of the candles. At the time of the *Πολυέλαιον*, he requested our master to go in and put on all his sacerdotal ornaments, according to their practice. He did so; and having put on his cope and our own, we came forth after the Benedictus. Our master took his station on the platform, which they had prepared for him in the *Νάρθηξ*; and they brought him torches, one of which he gave to the Emperor, and one to each of the Archimandrites of the convent, the Grandees of the empire, and the rest of the assistants. Then they began to chaunt the *Πολυέλαιον*; and our Lord the Patriarch went down to incense the Tabernacle, &c. At the end, they entered the sacristy, to put off their copes; but the Emperor requested our master not to put off his, till he should have read the Gospel, in the morning. From the beginning to the end of this service, the Emperor ceased not to converse with our master: afterwards, he passed to the sacristy, and asked me to shew him the *Κοντάκι* of the Mass, which we had with us. He was very much struck with its painted figures, and writing; and kissed it leaf by leaf. Then he went

to our master, and, bowing to him, said, "Pardon me, for having looked at your *Κοιτάκι*, and kissed it, without your orders." Afterwards, he called me to him; and I bowed to him twice, and kissed his hand. He said, with great familiarity, and smiling, "Govori, govori," that is, "Speak to me, speak to me." Melting away with heat and trepidation, through dread of him, I answered, "Na znai bo Roska," that is, "I do not know Russian." He was much pleased; and treated me with great condescension, asking me to read the Gospel and the Prone in Russian. I answered him, kneeling on the ground, "As soon as I have learnt it, I will say it." He replied, "Dobro:" and I bowed to him, and retired, moving backwards, in a bath of perspiration.

We did not leave the church till morning; and in the forenoon we returned to Mass. The Patriarch, having vested his robes on the platform we mentioned before, went to meet the Emperor as he came in; and after his Majesty had paid his devotions to the images, the Patriarch approached him, and, bowing, gave him his benediction with the cross. After the Hours, and the conclusion of the Prayers, I read the Prone in Russian, but in such a manner as to astonish them; for the manner of reading of the Muscovites is heavy and harsh; whereas I read in the light Grecian tone, so that the Emperor was both amazed and delighted. It is usual for the singers at every verse to chaunt *Κύριε ἐλέησον*; but he would not suffer them to raise their voices, that he might hear distinctly what I said; and every now and then he nodded his head with delight, as I was afterwards told by the persons present. When, at the Epistles, I threw incense at the royal door, in the form of a cross, instead of throwing it, according to their practice, towards the place where the sacred body is kept, I ignorantly threw it towards the Emperor first. He instantly pointed to me, with his fingers, from where he stood, to throw the incense first towards the sacred body. Confused as I was, I had the presence of mind, nevertheless, to do as he bade me; and then I incensed him afterwards. Then I went out, and said the Gospel for the Sunday of Zaccheus, in Greek; and for the Saints: I mean, for Euthymius the Great or Elder, in Arabic: and I should have translated it fluently into Russian, only, out of my bashfulness before the Emperor, I could not readily bring forth their long and harsh tones. It was better however as it was; for his Majesty admired very much my reading in the three languages, and afterwards in the Georgian. After reading the Gospels, it is customary for the Archdeacon to present the book first to the Patriarch to kiss, and next to the Emperor; but I, in that moment of confusion and trepidation, was directing

myself first towards the Emperor, when he made a sign to me to go first to the Patriarch. I did so; and then returned to his Majesty, who kissed it: and I kissed his hand, bowing twice. I did not take to the Emperor our book of the Gospels, but that of the convent, which they brought me after I had finished reading, for the ceremony of kissing: and it was with difficulty I could carry it, it was so large and heavy, being covered with gold and large gems of emeralds, rubies, topazes, diamonds, &c. Its confection was admirable; and it is said to have cost three thousand five hundred dinars. When I presented this book to his Majesty to kiss, I trembled with dread, and could scarcely move my legs under its weight. Then I read the Prone, "We all say" &c., in Russian, in such a manner that all were surprised, particularly at my giving in order the name of the Emperor with his several titles, the names of the Empress, the Prince, the three Princesses daughters of the Emperor, and the three Princesses his sisters, freely and without stammering, or making any mistake. At the conclusion, I entered the sacristy. After one of the Deacons had said, "Pray, O ye admonished Catechumens! to the Lord," and had entered, I came out and said, "Go out, ye Catechumens," &c. in Georgian, as I had previously learnt it.

The chalice, the three patens, and the spoon, used this day, were all of pure gold, engraved with holy images in black lines, and set with a great quantity of jewels. After the service, the Emperor took the right hand of our master, and, conducting him to the coffin of the Saint, opened it, and shewed him the body to kiss. The Emperor was in admiration at its appearance, and said, "See what a beautiful colour that is of the scull, which is of a really natural yellow and hardness." He added, "When I took up this holy body out of the ground, to place it in this coffin, I perceived there had been lost from it one of the teeth; and I ceased not my search after it, till I had found it. During the interval, I had the tooth-ache; but when I found the lost tooth, I rubbed mine with it, and the pain instantly ceased."

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### SECT. XIII.

#### *ANECDOTE OF THE EMPEROR.—DESCRIPTION OF THE NEW CONVENT. ITS INVALID ESTABLISHMENT.*

ON this day, a strange event occurred; which was this. A Deacon of the Metropolitan Mira, whose exile we mentioned formerly, was banished by the Emperor to this convent, where he was residing in perfect comfort and respecta-

bility. Something, however, I know not what, was observed in his conduct, and the Patriarch Nikon restrained him from service. This night, in consequence, he presented himself before the Emperor, and, throwing himself on the ground, entreated his Majesty to grant him permission to say Mass on this day. The Emperor however refused; and answered him: "I fear the Patriarch Nicón; who would perhaps give me his crosier, and say, 'Take it, and tend the Monks and Priests yourself. I do not contradict or oppose you in the command of your generals and troops; why then do you set yourself against me, in the concerns of Priests and Monks?'" When we heard this of the Emperor, we were seized with wonder at such a degree of religious feeling, reverence, and veneration, manifested in him towards the Heads of the Priesthood.

After we quitted the church for our apartments, the Emperor sent to invite us, by one of his Ministers, to his table, in his own lodgings; and coming out to the court-yard to meet our master, took him by the arm, led him in, and seated him near himself. He again came in person, to call me in, the Archdeacon, by name; as, through fear and respect, I had stopped outside. His Majesty took me by the hand, as, confused with dread and trembling, I knelt on the ground, and kissed his: and having led me in front of him, with the Priests our companions, he set us at a table by ourselves; where he ceased not to supply us with meat and drink, till the repast was over. After the elevation of the *Παναγία* by our Lord the Patriarch, and the participation of it by the Emperor, it was distributed to all the company. We did not remain more than two hours at table. There were no flesh-meats served up at all: for, as mentioned before, it is the custom of the Emperor, when he is in any convent, and sits down with the Heads of the Clergy, not so much as to taste flesh-meat before them, but he contents himself with fish, and the usual food of the Monks. Afterwards, the Georgian Princess assured us, by her own mouth, that when she was with the Empress, to escape from the plague, in the Convent of the Trinity, where they resided four months, during all that time no flesh-meat whatever was cooked there. She added: "I expostulated with her Majesty, saying: 'Do you not fear God? We, indeed, are of age, and grown up; but what has this Vasilopoulo Prince Alexius done, who is yet a sucking infant, that he should have his heart tormented with fasting?'" The Empress paid no attention whatever to this discourse.

Then the Emperor stood up, and distributed, with his own hand, cups of wine, as usual. He called to me each time by name, as he gave me the goblet. Afterwards, he went out, and bade adieu to our master, in the court-yard, having led

him by the arm. As he turned back, he deputed two of his Ministers to go with us, and shew us all round the convent. It is smaller than the Convent of the Holy Trinity, but is built on precisely the same plan. I compared the one to the bride, and the other to the bridegroom; and, in truth, such is their proportion, as we observed on going round. It exactly resembles the Convent of the Trinity, in the beauty of the walls surrounding it, in its elevation, architecture, and arrangement. It has the same number of apartments, and the same number of bastions in the walls; except that the walls and circuit of the Convent of the Trinity are larger. The main length of the walls of this convent is from east to west; and on each side it has three huge towers. Its towers, in all, are eight in number. It is strongly built; and from the number of embrasures in the walls, and the outer bastions, it has exactly the appearance of the strong forts in our country. Within the walls, and between the suites of dwelling apartments, are war-passages, vaults, in the structure of which no wood whatever has been employed, nothing but stone and bricks. The cells of the Fathers are all round the convent, and are very handsomely constructed. The convent contains four churches. The great church is dedicated by the title of the Nativity of Our Lady; and is ancient, being in existence since the time of St. Saba. The original church was small, and built of wood; but the Emperor has handsomely repaired and enlarged it, adding many architectural ornaments. It has two doors, on the west and north, of pure iron. Of princely and superb images it has a surprising number, admirable both for the material and the beauty of the workmanship, for the quantity of gold employed on them, and the highly-coloured enamel (مينا): particularly to be admired is the image of the Saint. Round this whole church are handsome galleries, closed with stone-crystal. At the bottom of the same avenue, and opposite to the former, is another fine church بلصقها باراكليسي dedicated to the same St. Saba. The dome of the great church, and the dome of this, are both richly gilt with pure gold, and shine with a splendid lustre. The third church is in the great tower over the gate of the convent, and is dedicated to St. Sergius, founder of the Convent of the Trinity. The fourth we will give an account of presently.

After we had viewed the whole of the walls surrounding the convent, we were led down to the plateau; and then up to the great Refectory, which is the admiration of every beholder, for its situation, architecture, vast size, spaciousness, and the breadth of its airy cupolas; which are not equalled, either in the Convent of the Trinity, or in the celebrated Convent of St. George of Novogorod. It has glass

windows all round: its corners are all bound with iron; and it is strengthened in the same way from arch to arch. The whole edifice verges on one pillar; but the breadth of its walls and foundations is immense. Beautiful indeed are its structure and position, occupying the centre of the plateau of the convent! At the lower part of its foundations they have constructed the "Banimpchat," or wine-cellars, as the first story: over that is the second, which is the kitchen; all round which are rooms for the servants. In these are numerous stoves, with tubes communicating with the kitchen fire; and the entire heat is so managed, as to pass through the walls, and rise into the eating-room above, where, during the winter, a high temperature is thus continually maintained. The third story, then, is the said eating-room or Refectory; at the higher part of which is a fifth church, handsome, but not yet finished, dedicated to St. Vladimir, former sovereign of the country. Afterwards, they led us up to the fourth story, over all, of the same size with the dining-room, called the Treasury, or store-room of the convent, with many windows round it; so planned, that, should the convent be besieged, or otherwise shut up, for several years, its stores of furniture of all kinds shall not suffer from rot and moths (العفن والسوس) &c.; for the entire roof is grated with bars of wood and iron, that the clothes, carpets and church robes may be spread upon them, and, being exposed to the air, which is constantly admitted through the numerous windows, may not perish through damp and mould. In one corner of this room is a secret place, to hide gold and silver in, and to keep other valuable property and treasure. In a word, the structure of the four stories of this building is such, as to have no equal any where; for it is from top to bottom like a large square tower, or rather a large castle. Afterwards, they made us ascend a staircase of about one hundred steps, up to three new belfries; in the beautiful disposition and structure of which, they have surpassed the bell-towers of the capital. The place for the clock is at the top of all, apart; but near to the bells, which are designed to be placed one above another;—none, however, are yet hung up. All these buildings are bound with rods and bars of iron, from wall to wall, and from corner to corner. Then we went down to visit the gates of the convent; the steps leading up to which are admirably constructed; for, as we observed before, the situation of the convent is on the top of a hill.

At this moment, the Emperor sent to us others of his Archons, to take us to see the Treasury and Storehouse of the convent. Listen, brother, and admire! for, over and above the buildings in all other convents, the Emperor has



augmented this by building, in one corner of the convent, a place like a convent, by itself, with a private gate, containing many cells, within the other, both for summer and winter. In the interior is a church dedicated in the name of St. John, Lord of the Scale of Virtues. This place is appropriated to those of the Monks of the convent who are paralytic, blind or bed-ridden, or are afflicted with other, chronic, diseases (ذوي العاهات), that they may have more quiet and repose: and the Emperor has appointed them a Chief of their own quality, from among themselves; a steward, and servants; and Priests, in like manner, to say Mass for them. This is a thing which surprised us much, and excited our utmost astonishment, at the piety and humility of the Emperor, and at his great love for convents, Priests, and Monks. He has named this place "The Repose of the Sick," after a similar institution mentioned in the *Συναξάρια*. For our parts, we wept with tenderness and pleasure at the sight of it. The Emperor was at that moment in the church; and the Archimandrite was performing for him a *Παράκλησις*. When we went out, he sent to invite us to his apartments; and he asked our Lord the Patriarch, whether the convent, and the arrangement of the buildings, had pleased him: and when he heard how much he praised and admired it, he said: "Ya Batioshka, the best of it all is, that this beautiful edifice was completed within two years, which is certainly a matter of wonder and surprise." The Emperor's love for this convent is very great; and as the Saint, to whom it is dedicated, had previously manifested a miracle, according to what we have before mentioned, the Emperor devoted himself to its construction with the utmost zeal. For my part, I ceased not to inquire what sum the building had cost, but in vain; until, at last, I invited the archon who had been entrusted with the work, together with his clerk or secretary, to the apartments of our Lord the Patriarch; and it was with difficulty that I prevailed on them, secretly, to avow that the whole expense laid out on this building has been three hundred and seventy-eight thousand dinars, according to the accounts registered;—and it is not yet finished. It is not surprising that it should have cost so much; for, as we found on viewing it, it is a large fort, raised new from the foundations, and built with so much industry and art as to excite the admiration of the beholder.

Then the Emperor took our master by the arm, and went with him to the Brothers of Christ, that is, the paralytic and sick brethren of the convent, that he might give them his blessing, and pray over them:—for here they were lodged before the door of the church, in old wooden houses, from which he had not yet

removed them to their new convent, as it was still unfinished. On entering the place, some of us were unable to remain there, for the disagreeable putrid smell; nor could we endure to look upon the afflicted inmates: but the Emperor attended to nothing but his request to our Lord the Patriarch, that he would pray over them the Prayer for their recovery: and after the Patriarch had prayed over them, His Majesty again requested him to give them his blessing. As the Patriarch blessed each, the Emperor came behind him, and kissed the patient's head, mouth, and hands, from the first of the patients to the last. And wonderful indeed appeared to us such holiness and humility, whilst we thought of nothing but of escaping, if we could, from the place. Nor did this suffice the Emperor; but he would needs take our master into an inner cell, where was a sick brother, who we were told had been for eight years unable to move his feet: he had been struck down and rolled over by a sledge, and was continually praying that death would relieve him from his sufferings. When the Emperor went in to him, and inquired how he was, he answered by an exclamation of desire that death would take him. The Emperor chid him for his impatience, and endeavoured to console him: and then turning to our master, he informed him, that in this cell there were three other sufferers, who had all died before this man, and had left him to his misery; and he requested him to say a prayer over him. The Patriarch recited several, and wept as he prayed. This circumstance augmented the Emperor's esteem for our master; and he privately made signs to his Archons, with his hand, drawing their attention to the Patriarch's sanctity and humility, and to his pious and affectionate tears. Then the Patriarch blessed and consoled the sick brother, saying to him, "that he should be thankful to the Lord for this grace, for that He had melted him, and tried him like gold in the furnace," &c.\* Again the pleasure and admiration of the Emperor were increased towards our master; and he approached the afflicted Monk, to kiss his head, his mouth, and his hands, as he had done to the others. On leaving the place, we could hardly believe we were so fortunate as to have escaped from its dreadful smells.

The Emperor continued to hold our master by the arm, till he had led him outside, thanking him with much gratitude for the office he had performed: and, as we were afterwards assured by the Grand Vazir, the Emperor conceived great faith and confidence in our Lord the Patriarch, and took an entire interest

in his welfare. He himself said, "I have a desire to write over the gate of the convent, in figures of gold, the date of the visit of the Patriarch of Antioch, and of his consecration and blessing bestowed upon it." The Emperor had declared his intention to depart from the convent this night; and all the Monks had stationed themselves on his path, near the gate. His Majesty's Treasurer had prepared parcels of copecks, folded up in paper; and the Emperor distributed them with his own hand—to the Priests, six dinars; to the Deacons, four; and to the meanest of the Monks, three. Then, after bidding them all farewell, he requested our master to say a prayer over his head, and knelt down before him. The Patriarch recited many prayers; and the Emperor arose to receive his blessing: which when he had given him, his Majesty said, "Dar ghavi," that is, "Bless me again;" and he blessed him a second time. Then he said to him, "Teri," or "thrice;" and he blessed him a third time. After which, he kissed him, and, bidding him farewell, departed; saying, "Whenever you wish, go." The Archimandrite, and the rest of the Monks, accompanied the Emperor to the outside of the convent, where he ascended his carriage and drove off; whilst we returned to Vespers. The Emperor travelled about fifteen versts, and slept that night in another of his convents. After Vespers, the Archimandrite, Steward, and Treasurer, came to present, on the part of the Emperor, the alms of the convent to our Lord the Patriarch, in remuneration for his trouble, and for his Mass. They were, four soroks of sables, a gilt image of the Saint, a gilt cup, and a piece of satin; and a large loaf of bread, some barrels of liquor, and salt and fresh fish for provisions. A similar distribution was made to all of us.

Early in the morning of Monday, after the "Ορθρος, we performed our parting devotions, in the church, and to the body of the Saint; and having taken leave of the Monks, we were escorted forth from the convent by the two hundred janissaries belonging to it, about the distance of thirty versts; being rowed on the river of Moscow, which flows to the capital from the east side of the convent. We encountered a great deal of cold, violent winds, and snow; and we saw on the high road a man exposed on an eminence, with his skin flayed off, as an example of terror to the spectator.

Towards evening, we arrived in the capital: but the Emperor did not arrive till Tuesday night, as he had gone to visit a third convent. What shall we then say of this, not human, but angelic prince, who, after having been a whole year absent from his wife, devotes neither his time nor his attentions to her, but bestows all his thoughts and endeavours on the increase of his churches,

Monks, and convents? I used to wonder how he contrived to drive away sleep. For his piety, no doubt, the Almighty is disposed to grant him all his heart's desire, and to place him on the highest pinnacle of glory.

This is the second journey, after that of Novogorod, which we performed over above any performed by other Patriarchs who have visited this country.

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## SECT. XIV.

### *SUBMISSION OF POLISH CHIEFS. — PREPARATIONS AGAINST SWEDEN. ARRIVAL OF MAHOMETAN TARTARS, FROM SIBERIA, WITH MUSK AND RHUBARB.—MARRIAGE OF A SIBERIAN PRINCE.*

DURING this week, there came many of the Polish archons, to submit themselves and their lands to the disposal of the Emperor, and to implore his clemency. Of the number, was a great Hetman of the house of Potoska, having the command of seven thousand troops. On his being baptized, the Emperor's uncle stood godfather to him, and his Majesty granted him the government of his own territory: but besides taking his oath of allegiance, they took from him, moreover, several of his family and relatives, as hostages in the hands of the Emperor, for fear he should prove treacherous.

On the Sunday of the Publican and the Pharisee, our Lord the Patriarch said Mass in the church of the convent; and ordained Priest, a candidate from the convent called Bachznsko, dedicated to the Assumption of our Lady, and situated in an island in the main ocean; one thousand versts distant from the Solovka monastery, and three thousand from Moscow; as we were now told by the newly-ordained Priest, who said he had set out from his convent at the festival of the Assumption of our Lady, on the fifteenth of Ab or August, and had arrived at Moscow on the festival of the Nativity. Most of the route was by rivers. In their convent are forty Monks; and near it is a castle, in an island called Colosko, of the *Ἰραγξία* of the Metropolitan of Novogorod, near to Danska on the frontier of Germany, not the Danska of Poland.

On the first of Ishbat, the Patriarch of Moscow arrived from his convent, in the night. His attendants said that they had been four days and a half on the road. The Emperor had gone out to meet him, at a distance of twenty versts

from the city, the evening before. All the Heads of Convents waited on him, with images, and loaves of bread, as usual.

During this interval, the Emperor was preparing for an expedition against Sweden; and had begun to send pickaxes (المعازق), stores, victuals, and the heavy baggage, in sledges, to the cities of Novogorod and Pskov. He sent, as we ascertained, five hundred thousand halves of hogs, salted, and fifty thousand live hogs, as part of the provisions: for, as we mentioned formerly, they are in the habit of killing their pigs in the autumn, and, cutting them in halves, they hang them up from the roofs of their chambers, that they may become as Πάστεμα, or bacon. When they set out on a journey, they cut off slices, to cook on the road. All this preparation was for the numerous bodies of troops intended to be sent against the Swedes. In the mean time, abundant stores were brought in to the Emperor from all sides, particularly from Siberia and those parts, by Mahometan Tartars, among whom were some sherifs. All wore cal-packs; and when they passed by any Christian, they always took them off. On seeing any Priest or Monk, they not only took off their cal-packs, but they said, "Bogoslafi, Otcha!" in Russian; that is, "Give me your blessing, Father!" for they know both the Turkish and the Russian language. For our parts, we were much surprised at observing this their demeanour. Their faces are ugly; and some of them have a resemblance to the Vazik (الوزيك), in the length of their beards, and their flowing robes, which are rich and splendid. We associated with them in secret, and conversed with them in Turkish: they told us, that they had to pay annually to the Emperor a sum of six thousand dinars; and they bring him rhubarb and fine musk.

The rhubarb grows in the province of Siberia. Some Persian physicians told us, afterwards, that the stalks of this plant are precisely what we call ريباس, and the roots are the rhubarb. It grows abundantly in Persia; but that which is found in Tartary is the largest, most abundant, and of the finest quality. From its roots shoot forth numerous green stalks, with very large leaves.

The animal producing musk, we were told, is found in the deserts between Siberia and Khotaikhotah (خطي خطا); the latter of which countries, the Tartars say, is distant from them more than a three-years' march.

They call the Emperor of Sin, Chin and Machin, Cafir Soltan. They told us, that the Soltan Addhabab, or the Gold Emperor, is near them. Among themselves, they call Christians, Cossacks; and churches they call monasteries. They said they had formerly mosques, with minarets, built of stone; which this

Patriarch, Nikon, sent and had destroyed. They are under very great restraint, and are subject to a severe police, during their stay in this capital: they are never allowed to walk out alone, without a janissary following them; and no one ventures ever to speak with them, but in secret, as we did.

After they had presented their tribute to the Emperor, they began to sell the rhubarb and musk they had brought with them. The high-priced rhubarb was at thirty dinars the pood, which is thirteen okkas: the inferior, as low as twelve dinars. The bags of musk (نَجْع) they sold privately; and we used to buy it of them by the pound, at twenty-two dinars. As the Muscovites abhor the Sherifia and Turkish dinars, so these Tartars love them, and take them with avidity. The Muscovites dislike musk, and do not purchase it: and for this reason it was sold very cheap. Generally, the Persians are in the market, to buy it of the Tartars, at forty dinars, or more; but at present there was not one of them here. The Emperor sells his musk and rhubarb, at the highest-mentioned prices, to the Franks. The Muscovites never drink spirits without tinging them with rhubarb, which they put in small pieces in the vessels: the spirits soon become as yellow as saffron, their noxious qualities are removed, and they are rendered perfectly wholesome. The best and heaviest of the rhubarb is purchased, by the Greek merchants, for the market at Constantinople, where they sell it to great advantage.

The Tartar tribes, we were before speaking of, buy red coral, and beads of amber (الانكهرية), which are very much prized among them. Most of the pilgrims to Mecca, who have the dress and appearance of the Yozik, are of these nations; and therefore the greater part of these Tartars were acquainted with our country and Damascus. This year, the Emperor has ordered a Dosherma, or levy of men, over all the Tartar countries, to the amount of two hundred thousand new troops; distributing among them halberds and muskets, and an allowance of pay every three months. He has sent to order up the armies of Cazan, Astrachan, and Siberia; and had held an Assembly of the Heads of the Clergy, and of all the Heads of Convents, requiring them to grant him a tenth of the treasure of the convents, and of the revenue of their lands and villages; and saying to them: "As all the merchants have given me a tenth of their property, I ask the same of you; because it is for you I make war, and out of zeal for our holy religion. It is not my intention to open my own treasures at all, until I have completed this campaign, and brought this war to an end: on the accomplishment of which, I will return to you all I have taken from you, twofold." Moreover, he sent to

collect from every house, throughout the whole country, twenty-five *copecks*, as a subsidy for stores.

In the mean time, the Patriarch Nicon sent to our Lord the Patriarch, by his chief Deacon, a present of a green *Mavria* of European cloth; which he never ceased to wear afterwards, till our return to Wallachia.

On the Eve of the festival of the Entrance into the Temple, the great bell was tolled; and the Patriarch went to short Vespers, in an ancient church at the top of the palace-yard, dedicated by the title of the festival. The Emperor had sent, in the afternoon, to invite our Lord the Patriarch to the Mass and banquet. At the ninth hour of the night, they rang the bells, and performed the Great Vespers; and towards morning, Matins. In the forenoon, we went with the Patriarch; and entered this church, which is old and decayed. It has three doors; and the passage to it is by the steps of the Church of the Annunciation. The aisle of the chapel of the *Μνημόσυνον*, and of that of the Wooden Table and the portico of the church, look over the private inner-yard of the Palace, which they allow no stranger to pass, and which we had not before seen. In it is a small church, concealed and sunk in the ground, dedicated to the Divine Manifestation, which is said to have been the first church built in Moscow. At a short distance from it, is a large and lofty church, with a large gilt dome, under dedication to the Birth of Our Lady, which we had not seen till now. The river of Moscow flows under the walls on this side, and no stranger ever goes out or enters by this gate. I afterwards contrived to see it, and enter it, as well as the Palace-yard, by favour of the Yarinojiki, and some of my friends among the great Officers of State; as they all became acquainted with us, during our long residence here.

To return:—The floor is coloured black. When the Emperor came in, the Patriarchs gave him their blessing, as usual: and after Mass, we were taken up to the banquet-room. We mentioned before, that the Emperor had sent, during this interval, to summon the attendance of the whole of the army of Siberia, which was said to amount to upwards of two hundred thousand men; of the troops of Cazan and Astrachan; of the Turk and the Turkee; and of the quotas of the countries beyond them, to the distance of two thousand versts; that his army this year might be entirely new and fresh; and that he might send home the troops that were with him last year, and those which had been garrisoning the towns which he had conquered. This was done: and now the officers, and chiefs of these troops, and the heads of thousands, came to kiss the Emperor's

hand, as he sat at table before us. He made them sit down to dinner; and placed the poor and maimed, whom he had clothed with new suits of clothes, at a table near him, on the floor by themselves. We all remained at table till night-fall, when, for our parts, we returned to our convent.

On the eve of the Sunday, on which fell the commemoration of St. Simeon the Elder and of St. Anna the Prophetess, the Emperor, because his daughter Anna was born on that day last year, sent to invite our master to the Mass and banquet. The Patriarch Nikon performed Mass in the church of the Empress, which is under the invocation of St. Anna. Our Lord the Patriarch said Mass, with the Archbishop of Servia, in the Sobor; as the Empress's church was too small. The congregation assembled was very numerous, being attended, by the Grandees of the Empire, and a great part of the people. I said the Prone, in Russian, to the admiration of all. After Mass, they took us to the Emperor's grand dining-room, which is at the top of his new palace—a large and splendid apartment, which no stranger is allowed to enter, and where none sat down to table, even in the lowest places, but his Majesty's courtiers.

On this day, the Emperor married the eldest son of the Sultan of Siberia to one of the daughters of a Grandee who were attendants at his court. The bridegroom, in a rich dress of brocade adorned with pearls and gems, attended by his suite and a body of the Grandees of the Empire, came to kiss the Emperor's hand, as holding the place of his father, according to their custom: and when the Emperor had given him a silver image, they all retired. Afterwards, he sent to the Emperor and Empress, and the whole Imperial family, the usual present of jewels and precious-stones, in a number of trays. In the evening, we returned to the convent.

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## SECT. XV.

### *TRANSLATION OF SOME WOOD OF THE TRUE CROSS FROM LUBLIN. CAPTURE OF THE FORT DAMAN BY THE COSSACKS OF THE DON.*

ON Monday, the fourth of Ishbat, they tolled the new bell, with all the other bells, and held a great festival and solemnity. The occasion was, what we have before mentioned of Potorlin, and his conquest of the city of Lublin, where he made a great slaughter of the inhabitants. Those who were in the third and innermost fort requested him to spare their lives, and refrain from the assault,



on condition that they delivered into his hands a most valuable present for the Emperor; which was, a cross, formed of the wood of the true cross, and which they parted with but at the last extremity. On obtaining the truce, they went forth to deliver up the cross, walking with it a distance of three versts, in procession, with torches and thuribles, and lamenting and weeping for the loss of this invaluable treasure. When Potorlin came to Kiov, and was informed of the rage of the Emperor against him for the peace which he had made with the Tartars, and other transactions, which we formerly described, he took poison and died. The report was given out, that he had died by the visitation of God; and his servants, having performed over him the last offices, such as are customary with deceased Muscovites, placed him in a coffin, to carry him to Moscow, for interment. The Emperor no sooner heard of this, than, out of his great indignation against him, he sent orders that his body should be burnt on the public road: but presently, on being acquainted with this treasure of the cross which Potorlin had obtained for him, he relented towards him, by the intercession of the Patriarch, and sent to command that they should bring his body to Moscow. They brought it accordingly, and, finally, buried it in the Judabi Convent. On this day, the expected treasure arrived for the Emperor, to his very great delight and exultation. Amidst the ringing of the bells, without intermission, till the very earth trembled, the Emperor came down to the Sobor, dressed in his crown and imperial robes, and attended by his great Officers of State in full dress. The people of the town, in their best clothes, were all assembled to receive him: and the Patriarchs, having robed, performed for his Majesty a *Παράκλησις*, and prayers, in thanksgiving to God for having bestowed on him this inestimable treasure. Then they advanced towards the cross; and, kneeling to it, received it with all veneration and respect; and placed it on a covered desk, by the side of the image of Vlashirnas and the cross of Constantine. An order was now established, that a commemoration and festival should be celebrated in its honour, on the return of this day, annually: and this night they performed great Vigils from midnight till break of day, as is usual on great festivals.

On the morrow, the Patriarch said Mass before the Emperor, who wore his crown and imperial robes, and was attended by all his great Officers of State. All the people were in the greatest joy and exultation. For our parts, we went to kiss this venerable cross, which was placed in a sort of book, made of silver, prettily enclosed with crystal. Its length is about a finger's length, and its breadth the same: and around it are the four Evangelists.

In the mean time arrived the army of the Cossacks of the Don, commanded by their Hetman, and were reviewed by the Emperor. We were told that they had subdued the fort Daman (طمان), one hundred and twenty miles distant from Caffa. They went out, it was said, on the Black Sea, with forty galleys. Each galley is usually manned with ninety warriors; one half of whom ply the oars, whilst the rest stand to their arms. This fort Daman they invested by night; and having entered it by escalade, they put to the sword within it, or made prisoners, upwards of five thousand men. Immediately they dispatched couriers to the Emperor, to receive his commands as to what they should do with the fort. He sent them orders, grounded on reasons of state which I am unable to explain, that they should instantly destroy it from the foundations. They razed it to the ground, accordingly, and threw its large guns into the sea. From it they carried away immense booty; and passed thence to the town of Sinope, and to Reza and those parts, where they committed great devastation, taking a vast quantity of plunder, and innumerable prisoners. On their return to the Don, which is the centre of their habitations, they were followed by the relations and friends of the captives, who purchased the freedom of a great number of them: with the rest of the prisoners, and booty, they came to Moscow, to sell them, together with articles of clothing and furniture, gold and silver, and Turkish coins; the latter of which they disposed of, not at their current value, but at so much the pound weight: afterwards, they returned to their own country.

On conversing with them, we were struck with admiration at their bravery, and their tall statures. They call wine by the Turkish word *Shrab*; and spirits they call *Araki*.

## BOOK XIV.

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### MOSCOW, AND THE COSSACK COUNTRY.

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#### SECT. I.

*RECEIPT OF A PERSIAN LETTER.—LAW AND PRACTICE OF PETITIONING  
THE HEADS OF GOVERNMENT.—TITLES FOREIGN AND DOMESTIC  
OF EUROPEAN SOVEREIGNS.—CONVENT OF THE SPAS.*

ABOUT this time, there came to the Emperor a Letter written in the Persian language and character, and his Majesty sent for me to read it to him : for, through our long residence among the Muscovites, they had all made acquaintance with me, and treated me with great familiarity ; particularly the Patriarch, who was constantly asking me to stay with him. The Caim Macam, or Lieutenant of the Emperor, and the other Ministers and Secretaries, all made to me the same proposal ; saying : “ Stay here, and be our interpreter and translator in the Arabic language ; for we have interpreters, at the Emperor’s court, of all languages, excepting the Arabic.” I always answered : “ Though you made me a present of all Moscow, I would not stay.” They replied : “ You are right, not to abandon your wife.”\* All this was in friendly jest. Every day, I was employed in the management of the affairs of our Lord the Patriarch ; and I was continually writing memorials for him, and presenting them to the Minister, who sits in the Basolska Precaz, or Hall of the Ambassadors, of whatever country ; where the affairs of the Heads of the Clergy, the Monks and their convents, &c., are transacted. The petitions thus presented, the Minister collects ; and, when the Emperor is present in the capital, he carries them up, and lays them before his Majesty, who writes upon them what his pleasure is. In the absence of the Emperor, he presents them to his Deputy or Lieutenant ; as he can do nothing of his own authority.

\* فيحق لك لانك لا تفارق امراتك

Note, that persons from the remotest parts of the country wait for the passage of the Emperor from his palace to the Sobor, on any of the great festivals; or watch his going out of the city to the chase, or to visit any convent: and they stand in his way, holding up their petitions, which he orders one of his Grandees to take. The same thing is done with the Patriarch, on his going in and out; and with the Empress. When his Majesty has ascended to his apartment, they lay all these petitions before him, and read them to him. Those which he assents to, are marked for accomplishment; and, if the prayer is for a gratuity, a grant is ordered on the Treasury for so much, or so much: the rejected petitions are also distinctly marked with a refusal. For these Choloftat, thus presented, there is a peculiar court or office, the president of which has them all brought to him; and every person, who has held up his petition to the Emperor, goes the next day to this court, to make inquiry as to the result. When any grant of money is signed on his petition, he takes it to the Minister, in the Basolska Precaz, and delivers it to him. The Minister then writes his name upon it, and gives it to one of the Secretaries; who, in the tenour of it, writes a Premat, Tezkereh, or memorandum, to the Superintendent of the Treasury, to give to the person such a sum, according to the Emperor's order of such a date. With this Tezkereh, and accompanied by one of the Dragomans, the petitioner goes to the Emperor's Treasury, and there touches the appointed sum. Those Choloftat which are marked with a denial, are given back to their owners; who learn, that the Emperor has no intention of granting their request, and are warned not to present any more such petitions. These excellent and sensible regulations, for the quick dispatch of business, are well worthy of remark.

To return to our account of the Persian Letter:—It was written on silk paper, in the Taalik character; and at the top of it, for the exordium, were these words:—

نظامًا للسلطنة والجلاله والحشمه والابته والعز والامتنان اللكساي

✽ ميخاييل فثادوروفيتش ✽ الخ بي اق خان ✽

كلدسته محبت وولانافه موالات شهيم صدق وصفا اعني نامه صداقت ختانه عاليجناب معلي نصاب كردون قباب سلطنت وجلالت پنساه ابهت وبساكب ستكاه حشمت وعدالت انتباه عاليجاه زبده خواقين نامدار عيسويه عمده سلاطين والابتسار مسيحيه خسرو سكندر شكوه دارا شان فرمانفرماي ممالك وسيع الممالك هشرخان جعل عواقبه مقرونا بالحير والرضوان بمباخي ايلت وحكومة منساهان زبدي المائل والاشباه كنازيوان يونوفيتش حاكم رازان وايوان بغدادن ويچ ورفعت وعزت ينسناه واسيلا نفيد كارسل ناقيه بود در حسني كه ابواب كامپاي ير دري اماني وامال كشوده اقبال

پہمال گوی مراد از اعدای ربودہ کلس مندوشرست مازندران نشان مضرب سرداقہ جاہ وجلال بود فیض ورد ارزانی داشت دماغ اشنای عنبر امود. ومشام دوستی مشک اندود کردید شایسته امین یکجہتی ائکہ باعلام چگونہی \* واظہار مکنونات خاطر والاموس مبانی یکتادلی کردند

At the bottom was thus written : عواقب امور مقرون برضای حضرت ذوالجلال باد \*

They called me into the cabinet, within the Hall, to study and read this Letter ; as they think that to read Arabic, Turkish, and Persian, is all one. I made some little out of it, by the assistance of the Dragoman of the Persian language : and, like a thief, I copied it out in a few moments, without being perceived by any one : —if I had been seen, God preserve me ! Then, as the Interpreter of the Turkish language was a particular friend of mine, I asked him, and he brought out for me, secretly, a great number of diplomatic papers, and letters from Soltan Morad to Michael father of the present Emperor, between whom great amity, and a perpetual correspondence, by letter and embassy, existed. Thus he shewed me the signature or Toghra of the Soltan, in letters of gold at the top ; under which was written, عمدة الکبرا کرام للملة العیسویة وزعیم الزعما العظام للطایفة المسیحیة and other similar compliments ; such as, زعیم الممالک الٹی هی فلادیمیرنک وقازانک وحاجی ترخانک that is of Astrachan, Michael Feodorovitch, &c. ; and سایر مسقوولایتنک چار, with names of countries, dignities, and titles, which I neither remember, nor was able to copy. The object of all the letters was the prohibition of the Cossacks of the Don from going out in their boats on the Black Sea, and committing ravages in the countries of the East. I was much surprised at the phrase وسایر ولایة المصکوف چار ; and learnt, from the above-mentioned Dragoman, that they do not call the Sovereign of Muscovy ملک King or Emperor, but چار, that is, Czar, in the Russian language.

The Dragoman added : “ You must not wonder at this ; for the Emperor of Muscovy is not used to call the Turkish Emperor “ Czar,” in his language, but he styles him, “ Our Friend the Veliko Soltano,” that is, the Great Soltan, in the Turkish language : for as the Turkish Emperor disdains to call any of the Christian Princes ملک, which, among the Turks, would be considered a sin ; so the Muscovite Emperor disdains to call him such in his language, and gives him the title of Soltan, in the Turkish. Neither do the Frank Princes call the Turkish

\* This Persian Letter I have given precisely as I found it, without attempting to correct the errors of the copyist, most of which are sufficiently apparent.

sovereign, Emperor, in their language; but give him the appellation of Grande Turco, "the Great Turk," as we now learnt. One of the imperial Dragomans, who had accompanied an ambassador to the court of the Soltan Ibrahim, told us, that the Turks call the Emperor of Muscovy, Agha Badishah, that is, the "White King"; though they do not style him either King or Crâl in their letters, but by the Russian name, Czar. The Persians call him Ak Khan. The Franks, in their letters, style him Emperor; but in their own country they call him Grande Duça, that is, "Great Kniaz" or Lord; as the Emperor of Turkey, is likewise called Grande Turco, or "the Great Turk." The Turks themselves call their sovereign, Penahi (پناهي), by a Persian word which is equivalent to *Αὐτοκράτωρ*.

The seal of the Begs of Moldavia and Wallachia on their decrees and letters, and the arms placed over the gates of their palaces, churches, and peculiar convents, is simply a bull's head, said to be for the sake of Mark the Evangelist. The seal of the Crâl of the Poles, impressed on their battle-axes (زطاط) &c., is an eagle with two heads; and the seal of the Muscovite Emperor is the same, said to be for the sake of the name of John the Evangelist. But the truth of it is, that, as the eagle is the Soltan of the birds, so is the Emperor the Great Soltan. The impression on the χρυσόβουλλα, gold and silver coins, the copecks, &c., is, on one side, an eagle with two heads; and, on the other, the Emperor riding on a horse, under the feet of which is a kind of dragon (ثنين), which the Emperor is striking with his spear, after the manner of St. George. I am unable to give, at present, the explanation of this. The seal of Chmiel is his own image, drest in short clothes, and girt with armour; with the calpack bent on one side.

On the Saturday of the Dead, the Patriarch said Mass in the Sobor, and the Metropolitan of Crotistka in the Church of the Archangel, to commemorate the deceased Emperors. The Bishop of Kolomna officiated in the Convent of the Nuns, to the memory of the deceased Empresses.

On the morning of Carnival Sunday, the Empress went to the Convent of the *Ὁδηγήτρια*, to perform her religious duties with the Nuns; and they tolled the new bell, with all the rest of the bells round the city, for the assembly of the Clergy and the Heads of Convents, with their images, in the Sobor, to perform the same service as last year. The Patriarch robed, with our master; and the Emperor came down, wearing his crown and imperial robes, with the purple mantle. After they had blessed him, they went forth, in procession, to an open space behind the church, amidst the ringing of all the bells, and performed a service similar to that of last year; of which, those parts which I was then unable

to witness, I this year succeeded in completing my observation of. Then they returned to the Sobor; and after Mass, the Patriarch took us to dine with him in the Christov, which is his new Hall. As we sat at dinner, the Emperor sent him several princely dishes from his table, by one of his Archons; to whom the Patriarch gave a silvered image.

On this day, the Patriarch placed by his side, at table, a new Salus (صالوص), a virtuous man, who, entirely naked, perpetually goes about the streets, and is much believed in and revered by the people, even beyond bounds, as an eminent Saint. His name is Cyprianus; but he is commonly called *человѣкъ бога*, or "Man of God." The Patriarch never ceased to feed him with his own hands, and to give him drink in silver cups; from which, after he had drunk, the Patriarch drained the last drops with his own mouth, as he does at the end of the Holy Supper; so that we were sunk in astonishment.

On this day also, after the Mass, and after the Patriarch had read the Lesson for the day and his Sermon, one of the sick Nuns advanced forward, and informed the Emperor and the Patriarch, that she had been sick for a length of time, and that the preceding night she had come to sleep in the Sobor, by the side of the coffin of St. Philip the Younger; that he had appeared to her, in the night, in his sacerdotal robes, attended and incensed by his Deacons, with their thuribles; that he had called to her, and made her rise up; and that she had been immediately healed. The Emperor, on hearing this, wept abundantly; and the Patriarch preached to the people, at great length, on this extraordinary miracle. For this reason, we did not leave Mass on this day till very late in the evening.

On the Monday, *τῆς Τυροφάγου*, we went, by command of the Emperor and the Patriarch, to the celebrated Convent of the Spas, outside the town, to pay it a visit, according to our previous request to his Majesty. We were conveyed in the imperial sledge, and escorted by the janissaries. The convent is situated to the north-west of the city, at a distance of more than an hour's journey. On our arrival there, the Archimandrite, with the rest of the Monks, came out to meet our master, and took us up to the great church, where we performed Mass: after which, they led us down, in our copes, to the lowest part of the church, to pray over the tombs of the Grandees of the empire buried there; as this convent is appropriated to their interment; and there are also the tombs of six Emperors. All are spread with embroidered velvet coverings, round which are letters of pearls. At the head of each tomb is an image; and also a candlestick, with a

taper always burning. On no day is there any intermission of Mass for the repose of their souls; and after it, they always go down to incense their tombs, and pray over them. We were told, that this convent was old and small; and that it was the late Emperor Michael, father of the present Emperor, who renewed and enlarged it; building, for its enclosure, immense walls, resembling those of the Convent of the Trinity and of the Emperor's convent. In them are included eight large towers, four at the four corners, the enclosure being square; and the other four, between them. These towers have numerous embrasures, well furnished with large guns; and three or four of them are situated on the bank of the River Moskwa. Thus it is a very spacious edifice, more spacious than any of the convents in the environs of the city; and more cheerful, from the elevation of the spot on which it is built. Near it are several fish-ponds. We compared it to Sheikh Abou Bibr, in Aleppo. The great church was built by the present Patriarch Nikon, during the time he was Archimandrite there. It is large, beautiful, and cheerful; and we saw no church in this capital to equal it, for its elevation, lightness, pleasant site, and the loftiness of its five domes. There is a porch all round it; and the ascent of its steps, formed of white flags, and supported on two pillars, is wide and easy. It has three large doors: its floor is laid with square blocks, cut out of the roots of the tree resembling the *عفص*. The church is dedicated by the title of The Divine Manifestation, and the convent is named the Convent of the Spas, that is, the Convent of Our Saviour; in Greek, *τοῦ Σωτῆρος*. They celebrate their festival on the sixth of the month of Ab.

In this convent are some magnificent images; among which is one something larger than *طرحية* leaf, formed with a beautiful piece of ivory, in which are carved all the Dominical Feasts, with the utmost perfection of art, after the manner of the crosses of the Holy Mountain. It was brought hither from the Imperial Treasury. —The lower part of the church is a suite of large vaults for the burial of the dead. Seeing that it was contrary to law to bury them in the churches, they have ingeniously devised this plan for their interment; which, at the same time that it gives an elevation to the edifice, allows this pious disposal of the remains of their friends and relatives, over whom the sacred mysteries are thus perpetually celebrated for ages of ages. The treasury for the riches of the church is a lofty room over the south door, covered with a dome roofed with tin, for fear of fire.

In this convent are five other churches: one of them, by the side of the great church over the tomb of one of the Kniazes, very handsome, and dedicated to Our Lady *Ὁδηγήτρια*; which the Kniayinia, his lady, erected, bestowing on the



convent a great fund of wealth. This lady has founded charities on all sides, and is said to have given to the Convent of the Trinity upwards of six thousand dinars. On all the Patriarchs, Heads of Clergy, and Monks, who visit this city, she fails not to confer some portion of her beneficence. For our Lord the Patriarch she made a crown of brocade, braided with pearls on red velvet, and a large embroidered scapular. The third church, within the Refectory, is dedicated to the *Σπίρας* (سكباس), or Veil of the Virgin: the fourth, in the bell-tower, is under the invocation of St. Saba. This belfry is ancient, and of admirable structure. The fifth is newly built, on the plateau of the convent, and is under the invocation of St. Sergius, founder of the Convent of the Trinity. The sixth, dedicated to the Annunciation, is in the tower which is over the convent-gate.

In the great court is a large new bell, the circumference of which we found, on measuring, to be about fifty spans. All our wonder was, how they transported it hither from the city.

In this convent are one hundred Monks, and more. Their cells are all new and spacious; among which are the cells for the Emperor and Empress. There are rooms in it of a very large size, with a delightful prospect over the town and river. In a word, it is a very imposing edifice, strongly fortified, with abundance of cannon; and is seen from the city like a pigeon in the air, being entirely whitened over with lime.

After we had dined, they brought us the usual presents; and having made our parting compliments, we returned the same evening to the capital. The Emperor sent us word to be ready to go and attend with him at the Vigils and Matins in the Judabi Convent, in commemoration of St. Alexius the worker of miracles, on the twelfth of Ishbat; and, at the same time, to celebrate the birthday of his son.

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## SECT. II.

### *FEAST OF ST. ALEXIUS.—CONVENT OF ST. SIMON.—CEREMONY OF CONDONATION.—OBSERVANCE OF SHROVE WEEK.—VISIT TO THE NOVODIEVITCH CONVENT.*

ON the ringing of the bells, the Emperor, together with the Patriarch, assisted at short Vespers; and at the seventh hour the new bell was tolled, and we repaired to the convent. Thither came the Emperor, the Patriarch, and all the Grandees, to the chapel of the Saint, where his body is kept within the Refectory;

and they began to chaunt the great Vespers, at much length. At the Πολυέλαιον, the two Patriarchs put on their copes, and went, with the Metropolitans and Priests, to stand outside the chapel. Here they set the image of the Saint in the middle; and the Patriarch stepped down to incense it, the chapel, the Emperor, and all present, as usual, after he had distributed to them the tapers. Our master did the same; and then they went in to kiss the image, and the body of the Saint; as did the Emperor, and after him the baptized Princes, and all the Grandees of State, in their rank and order. Afterwards, the Patriarchs put off their copes, and the slow chaunt was continued without intermission from the seventh hour of the night till the forenoon of the next day. At length we went away, nearly dead with standing, waking, and weariness; but returned the same forenoon to Mass, whence, in the evening, we were taken to the Emperor's banquet-room. At the time that the Emperor's health was drunk, when I advanced to kiss his hand, he smiled at me, and said, “Ὁ ἅγιος Ἀρχιδιάκονος, Veliko Cholojik”: the two first words, in Greek, signifying, “O holy Chief of Deacons”; the other two in Russian, meaning, “You are a great man.”—May God prolong his reign, for his overflowing love towards me!

On the morrow, which was Wednesday, we went to the convent commonly called the Convent of Simon, that is, of the Saint who founded it in ancient times; who was the brother of St. Sergius the builder of the Trinity. It is dedicated under the title of The Assumption of our Lady; and is distant but a very little way from the Convent of the Spas, being also situated on the bank of the river of Moscow. Our road was from the bridge-gate, over the bed of the river, on which saw-mills are erected. What a remarkable prodigy! The Holy Gospel says, that Peter the Apostle once walked upon the water; but God is witness, that we, with dusty feet, walked upon the water, not only once, but many times, particularly from the Emperor's convent to the city, a whole day's journey.

To return:—On our arrival at the convent, the Archimandrite, with his Priests and Deacons, came out to meet us, as usual; and led us up to the high church, surmounted with a single dome, where we assisted at the Hours and the Evening Song. Whereas it used to be the custom for the Patriarchs to say Mass in all these convents for the repose of their deceased, here, on this day, instead of Mass, they made us enter the Sanctuary, where we robed our Lord the Patriarch, and then led us out to perform a Παράκλησις for the Emperor. This church is very lofty, and has three iron doors. As for the royal door of the Sanctuary, we have never yet seen its equal, for splendour and richness: it is entirely covered

with gold, silver, and gems. We were told, that one of the Kniazes, on his death-bed, willed that he should be buried here, and that all his riches should be settled on the convent. The whole of his bequest was afterwards expended on this door; which cost, it is said, more than two thousand dinars. The picture of the Wake of Our Lady, still more valuable, is one entire plate of pure gold, engraved with black lines, and is an object of great admiration. Outside the church is another handsome new church, built by the lady of the above-mentioned Kniaz, over his tomb, under dedication to our Lady *Πλατυτέρα*, whose image is adorned with pearls, diamonds, rubies, hyacinths and emeralds, and is computed to have cost upwards of one thousand dinars, though it is of small size. The lower part of the great church is all vaults, for the interment of the Grandees of the empire, as in the former instance. Between these two is a church dedicated to our Blessed Lady *Οδηγήτρια*, in which a daily Mass is performed. Among the tombs here, is that of the King of Cazan, who was made prisoner by Czar Ivan, was afterwards baptized, and died a Christian. His wife lies near him. Next to them is a large monument, the owner of which is related to have been a great hero, of large stature, whose bow no two ordinary men, it is said, had strength enough to carry, nor any four his iron armour.

In this convent are six churches in all, three of which we have described. The fourth, within the Refectory, is under the invocation of St. Sergius: the fifth is dedicated to The Divine Manifestation; and the sixth, which is in the tower over the gate, is dedicated to the Commemoration of the Holy Cross, on the first of the month Ab, and of the Seven Maccabites (مكانيين).

The walls enclosing this convent are larger than those of the Convent of the Spas, and are equally new. They are entered by three gates; and are defended by six towers, some round and some square, well furnished with large guns. From the intensity of the cold, and the violence of the wind, we were unable to go up to take a view round the convent. It possesses a community of upwards of sixty Monks. After we arose from table, they brought us the usual presents; and having been conducted by them, on parting, to the outside of the walls, we returned by evening to the city.

On the Thursday we went to the Judabi Convent, where we performed Mass, and received the customary presents. On the Friday, the Emperor and the Patriarch went round to all the convents, asking pardon of the Monks and Nuns; and during the two days of Wednesday and Friday they did not quit the churches till the afternoon, because they are reckoned with them as days of

Lent, on which no Mass is performed. On the morning of Sunday, τῆς Τυροφάγου, our Lord the Patriarch went to meet the Patriarch of Moscow, who took him with him to the Emperor in his high palace, attended by us. The Emperor came out to meet them; and led them up to his highest apartment; where, after the Patriarch had addressed his devotions to the images, and the Emperor had knelt down, he blessed him with the cross, and sprinkled him with the Ἀγιασμός. Our master performed the same ceremony; and then they sat down for a short time. On rising up, the Patriarch recited a prayer for the Emperor and all the Imperial family; and afterwards sprinkled all the great Officers of State present, who then entered the circle to kiss the Emperor's hand, as we did with them. When we came out, our master, by command of the Emperor and the Patriarch, went to say Mass in the Convent of the Nuns, opposite to us; and at its conclusion, they presented to him a silvered image of Our Lady, together with the customary gratuity. In the evening, the Emperor and Empress went to this convent, to ask pardon of the Nuns; and then they paid a similar visit to the Monks of the Judabi Convent. In like manner, all the Grandees of State went to the Emperor and the Patriarch, to ask pardon of them. Some came for the same purpose, in the night, to our Lord the Patriarch. The rest of the people asked pardon of each other, kissing each other's mouths.

To return:—On the Wednesday, the Emperor did not break his fast till the evening; when he sent to our Lord the Patriarch, from his table, three cups of wine, and some plates of sweetmeats, like حبس or green melon, compounded with various spices and honey, which is brought to him from Astrachan, &c. During these three days, the Patriarch Nikon neither came down to the Sobor, nor opened his apartments to shew his face to a single person; and the Emperor fasted till Saturday, when, after Mass, he received the Sacred Mysteries, together with the Empress. Thus it is the custom with all the Grandees of State, and all the rich, to give no work to be done in this week, and to attend to no business; but to persevere in prayer in their churches, particularly on the Friday, when they confess their sins, and read and pray incessantly, that they may be prepared to receive the Sacred Mysteries, on the following day, with all fear and reverence.

On the Saturday, early in the morning, our Lord the Patriarch, by command of the Emperor and of the Patriarch, went to the Convent of the Novodievitch, that is, the Convent of the Young Lady Nuns, outside the city; concerning which, we mentioned formerly, that the Emperor and the Patriarch had cleared it of the

Muscovite Nuns, to place the Russian Nuns in it; and they were constantly urging our master to go and give them his blessing, and say Mass for them; so greatly did they esteem their religious virtues and profession. On our arrival at the convent, they all came out to meet us; and then walked before us, chaunting with a melody that charmed the heart, until we had ascended to the church. Whilst we paid our devotions to the images, they sang the Ἀξιὸν ἔστιν; and delightful was the harmony and sweetness of their tones and voices, which they continued to modulate, till the Patriarch had given to all of them his benediction, one by one. Then we put on our copes in the Νάεθης, and the young ladies began the Hours. They chaunted also the responses of the Mass, in two choirs; and were all much astonished at the manner in which I read and preached in Russian. After the offering of the cup, they all advanced forward to receive the Mysteries from the hand of the Patriarch, with great awe and reverence, and afterwards the Ἀγίασμα and wine; for they had all fasted since Wednesday until now. After the Patriarch had concluded the service, all the Nuns threw themselves on the ground, and he recited over them the Prayer of Absolution: then they walked out before him, chaunting, to the eating-room; where we took our seats; and the Abbess, the Lady Steward, the Lady Treasurer, and the chief Nuns, took theirs, according to their respective ranks, each attended by her waiting-woman, to serve her with meat and drink. We had other servants to wait on each of us, from the Patriarch to the last of us, with the most delicious Lent meats of fried and stewed, &c., and various kinds of beverage unknown to the Muscovites. During the repast, one of the young ladies stood reading an Ἀνάγνωσις, or Lecture, with a soft sweet voice, and an admirable order and regularity, superior to that of the men we had heard. We arose from table in a stupor of admiration, at the precision of manner, and the exact neatness of these ladies. Every time our Lord the Patriarch sent to any of them a plate of meat, she came and curtsied before him to the ground, whether she was a Religious, that is, a professed Nun, or a worldly person; for in this convent there was a numerous assemblage of great Russian, that is, Cossack ladies, relatives of the Nuns: and it was a remarkably singular arrangement, that such was the subdual of their human passions and feelings, they had appointed these foreigners, and strangers to their vows, to some of the chief offices in the stewardship of their establishment. On our rising from the table, the Patriarch elevated the Παναγία; and the Abbess, with her companions, came, and, kneeling, presented to him, of the products of the convent, an image of Our Lady, handsomely gilt, and a

rosary of knotted silk. To us they made similar presents; and then all the Nuns came forward again, to receive the Patriarch's benediction: after which, they walked before us, chaunting, to the outside of the convent, where they bade us adieu; having furnished us, according to conventual custom, with a large loaf of bread:—and we returned to the city.

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### S E C T. III.

*FIRST SUNDAY IN LENT.—DEATH OF RADZIVIL.—REPEATED SOLICITATIONS OF THE PATRIARCH FOR LEAVE TO DEPART.—AUDIENCE OF LEAVE. DEPARTURE OF THE ARCHBISHOP OF SERVIA.*

ON the morning of the first Sunday in Lent, all the bells were rung early, for the assemblage of the whole of the Clergy of the city in the Sobor church, after they had celebrated Mass in their respective churches; and as soon as the Patriarchs were in attendance, the Emperor came down in his imperial attire, and took his station behind the *عمادة* or door-post, over his chair: but perceiving that his back was thus turned to the images, he would not remain in that position, until they had removed the images from behind him;—a remarkable instance of his faith and devotion! After the Archdeacon had cursed all heretics, and the singers had chaunted three times their anathema, he made a pious commemoration of the Orthodox Princes; and then mentioned by name all the Kniazes, Voivodes, and Grandees of the empire, who had lately died in battle for the love of their religion; and the singers chaunted thrice, “May their memory be eternal!” Then he recited the names and titles of all the Impèrial race, &c.; and there were laid before him sheets of paper in a large box, from which he read the names of all the privates, captains, and colonels, who had been killed within the last two years, in defence of their religion—I suppose to the number of one hundred thousand and more—with great slowness and composure; whilst the singers continually chaunted, “May their memory be everlasting!” until, at length, we were ready to drop with the fatigue of standing and the numbness of cold, our legs being frozen under us. After this, they pronounced a curse upon every one who was or had been unfaithful to the Emperor; and the choirs chaunted, three times, their anathema, and disgrace with the Almighty. When they concluded, I looked at a watch which I carried in my pocket, and reckoned they had been full three hours at this recital: nor did we leave the

church on this day till after the ninth hour; for the Patriarch, at the end of the Mass, read the Lesson of the day, and dilated, in a long discourse, on the contrarieties of the cross of Christ, and the sin of many of them in breaking their fasts at home. Scarcely had we reached our convent, and sat down to table, before the tenth hour struck; and immediately the bells tolled for Vespers.

About this time, news came to the Emperor, and the report was given forth by him to the public, that the accursed Radzivil, who made terms with Sweden, and took up his residence in that country, had suddenly fallen a victim to the vengeance of the Almighty, and broken his neck; as it happened formerly to Theophilus the Iconoclast;—thus making a wretched end. On the second Saturday of Lent, which was the first of the month Adar, the Emperor gave a banquet—at which we assisted, at his invitation to our master—to celebrate the birth-day of his eldest daughter, Eudocia.

We ceased not, in the interim, to importune the Emperor, since his arrival in the capital, with numerous petitions for our congé; and every time our Lord the Patriarch had an interview with his Majesty, he suppliantly urged this request; for life had become disgustful to us during this long delay, and we were in distress and discomfort known only to Almighty God: but the Emperor put us off from one day to another, and from week to week, still naming some future opportunity; so that we knew not what to think of it. From the time that our first petition was presented to him, on St. Peter's Day, before the Festival of the Nativity, he had deferred us till after the Feast of the Immersion; and thus we were kept in suspense until now; saying, within ourselves: "It is surprising what his Majesty can want with us, that he does not let us go!—Is it possible that he should wish to prolong the daily expense we cost him?"—for our Lord the Patriarch, as we mentioned before, had a daily pension of a dinar; and we and the servants had an average of a piastre and a half, with fish, caviare, and drink, making an additional expense of two or three dinars; so that our daily allowance cost four or five dinars, and perhaps more. Calculate what this amounted to per mensem—about one hundred and fifty dinars! and then, how much by the year! The most surprising was, that after the Patriarch of Jerusalem had staid here seven months only, the Emperor sent him his commands to depart for his own country; and in like manner he acted towards Patalaron. Lately, also, at the Feast of the Immersion, he cut off all the pensions of the Heads of Convents, who were here from the Holy Mountain, and others; and every day the Vazir sent to urge them to rise up and depart for their own country. We, on the other

hand, were so far from being hastened away, that we were constantly praying to God that he would inspire them to dismiss us; until at length the Almighty heard our prayer; and the Muscovites, teased with our multiplied importunities, yielded a constrained assent to our intreaty. We afterwards ascertained, that it was wholly within the intention of the Emperor, in detaining us from day to day, that we should stay with him again till after Easter, till he should rise to depart for the army, that our Lord the Patriarch might give his blessing, as he had done before, to the expedition, and to the troops marching forth to the war: for the subtlety and cunning of the Muscovites, as we have more than once remarked, are very great; and it is seldom they expedite an affair, as long as their interest allows of any delay: but by promising the daily performance of a request made to them, they defer their suppliant from time to time, till their procrastination has sickened his heart, confiding in their promises. For example; if the Emperor had said to us, "Stay with me again this year, or at least till after Easter," we should have died with vexation. But instead of that, he deferred us artfully, from time to time, by fair words and promises: and when, at last, he had no artifice left to baffle our intentions and suspend our departure, by the mercy of God towards us and His protecting Providence, the Emperor sent word to our master, on the Wednesday morning, in the third week of Lent, to inform him that he was to see his Majesty on that day, and take his leave: on which our hearts leapt with joy and delight.

Towards evening, the great sotniks came, in the imperial sledge, and took our master, attended by us, to the Hall of Audience. On approaching the Church of the Annunciation, we were met by two Archons, who bowed to our Lord the Patriarch on the part of the Emperor, and, reciting the imperial titles, said, "The Emperor, &c. &c. &c., invites your Holiness of all beatitude, Father and Great Lord Macarius, Patriarch of the great city of God, Antioch, and of all the East, to his imperial presence, that he may bid you farewell:" and bowing, and receiving the Patriarch's blessing, they walked before us. So also, at the bottom of the steps, in front of the church door, two others met him, with the like ceremony. At the top of the steps, other two Archons presented themselves in the same way; and at the outer door of the Hall, the whole body of Ministers, and great Officers of State, came forth to meet him; two of whom, opening their mouths with a loud voice, and reciting the name and titles of the Emperor, and those of our master, presented his Majesty's invitation to his Holiness, to bless him and take his leave. At the end of the address, they all bowed to him; and he gave to



each his benediction, one by one. Then they walked, before and behind him, into the Hall; where the Emperor, descending from his throne, advanced to meet him; and after our Lord the Patriarch had chaunted the Ἀξιὸν ἱστῆν, and bowed to the images and to the Emperor, he gave him his blessing, and sat down a little; whilst the Vazir came forward, and, standing before him, said, “The Emperor, &c. &c. &c., confers on your Holiness, and on your Apostolic See, this gift, which is fifty soroks of sables, of the value of three thousand dinars.” Then he laid them before him, each couple being brought in by a janissary, who deposited his burden, and withdrew. Afterwards, the Emperor said, “O Father! I beg your blessed Holiness to accept this, as Christ accepted the widow’s mite; and do not reprove me.” Our master had previously asked him to have made for him a crown, and an entire array of sacerdotal ornaments, from the treasures of the Church; and on this account, the Emperor, taking him by the hand, and leading him apart to a corner of the room, attended only by the Perevodtchik, begged his excuse for not furnishing him these objects according to his desire, urgently alleging the death of the artists, and his own occupation in the affairs of war and conquest; which indeed were the true causes of the neglect. Then he wept much, saying to him, with earnestness: “O Father! it is your wish, then, to kill me, by separating from me; for you are my father, and I am your son.” Thus he spoke a long time with him; and our master wept also, seeing the Emperor’s humility, love, and reverence: God prolong his reign!\* All present in the apartment were moved to tears at this sight. Then the Emperor called forward all the Archons, who knelt down; and he requested the Patriarch to pray over them, and himself, a long prayer: and as he bent his head, our master obeyed his commands, by reciting the prayer, “Save, O Lord, thy people, &c.” in which he repeated the names of all the Saints. Then he concluded the prayer, and we chaunted for the Emperor a Πολυχρόνιον: after which, we all

\* “His Imperial Majesty is a goodly person, two months older than King *Charles* the Second, of a sanguine complexion, light brown hair, his beard uncut; he is tall and fat; of a majestic deportment; severe in his anger, bountiful, charitable, chastely uxorious; very kind to his sisters and children; of a strong memory, strict in his devotions, and a favourer of his religion: and had he not such a cloud of sycophants and jealous nobility about him, who blind his good intentions, no doubt he might be numbered amongst the best and wisest of princes. His father was a great lover of Englishmen, and a man of peace: but this Emperor is of a warlike spirit, engaged against the *Crim*, *Polacks*, and *Swedes*; with what success, let him declare. Seven years ago, the plague carried away seven or eight hundred thousand people; and three years since, the *Crim* carried away captive, out of the borders, four hundred thousand souls into perpetual captivity; besides three hundred thousand, who were consumed and killed, by dint of sword, in several armies.”—*A Survey of the present State of Russia*. 1671. p. 14.

advanced, to kiss his hand. Afterwards, the Emperor took our master by the arm, and led him to the outer door of the Hall, where the Archons had met us; weeping much, and entreating him to bless him again, thrice, a third time; and to give him the kiss of Christ on the mouth, which he did. In his hand, our Lord the Patriarch held ready four Choloſitat, or petitions, to present to his Majesty. In one, he begged the price of a large brass *πολυέλαιον*, which we had bought for one hundred and twenty dinars, with three others at one hundred dinars each: in another, he asked him for some images; in the third, for a quantity of fish-teeth and stone-crystal; and in the fourth, for a collection of ermine. These he now delivered to him: after which, the Emperor ordered all his Archons to attend the Patriarch to the bottom of the steps of the Church of the Annunciation, where his Holiness made a discourse to them, and, having blessed them, bade them farewell. We returned to our convent in the greatest joy, and filled with gratitude.

The Archbishop of Servia, (of whom we mentioned formerly, that, when they turned him back, he had asked the Patriarch Nicon that he might be permitted to stay in the name of the Emperor, and had obtained his request,) now seeing the severe authority of the Patriarch Nicon exercised over him, as though he were one of the Heads of his own Clergy, *ضاج* became disgusted, and asked for his dismissal: nor did he cease importuning the Emperor to let him go, to visit Jerusalem; after which he would return. The Emperor, being merciful and compassionate, took pity on him; saying within himself: "Perhaps, if we do not let him go, he will pray to God against us, and not for us:" and, in spite of the Patriarch, he consented to his departure. After our master, therefore, had come out from the audience, the Emperor called in the Archbishop, to kiss his hand, and gave him a recommendation; saying: "When you are come to Jerusalem, pray for us here, and remember me in the holy places of venerable reliques; and, when you come away, bring me with you some of the oil of the lamp which is over our Saviour's tomb." Then he gave him four soroks of sables, with four hundred dinars; and dismissed him. The Archbishop instantly left the city, and arrived in all haste in Moldavia, looking all the way behind him.—See what he gained by his pride and ambition, pretending to be a Patriarch! After being ignominiously detained, he was dismissed with no higher a present than that given to the Metropolitan of Nicia (*نيقية*), the holy See, who was here now; and their dignity was estimated as equal.

## SECT. IV.

*FAREWELL BANQUET, AND VISIT OF THE PRIME MINISTER.—PREPARATION, PACKAGE, AND PURCHASE OF FURS.—VARIOUS PETITIONS, AND GRANTS FROM THE EMPEROR.*

As soon as we had reached our convent, came the Chief of the Stolniki, who is the officer that superintends the imperial table, bringing to our Lord the Patriarch a large and princely banquet, of more than fifty dishes of meat, and various sweet confectionary; prepared cups, that is, gilt goblets, filled with wine; and numerous pitchers, containing a variety of drinks. Having laid the table, the officer sat a short time with his Holiness; and then, taking a farewell leave, he departed. After the repast, and as soon as we had removed the table, came the Chief Secretary to the Emperor, with the rest of the scribes belonging to the Hall of Audience, bringing us the soroks of sables we mentioned above. To all these officers we distributed presents and a gratuity, as also to the janissaries carrying the furs; and after we had given them to drink, they departed: for it was a custom always observed by our Lord the Patriarch, when any officer brought him a present, though it were only a plate of radishes or cucumbers at the beginning of the season, to give him either some dirhems, or some Aleppo or scented soap, or some saffron, &c., or else some holy relique, which was always received with great veneration. Similar gifts he made to the servants carrying the trays &c. of cakes of scented soap &c., to each individually; and even to the janissaries, who every day brought his meal from the imperial kitchen, we used daily to give, in remuneration for their trouble a portion of drink, or a small sum of money; as they were every day changed.

After the Secretaries had retired, the Vazir himself came, sent by the Emperor to pay his respects, on the part of his Majesty, to our master, and to express to him how much joy his Majesty felt at having received his blessing, and having been the subject of his prayers to Almighty God: and at the same time, how great his sorrow was at parting with him; for that his Majesty had said to his great Officers of State, at the moment we quitted his presence, "Truly this Patriarch is a holy man, and the light of sanctity shines forth in his countenance:" to which all these nobles bore witness. This is the information which the Vazir now gave us; further adding, that when our master quitted the Emperor, his Majesty sighed, and said: "I pray to God, that, before I die, I may see him, with the other three

Patriarchs, celebrating Mass in St. Sophia, with our Patriarch Nikon attending them." All present answered, "May God grant it!" The Vazir likewise gratified the heart of our master, by doing all he had asked in the petitions he presented to his Majesty. We had supplicated his Majesty, moreover, to grant us five χρυσόβουλλα, or imperial seals, which he gave to us. The first was, a χρυσόβουλλον for the Apostolic Church of Antioch, that, every three years, one of its Archimandrites, or of the Heads of its Clergy, with two or three Monks and attendants, should come to receive the Emperor's alms, to whatever amount it might please God to inspire his Majesty to give them; and then to depart, on their return. The second, for the Convent Elfalmand (القالمند) in Trapolis (طرابلس): the third, for the Convent of St. George Elhamirah (الحميرة): and the fourth, for the Convent of Sidoniaia (صيدنايا). The fifth χρυσόβουλλον we took out for one of the merchants, who was related to a Grandee of Moldavia, to the effect, that he should be chief over a company of merchants, and should not be stopped or delayed on the frontier. One of our own countrymen, originally of Damascus, who had been Voivode of Kolomna, Cashira, and Strasanjho, we again replaced in that dignity, by the intercession for him of our Lord the Patriarch with the Emperor, who appointed him Voivode of Cashira for the length of his life. A troop of poor Greeks we caused to be made Dragomans in the courts; and others of that nation, who were in the army, we succeeded in raising to the rank of Chaoushes, &c.

At the moment of parting with our master, the Emperor had asked him for some papers of Absolution, that is, of Συγκεχώρηται, which we had printed at Kiov, in Greek; and desired him to distribute some of them to the great Officers of State: which was done. As to the Emperor himself, I went and carried to his Majesty nine of these papers; on which I wrote, in letters of gold, the names of his Majesty, of the Empress, their son, daughters, and of the Emperor's sisters: and to all the great Officers of State I distributed for each one, going round to their respective hotels with the Perevodtchik, according to the Emperor's command:—after which, we prepared for our journey.

During these days I was alone, and unassisted in my labours and fatigues, both by day and night, from morning till evening, going round to the Grandees of the empire; the rest of the time attending to the arrangement of the sables, standing over the workmen, and sealing the paws of all the furs with the red seal of the Emperor: for every single paw of the sable-skins we impressed with a seal, and wrote inside, on the edges behind each, that they might not be

stolen, or clipped, or changed, by taking a good couple of the skins, and putting a bad one in its place. This method of prevention was invented by the Greek merchants having to deal with the Muscovite artists, who, for the most part, are very devils in deceit. The soroks, which are delivered to us in packs, we separated; and having written on and sealed each skin, we counted them out to the workmen, to clear away the white hairs with pincers, assisted by their wives, children, and numerous slaves. After this, they take and soften them by maceration, and then stretch them, to increase their size in length and breadth. Then they select them, and make them up again into soroks; for each of which they are paid a dinar. Afterwards, they collect the soroks by tens, calling every ten a crabka (قربقه), and valuing each sorok by marking them from one to ten. The first is of the highest; and each successive number is of an inferior price. After this, we packed all the soroks in bags; taking great pains to press them close, according to the usual method; first, to preserve them from the dust of the roads, which injures them greatly; and secondly, to carry them in as small a compass as possible, and protect them from the heat of the sun.

Constantine, Beg of Wallachia, had sent a letter to our Lord the Patriarch, humbly intreating him to obtain for him, from the imperial treasury, a sorok of sables of the first quality and highest price, and of supreme beauty and blackness—such a sorok as is never issued. Our Lord the Patriarch wrote, therefore, a petition to the Emperor, stating this occurrence: and the Emperor commanded, that they should give him a sorok of sables from the Treasury, at its original price on being imported from Siberia. On searching, they found two; of which we chose the best, and paid them for it the original price marked on it in Siberia, viz. four hundred and eighty dinars. In the prosecution of this affair, I had to go to the store of sables, and enjoyed the opportunity of looking over it.

They also gave us, by command of the Emperor, four ermines from Cazan. Unfortunately for us, no ermines had been brought this year from Siberia; for, by reason of the great heats, which had prevailed in the summer, the ermines were reported to have retreated northward. The fur of this animal is worth, sometimes more, sometimes less than twenty dinars, and is sold untanned, with the skin turned outside. We gave ours to the ermine artificers, to tan and prepare them; for in no other country do they know how to tan them in the way they do here, making them as dry and as soft as silk. They take and soak them in barrels filled up with bran (نخاله) and sea-oil, which they call fish-grease, brought from the ocean. These artificers are paid four dinars a thousand. All

the superintendants, and officers of the government-stores, when they have to deal with a skilful person who fees them, give him the best articles to be found; but to a person who knows nothing about the matter, they give the veriest refuse: as every thing is in their hands, and they have an unlimited but unacknowledged and secret power: we used therefore to make them fine promises, and give them substantial fees.

I went also to take some fish-teeth and stone-crystal from the stores belonging to the offices for the affairs of strangers, of which we have made much mention, where we used regularly to transact our business.

Then I went to the Emperor's treasury, in the neighbourhood of his high palace, which is appropriated as a store of holy images, accompanied by one of the Perevodtchiks appointed to attend me. On entering, I was much astonished at the great number of images collected there, rivalling treasures of much wealth: for every image presented by the Heads of the Clergy of this country, or by the Heads of Convents, to the Emperor, or to any of the Imperial family, is brought to this store; and is marked, on the back, with the name of the owner who gives it; from what town or convent it is taken; with the date of the day, month, and year, it is presented; and to whom, whether to the Emperor, the Empress, or any of the Imperial family. All of them are committed by register to the care of the Archon who superintends this treasury; who gave us, by order of the Emperor, thirty gilt images; which we caused to be carried by the janissaries to our lodgings, rewarding them for their trouble.

We asked the Emperor, besides, for a *يورغا* horse, that is, a *رھوان*; and he gave it to us also. For myself, I wrote to his Majesty a petition, begging the gift of a *Στιχάρι*, which he instantly granted me. I was sent to his treasury, where the brocades, copes, and other fineries, are kept; and they wished to give me a *Στιχάρι* ready made after their fashion; for from this store they distribute *Φελώνια*, *Περιστραχήλια*, *Στιχάρια*, and other sacerdotal robes and ornaments, to the poor Clergy, and to the inferior convents: but I refused to take it; so that they were forced to refer the matter again to the Emperor; who sent me a piece of beautiful white Venetian brocade, embroidered with trees and plants, in coloured velvet of every colour; accompanied with remnants for the sleeves and skirts of a similar cloth, but yellow; and some dinars for the expense of making; saying, "Take it and fashion it after your own will and pleasure." The cloth was worth about one hundred dinars.

The Emperor bestowed, moreover, on us all, for the parting kiss of hands, the

same presents we had received on our first presentation ; and we finally packed up our luggage, and prepared for our departure : for which purpose, we wrote a memorial for sixty vodvods for our conveyance ; though twenty would have been sufficient, had it not been for the number of poor persons who followed us. The other motive for asking for so great a supply was, that we might study the ease of the cattle. The carriages we asked for were brought us : and to attend us to the frontier of the Cossack country, a Peredvodtchik and a Dragoman were appointed, with ten fully-accoutred janissaries, to escort us from town to town. We were furnished also with an imperial sledge ; provisions of meat and drink for the road ; and a daily allowance of money, till the end of the month Adar, that is, till our arrival at Potiblia.

## SECT. V.

*FAREWELL TO THE PATRIARCH NICON, AND DEPARTURE FROM MOSCOW.  
DIFFICULT JOURNEY TO BIELOV.—HALT AT BOLKHOV, FOR THE  
EASTER HOLIDAYS.—ENTERTAINMENT GIVEN TO THE  
ARCHDEACON BY THE VOIVODE.*

ON the morning of the fifth Sunday of Lent, being the twenty-third of Adar, our Lord the Patriarch went to take leave of the Patriarch of Moscow ; who gave him, as a parting present, an image of Our Lady, a sorok of sables, a gilt cup, and two dresses of woollen cloth and satin ; and to all of us he distributed sums of money : after which, we bade him farewell. In the afternoon, we went forth from the city, hardly believing that our departure was a reality, so great was our joy to return home after so long an absence : for the Almighty knows, that, from the excess of our impatience, we were continually praying that we might be dismissed, whether they gave us any thing or not. On the other hand, all the Dragomans, and others who attended us forth, were unanimous and uniformly urgent in saying to us : “ Wait with patience, and assist at the Easter festivities here ; because the Emperor wishes it, and the thaw of the ice, on the lands and rivers, is near approaching. How far do you mean to take us, to drown us in the waters ? ”—What they said, they uttered with truth and sincerity : but we answered them : “ As for you, we hope no harm will befall you : for ourselves, let us be drowned, rather than stay here.” My own individual anxiety, my grand endeavour, was to quit Moscow before Easter, to escape from the sleepless vigils, the overwhelming fatigue, and the restless standing up, during Passion

Week : but I afterwards wished we had staid for Easter, and had not been subjected to the disagreeable necessity of turning back on our road, as it fell out. On the whole, how could foreigners like ourselves, accustomed to such comforts at home, expect to enjoy any rest or sleep here, being forbidden the entrance of the hot-bath, and the shaving of the head ? But ever since our departure from Wallachia, we had been two whole years, till now, without entering the bath.

As soon as our Lord the Patriarch arrived at the Place of the Cannon, in front of the Emperor's palace, he alighted, by the direction of the Dragomans, from the sledge ; and turning his face towards the city, he recited a prayer for the Emperor, and for all the inhabitants ; and having given his blessing on the four sides, he remounted his sledge. All our attendants continued with us as far as the outside of the earthen walls ; where we presented to each of the Dragomans a gratuity, as is customary, for the recompence of their trouble ; one sum, on the part of our Lord the Patriarch, individually ; and another for all of us collectively : and having bidden them a parting farewell, we proceeded, in our sledges, a distance of seven versts ; hastening our journey, that we might reach Potiblia by the yet frozen roads and rivers. This, however, we did not accomplish ; for, on our arrival at Kalouga, the ice on the river began to thaw ; and we were, consequently, detained there three days ; during which, the ice and snow entirely melted away, the rivers overflowed their banks, and the streets and roads were filled with large streams of water. We were in all, reckoning our fellow travellers, the janissaries, and the Yamishkis, that is, the people of the vodvods, eighty persons ; and by our joint effort, we constructed, with much labour, eleven or twelve bridges, by means of which we effected our difficult passage over the roads and rivers, and the dreadful depth of mud, alone sufficient to have stopped less resolute travellers. What gave us most pain, was the distressing fatigue of the cattle. With the utmost exertion, we accomplished our route as far as *Bielov* : on our arrival at which place, the snow was entirely thawed away from many parts ; and in all the rest, it was so mixed with mud, clay, and water, that all travelling forward on sledges was at an end, and we began to purchase wheel-carriages. By either mode of travelling, the difficulties of the road were extreme. In those places where the snow yet lay, we saw, as it slowly melted, how streams of water, as from fountains, flowed from under the drifts, every field pouring forth its torrents into the roads ; so that, as we sat in our sledges, we filled goblets of that beautiful sweet water, and, with draughts of that true Ma Ozzolal, revived our souls within us.



We did not enter *Bolkhov* till Holy Thursday; when it was proposed that we should celebrate the Easter holidays in that place, which we agreed to; as the Yamishkis belonging to the carriages made interest with our Lord the Patriarch that they should be allowed to spend that time at their own homes.

On the Morning of Easter Sunday, our Lord the Patriarch, by invitation of the Voivode, and at the request of the Greek merchants who were with us, went to perform the *Ἀνάστασις* in one of the churches. After the Canon, he stood before the royal door, with the cross in his hand, attended by two priests; one holding the Gospel, and the other the Paschal image; and all the persons assembled, came forward, according to custom, to kiss the cross. On kissing afterwards the Gospel, and the image, in the hands of the Priests, they kissed also the mouths of the latter; giving them, at the same time, each a red egg. This the boys did, as well as the grown-up men; and after them came the women and girls, of all classes, from the highest to the lowest. We melted with envy when the women and girls kissed the mouths of the Priests; and the Priests kissed theirs, saying, *Χριστὸς ἀνέστη*, in their own language "Christos Voskros"; to which the laymen and the women answered, "In truth, He is risen": the latter, at the same time, kissing the Priests' mouths, without blame or shame. We were much surprised at seeing this; and particularly so were the Greeks, who witnessed it: but such is the Muscovite custom. The Priests collected a great quantity of red eggs; as not one of their flocks, not even among the children, neglected to present each his egg. It is a custom also observed here, that at the time of Mass, on Easter-day, they bring, from their houses, trays of bread, butter, and cheese, to the church, for the Minister to pray over them the usual prayer: after which, he takes the half, called the Paschal or Easter Offering. Another custom, which we have formerly mentioned, is, that from this day, till the Ascension, whenever any person meets his friend, he kisses him on the mouth, saying *Χριστὸς ἀνέστη*. After all these ceremonies were performed, our Lord the Patriarch finished the Mass for this day.

During this Easter week, no person travels nor leaves his home; but all remain in their houses, clothed in their best attire; and spend the whole of the time in eating, drinking, and praying. From the Sunday to the end of the week, the Priests in their *Φελώνια*, with their banners, and with the cross in their hands, and accompanied by their friends or disciples, carrying the Paschal image, the image of their church, and the Gospel, go round to their parishioners, chaunting *Χριστὸς ἀνέστη*. On entering each house, the Priest recites the Gospel of the

Passover, and the Ἐκτινὴ, mentioning all its inmates by name: then he performs a Πολυχρόνιον for the Emperor and the Patriarch, and concludes the ceremony with thrice repeating Χριστὸς ἀνέστη. Afterwards, they make him a present in money, and conduct him to the door; all abandoned to the utmost joy and hilarity. On the passing of the procession by any church, the young men of the parish ring the bells: for it is the amusement and occupation of the young men, during this week, to ring the bells continually. In this same manner the Priests came to the lodgings of our master, who dismissed them with the usual fee.

On this day, I was invited by the Voivode to accompany the imperial Dragomans to his house; where he made us drink two rounds of cups of wine and spirits, whilst he stood up, and we were sitting. After the Muscovites have served their guests, it is usual for them to give the jar and goblet to the guests in turn, to pour out for them, the hosts; as was now done by the Voivode, at the present entertainment. And now I have to mention a strange thing, which I witnessed on this occasion; a thing which we had been told of, but which we would not believe. I saw it, however, with my own eyes; and it was this. After the table was set, and we had taken our places at the board, the Voivode called in his wife; who came in her finest dress, with her daughters and little boys, bowing her head to us as she entered, and saluting us. Then the Voivode placed her in the middle of the room, and begged us to go and kiss her on the mouth with the holy paschal kiss, in the virtue of which they have the highest faith, accompanied as it is by the words Χριστὸς ἀνέστη. The Dragomans, to set me the example, went first, and, having kissed the lady on the mouth, repeated the words: and then they nodded to me to come forward, as they retired each to his place: but I was become like a mute statue, and was melting away in a fever of bashfulness. In vain the husband urged me vehemently: I still held back; until at length they got the Dragomans to prevail on me to go and kiss the lady, by representing to me, that otherwise the Voivode, her husband, would be seriously affronted. Overcome with shame, and pushed forward with some violence, I advanced to the lady, and kissed her mouth; and she kissed mine, saying, "Christos Voskros." I was, as it were, without sight or sense, so great was my confusion amidst a scene I had never before witnessed: though we had been told, but I would not believe it, that not only on this day of Easter, but whenever they received a stranger as a guest at their houses, they always presented their wife before him, to be kissed by him on the mouth, and by all present; that the husband glories in this; and that it is not possible for any one to omit kissing her, unless he wishes

to be turned out of the house. On retiring to my place, I bowed my head to the lady; and all the company bowed to her at the same time. Afterwards, she took a vessel of spirits and some cups, and served us to drink, twice round; and then she sat down with us to table: such is the custom here. At the end of the repast, we drank some cups to the health of the Voivode, and to the health also of his lady: and we wiped the cup each time on our lips; for whoever does not so wipe the cup, is esteemed by them a declared enemy, as not having drunk the entire health of the master of the house, but having done it defectively.

## SECT. VI.

### *MESSAGE FROM THE EMPEROR, TO DESIRE THE PATRIARCH'S RETURN TO MOSCOW.—THE EMPEROR'S LETTER.*

ON the Tuesday in Easter week, at the moment we were preparing for the prosecution of our journey to Potiblia, the news was brought us, by a courier, dispatched to our Lord the Patriarch, that the Emperor had sent off to him, with all haste, a grand Sotnik: the meaning of which message we were at a loss to conjecture; and were therefore much troubled and confused, thinking and reflecting what could be its motive: so that from the cheerful humour in which we had been as travellers, we were now become disturbed and full of doubt and perplexity; until the Sotnik above mentioned, immediately on his arrival, sent into the town to ask permission of our master to see him: and when he was admitted, having bowed several times to the ground, he stood erect, and said: "O great and holy father of all beatitude, Kyr Macarius, Patriarch of the great city of God, Antioch, and of all the East; your spiritual son, the Emperor, the lover of Christ, the exalted, the chief among Kniazes, and the great among kings, Kniaz Alexius Michaelovitch, bows to your Holiness with his forehead on the ground, and supplicates you, if it is your Holiness's pleasure, to be so kind as to return to him, and that you will not reproach him with the fatigue and hardship of the road; because he wants you to assist at a new and secret Synod, and for other secret and necessary business of Church and State; and he intreats you again, with earnestness and humility, not to be angry with him on account of the difficulties of the road to be again encountered on your return; but your reward be with Almighty God."

We asked the Sotnik at what time he had left Moscow. He said: "After the

evening service, on Good Friday, the Emperor called me to him, and gave me this letter; commanding me to overtake your Holiness as quickly as possible, and to execute his commands. I have risked my life in the waters and rivers, galloping at full speed both by night and day; so pressing was the Emperor's injunction, that I should overtake you before you reached Potiblia."—And, indeed, it is a remarkable thing, that he should have travelled over so great a space of ground in three days and a half.

Then the Sotnik delivered to our master the Letter from the Emperor; which the Patriarch having kissed, handed to the Pervodtchik, to translate for him: and he thus read it in the Greek language, word for word; whilst I wrote it down with the greatest exactitude in Arabic. This was its form:—

“We, by the grace of God, chief among Kniazes and Efendis, Alexius Michaelovitch, Emperor of all the Russias, Large, Small, and White; Autocrator of many of the Eastern and Western countries, and of all the North; heir to our father, and inheritor to our grandfathers; Sovereign Lord and Ruler; to Macarius, by the grace of God, Patriarch of the great city of God, Antioch, and of all the East—We bow with all reverence to your Holiness; who, though as a Father and Shepherd to our great empire, went away and left us, abandoning our capital and imperial city to return to your holy See, in the great city of Antioch. But you had not long quitted the city of Moscow, after parting from us, nor were you far away on your journey, before divers weighty matters in our great empire occurred, of vital importance, both to Church and State. This business requires that you should return to us, O blessed Father; and that, favouring us with the sight of your holy prelatial countenance, in the joy of the Lord, you will give us the opportunity of meeting and conversing with you for a short time. I, the Emperor, have great hopes in the regent skill of your Holiness, and am confident you will not disappoint them, by your attention to the affairs in question. I therefore ask and intreat you, bowing before the feet of your prelacy, that you will not baffle my expectation and prayer, but will please to come to me, to the city of Moscow, without delay, and with the smallest requisite burden and luggage. Our command and pleasure is, that you bring with you nothing but your priestly attire and a few servants: the rest of your baggage and company you will please to leave in the fort or castle where you shall receive this our message and letter, brought you by the Sotnik of our Imperial Court, Ivan Ivanovitch. Complying with this our desire, and returning to us, O benedict Father, you will please to

bleſs us with your ſpiritual grace : and it is the deſign of our Imperial Maſteſty, after you have favoured us with your preſence, ſpeedily to diſmiſs you on your travels, full of gratitude to your Holineſs. For all the fatigue you will have undergone from the difficulties of the road, you will receive a recompence from Almighty God ; and we will afterwards leave you free to purſue your own affairs and deſires. Do not fear, therefore, nor be under any apprehenſion, that any detriment will accrue to you, in conſequence of your return at this preſent time to our Imperial Court, O bleſſed Father !

“ This Letter was written by our Maſteſty, in the imperial city of Moscow, in the year Seven thouſand one hundred and ſixty-four, on the evening of the fourth of Niſan.”

On comprehending the ſenſe of this Letter, our ſorrow was greater than our joy, and our joy greater than our ſorrow. Our ſorrow was, for turning backward, whiſt we were continually praying to God to direct our ſteps forward : our joy, for the humility and condeſcenſion of the Emperor, in deigning to aſk us this favour ; with which requeſt it was impoſſible for us to reſuſe compliance. In the miſt of theſe feelings we were troubled and confuſed, not knowing pre- ciſely what to think of this affair. Glory however be to God, who, in His infinite wiſdom, permitted all theſe ſtrange turns to meet us in our courſe, and to happen in our time ! It was uſual for the Patriarchs to come and ſtop no longer than eight months, at moſt. But we were, firſt of all, completely put to a ſtand by the troubles in Moldavia ; and afterwards, by the ſame cauſe, delayed in Wallachia. In Muſcovy, we were encountered by the expedition, and management of the war by the Emperor in perſon. Such a thing as no one would have expected to ſee ſince the reign of the Czar Ivan, to our great miſfortune, took place in our days ; and then, after hoping we ſhould ſtay four or five months only, we were delayed for nearly a period of two years ; a period which, indeed, at laſt, we fully completed.—We now blamed ourſelves much for not ſtaying at Moscow, to paſs the Eaſter holidays ; which was the beſt advice that had been given us.

It is remarkable, that ſo many ſtrange things ſhould have occurred in our time, ſo far ſurpaſſing in number and ſingularity thoſe which had occurred to others. It had been uſual for the Patriarchs to go once only to Moscow : we went twice ; and we outreached the preceding Patriarchs in five things. The firſt was, our reſidence at Kolomna for ſeven months, and our having expe-

rienced the mode of travelling on the rivers. Whilst others travelled by land, we were moved along the river in boats. The second was our journey to Novogorod: the third, our visit to the Emperor's monastery: the fourth, our return to Moscow, a second time: and the fifth was our enjoyment of our pensions for four and twenty months, or two years complete, as we shall specify hereafter.

And now our minds were all agreed, that we must return to Moscow, in obedience to the Emperor's will; which, indeed, it was impossible for us to resist, being within his rule and territory: nor would it have been decent to make any show of reluctance; but the Greek merchants, our fellow-travellers, were much vexed at our separation from them. Then the Voivode came; and I went with him, accompanied by the Stolniks; and we stowed all our wagons, clothes, and heavy luggage, within the castle; cording them all up together, and sealing them: and there we quartered the rest of our companions and servants. Over them the Voivode set a numerous guard of janissaries, to protect them day and night. With us we took nothing, but what was absolutely necessary, and a box of priestly ornaments, according to the Emperor's command. To accompany our Lord the Patriarch, there was myself, with the Deacon my companion, the Archimandrite, and three servants, in seven carriages. It is usual for each carriage to be drawn by one horse; but we put two. The whole number of our horses was forty: and we had so many, in order that we should change them from time to time, that they might not be killed with the hardship of the road, and that some might be always resting. This arrangement was in consequence of the Emperor's injunction to the Stolniks to order every thing for our speedy coming to him. The Perevodtchick we took with us; but the Dragoman was left behind.

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## SECT. VII.

*RETURN, BY SIMONKA, TO THE CAPITAL.—REFORMATION ON THE SUBJECT OF SLAUGHTERING ANIMALS.—PROMISE MADE BY THE EMPEROR TO THE GREEKS.—RECEPTION OF SOME EMISSARIES FROM MOLDAVIA.*

WE set off from Bolkhov, at noon, on the Wednesday in Easter-week, being conducted by the Voivode to the outside of the town. We travelled in the greatest haste; and suffered the utmost distress, from the roughness of the roads and the depth of the mud, in consequence of the overflowing of the brooks and

rivers. The river of Kalouga we saw at its greatest height, extending its breadth about the distance of a mile; and having overthrown the walls of the new fort which we had before seen building, it had carried away all the timber employed in them.

On the Wednesday in St. Thomas's week we arrived at the village called *Simonka*, distant seven versts from the capital. In it are numerous orchards of fine apple-trees. It is an estate belonging to the Convent of Simon, and is therefore called after it. All strangers coming to Moscow, whether Patriarchs, Bishops, Monks, or merchants, wait in this village till their *Pristobs* or conductor announces them to the *Vazir*, and prepares for them a lodging: and then he returns, and leads them into the city. Thus our *Stolniks* acted with us, sending to inform the *Vazir*, and the Emperor, of our arrival: and, in the mean time, we slept for that night in the village. We met, on our road, a number of Greek merchants returning from Moscow; of whom we asked the occasion of our being brought back. They informed us, that, in the evening of Good Friday, the Emperor had had a dispute with the Patriarch, in the church: but no one knew the particular cause of it; only in general it was known to have been occasioned by the haughtiness of the Patriarch, and his rude behaviour; for he was become excessively proud. At the Festival of the Immersion, when he designed to perform the prayers over the water once only, and this his intent had come to the knowledge of our Lord the Patriarch, the latter went to him, to admonish him that such a practice was irregular; for *Nicon* was constantly intreating our master, and saying to him, "Whatever you find reprehensible in the order of our ceremonies, tell us of it, that we may conform to the right practice:" and he usually received his advice with great deference. But on this occasion he refused to listen to him, rejecting his authority on this subject. The Emperor, in the mean time, supposed that it was by the advice of our Lord the Patriarch that *Nicon* performed the ceremony in the way he did: but now coming to the knowledge of the contrary, he disputed the matter with him, and scolded him, calling him a *Mojik beladins*, that is, "a stupid fellow." The Patriarch replied: "I am your spiritual father; why then do you revile me?" To which the Emperor answered: "It is not you who are my father; but it is the holy Patriarch of Antioch, who is indeed my father: and I will instantly send, to bring him back on his road." Immediately he called the *Vazir* and the *Stolniks*, and dispatched the latter in quest of us. The report was soon spread in the town, that the Emperor had sent to bring back the Patriarch of Antioch; but no one

knew wherefore. The Greeks conjectured that he was bringing him back to keep him with him another year; and our friends feared it might be the beginning of some disastrous affair: but no one knew the real cause, nor did we, till afterwards.

On the Thursday, the messenger returned with the answer, and we set forth for the city. From this village, the road to it is like the road from Khan Toman to Aleppo, all ascents and descents, hills and valleys; and the town is seen at a distance of fifteen versts, delighting the eye with its beauty and grandeur, its elevation, the number of its belfries, and the airy cupolas of the churches shining with gold. On entering, we alighted at our former lodgings in the Convent of Cyrillus; as though we had only gone out on a visit, and were returning home: and thus we answered every one, who asked us. The next day, the Emperor invited our Lord the Patriarch to a great banquet: and as soon as he entered his presence, he advanced to meet him, bowing to him, and saying: "My Lord and father, I beg of you, that as Christ forgave the sins of the offending woman, and accepted her tears, so you will also forgive me, and accept mine; approving my humility and supplication, and not reproving me for the sufferings I have caused you on the road; for which I will recompense you, according to your asking and expectation." Thus the Emperor manifested great delight at beholding our master; and after he had received his blessing, he admitted us to kiss his hand. When I advanced, and, kneeling, kissed his hand, he smiled, and said, "Christos Voskros!" I was a little confused, but, without hesitation, I made the usual response. After we had left the banquet, we immediately found that our pensions and appointments were restored to us.

At this festival of Easter, an imperial ordinance was sent forth by the Emperor, on the subject of killing meat; for from Wallachia, Moldavia, and the country of the Cossacks, to the further end of Muscovy, they did not slaughter animals in the manner prescribed in the *Νόμος*; but by jugulation, after the manner of the Franks. Our Lord the Patriarch, therefore, when he was in the Emperor's convent, informed him on this subject. The Emperor was very grateful to him for his instruction, and immediately acted upon what he told him: so that the Muscovites now slay after our manner, but after much altercation, for they had formed to themselves an opinion in opposition to the mode of slaughter practised by the Hagarenes, who stab; but their doctrine was unfounded.

We were told by the Greek merchants resident here, that after the Emperor, on the morning of Easter Sunday, had, according to custom, distributed red eggs



to all his great Officers of State, in the church, he called forward the Greek foreigners, and others then present, and distributed to each a couple of eggs. Every person who receives an egg from the Emperor, on this day, preserves it in his house as a blessing, as we have before had occasion to mention. They added, that, after the distribution of the eggs to them, he called them near him, and said : “ Do you wish and desire that I should redeem you, and free you from your captivity ?” Kneeling down, they answered ; “ How can it be otherwise, than that we should desire it ?” and added such compliments as the occasion required. On which the Emperor replied : “ When you return to your country, ask the Heads of your Clergy, and your Monks, to offer Mass and pray for me, that by their prayers my sword may cut through the necks of their enemies.” Then he shed many tears ; and, turning to his great Officers of State, said : “ My heart is broken for the captivity of these poor men, who are in the hands of the enemies of our religion. At the Day of Judgment, God will call me to account for them, because, having it in my power to release them from slavery, I neglected their cause.” Then he went on to say, “ I know not how long this evil state of things is to last ; but I do know, that, ever since the time of my father and ancestors, there are constantly coming to us, Patriarchs, Bishops, Monks, and poor, to complain of the tyranny of their enslavers ; and that not one of them comes, but driven by severe distress, and to escape from the cruelty of their masters. For this, I fear the questions which the Creator will one day put to me on their account ; and I have resolved in my own mind, that, please God, I will expend my troops, my treasury, and my own blood to the last drop, in the endeavour to release them.” They answered, “ May the Lord grant you according to your heart’s desire !”—Observe, reader, the mind and demeanour of this holy prince.

To return :—They told us, that on the Saturday of Sleep, that is, the Saturday in Passion Week, an Ambassador came to the Emperor from the Crál of the Poles, and the rest of the Polish Grandees, with supplications to him to pardon them, and with humility offering him all he should require of them. To these their requests he agreed, for an indefinite period.

About this time, also, came to the Patriarch, as emissary from Stephani Voivode, a Metropolitan of Moldavia, accompanied by a Logotheti and a numerous suite, to make the Voivode’s submission to the Emperor for the whole country ; as it is, in reality, under obedience to him ;—this point having been agreed to by all the Grandees, and the whole commonalty of that province, in consequence of their distress, and their total inability to resist their tyrannic neighbours, who seek to

enslave them, particularly the Tartars. The Emperor was at that time greatly enraged against the said Stephani, for having several times sent aid to the Poles against the Cossacks, between whom and the Moldavians a great enmity had consequently ensued. But Stephani ceased not to scheme, by every artifice, till at length he reconciled them to peace and friendship, by means of presents, embassies, and intercessions; so that they returned to their ancient amity. To the Emperor he had caused to be presented a Letter from the Patriarch of Jerusalem, in testimony that he bowed to him submissively, with all his heart, and in full sincerity; but the Emperor refused to admit his assertion, replying, that it was all treachery and deceit. His Majesty would admit no testimony in his favour, but that of our Lord the Patriarch; who unremittingly interceded for him, that the Emperor would accept his submission; which he at length did, restoring him to favour. The deputation brought with them a written Memorial, dictated by the voice of the whole country, in which both the people and the Prince requested ten graces from the Emperor. One of them was, that he would protect them with his troops, in time of need: another, that he should take tribute from them by the rule of the ancient registers of the time of the Greek Emperors: another, that the said Beg should not be deposed during his life, and at his death should be succeeded by a Beg of his race and family. The Emperor granted them an immunity from tribute for ten years, on condition that the Beg should receive at his court none of the Muscovite Boyars, without the Emperor's permission. After these preliminaries, the Emperor invited the deputation to his presence, to kiss his hand; on which occasion they presented to him a beautiful Turkish horse, with its princely trappings entirely covered with gold, pearls, and precious stones; and made him a gift of the leg of one of the forty Martyrs, named John. To the Patriarch they presented some velvet and brocade; and the relique of a Saint. From the Emperor they received, in return, numerous grants, pensions, &c.

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## SECT. VIII.

*CONSECRATION OF AN ARCHBISHOP.—COLLECTION OF WAR SUBSIDIES.  
EXPEDITION AGAINST SWEDEN.—SYNOD ON THE BAPTISM OF POLES.  
MOTIVES FOR THE PATRIARCH'S DETENTION.*

ON the Sunday of the Samaritan Woman, we went, by invitation of the Patriarch, to the Sobor, to assist at the consecration of Kyr Yusef, Archbishop of

Astrachan. We had felt in our hearts a great desire to see this beautiful sight; and, glory be to God! time rolled over, and our turn at length came to be blessed with it. Whilst the Patriarchs were robing, they had spread the great high platform with carpets, and placed on it three chairs; one for the Emperor, the other two for the Patriarchs. From the Emperor's chair to the door of the sanctuary they had laid a piece of red cloth, covered with rose-coloured velvet, for his Majesty to step on; and under the chairs of the Patriarchs they had spread violet cloth, covered with blue velvet. The Khuldani, in their large red cloaks, with large sleeves, and with long staves in their hands, and wearing their high red caps, stood six in number, fronting round the *Ambon*. We before mentioned, that at the consecration of a Bishop it is usual for them to be four; at that of an Archbishop, six; of a Metropolitan, eight; and of a Patriarch, twelve: but we know not how to explain the intent of this. And now the Patriarchs came forth, and sat in their chairs. When the Emperor was come, and had paid his devotions to the images, he advanced towards the Patriarchs, who came down to give him their benediction; and then he went up, to sit in his chair, by their side. He wore his crown, with the imperial robes and the purple, and sat on the right hand. Then the Archdeacon, with his attendants, went forward; and calling the Heads of the Clergy, the Archimandrites, and the Priests, two by two, made with them their *metanoias* to the Emperor and the Patriarchs. The Heads of the Clergy were seated on the edges of the platform-steps, on each side, down to the lowest, according to their degrees. The Archimandrites, in their mitres, sat in chairs on the two sides of the choir. And now they brought forward the person intended for consecration, in his cope and mitre; for he was Archimandrite over a convent in Astrachan. After he had bowed to the Emperor and to the Patriarchs twice, as the others did, he stood before them at a distance, with his face to the west; and began to read the diploma granted him by the people of his country, together with the Councils and the Creed, as established in the *Εὐχολόγιον*, with a loud voice, mentioning the names of the Emperor and of the Patriarch with much eulogy, as they sat listening to him: but when he began to read the Creed, "We believe in one God;" they rose, and stood up. When he had finished; he went up to the Patriarch; who read over him the well-known prayers, and gave him his blessing. Then they concluded the service; and the Patriarch having gone down to his chair, they began the Hours and the Mass. At the *Τρισάγια*, they completed the Archbishop's consecration in the usual manner: and having given into his hands a book of the

Gospels, he went and presented it to the Emperor to kiss, and afterwards to all the officiating Priests.

After Mass, we went up to the Emperor's banquetting-room; and saw the Archbishop, attended by the Imperial Archons, pass on horseback, with the cross in his hand, and the Khuldanis around him, to sprinkle the walls of the imperial palace: after which, he came back to the banquet. The next day he sprinkled the second walls of the city; and on the third day, the whole of the remainder, according to the Muscovite custom. Afterwards, he distributed to the Emperor, and to the whole Imperial Family, presents of images, gilt cups, dinars, sables, silks, brocades, &c.; and, in like manner, made presents to the Patriarch, to our master, to us, and to all the Heads of the Clergy, the Heads of Convents, the Priests, and the great and small Deacons who were present at his consecration.

In the mean time, an order had been sent by the Emperor to all the Voivodes of the country, to give him force and aid for the approaching campaign, by paying for each of the slaves and servants, whom they wished to retain on their estates, from twenty to forty roubles a head, in lieu of military service; and to provide substitutes, whilst they staid away and rested from the fatigues of war. This order was strictly carried into effect, not only as regarded the Voivodes and their serfs, but all the Boyars also residing in their houses throughout the country, without any exception, though many of them were old and infirm. The Emperor himself prepared for a journey to the city of Smolensko, to see in person how an agreement might be come to, between him and the Poles; sending his troops, treasures, and heavy baggage, before him.

Towards Sweden he dispatched three great Kniazes, with three hundred thousand warriors, to pass through Novogorod and Pskov. These troops marched forth from the capital in great pomp and splendour. For the conduct of the war, a plan was combined between the Emperor and the Cæsar: the latter agreeing to carry it on by sea, the former by land. The Swedish Ambassador was now placed by the Emperor under the strictest confinement in his hotel, round which were posted twelve hundred janissaries carrying muskets, to guard it on all sides, and appearing to envelop it like a bright flame. No person, on any pretext whatever, was permitted to go in to the Embassy; and after the janissaries had searched the persons of the Swedes, and taken from them all their swords and knives, and their pens and inkstands, lest they should send any letter to their countrymen, they removed them from the house they had

hitherto inhabited, and, placing them in another built of stone, guarded them there with the utmost vigilance. All this was to prevent them from sending letters and reports to their own country; and from receiving any thence.

“For some days the Emperor had been visiting the convents, both within and without the city, to take a farewell of the Monks. On Monday evening he came to ours; and having performed his devotions in its several churches, he was waited on by our Lord the Patriarch, who went up to his apartments, to give him his benediction, and present to him his dutiful salutations. The Emperor said: “O father, pray for me; for I intend soon to depart for the war:” and bowing, he dismissed him with a farewell, and went to visit the remainder of the convents. On the next day, which was Tuesday, the bells were rung after Mass; and the Emperor came down to church, where the two Patriarchs, with the Heads of the Clergy, and the Archimandrites, after they had put on their copes, performed a *Paraclesis* for his Majesty; at the end of which they went forth in procession to the outside of the palace-gate, where the stone oratory is situated: and after prayers, they took a farewell of the image of Our Lady Vlashirnas, and the cross of Constantine, committed to the keeping of Joseph, Metropolitan of Crotiska, whom they had appointed this year to carry them before the Emperor: but first they bowed to them and kissed them, and so parted with them for the season.

Observe, Reader, their faith and belief in sending these sacred treasures before the Emperor, to guide him to victory and the repulsion of his enemies.

Then we put off our copes on the spot; and our Lord the Patriarch returned in his coach, accompanied by the Patriarch Nikon, to our convent.

On the Sunday before the Ascension, the Patriarch of Moscow invited our master; and having assisted at Mass in the Sobor, we went up to his palace; where he this day held a synod. Summonses had been sent to all the Heads of the Clergy throughout the country; and the Metropolitan of Cazan was come, to attend the Council. The object of the meeting was, to discuss the baptism of the Poles; because, as we have before mentioned, the Muscovites were in the habit of baptizing them; whereas in the books of ecclesiastic law this is forbidden, with the exception of four sects, which have made their appearance in our time; and which are, the English, the Lutheran, the Calvinist, and the Paphlakinian (البفلاکینی); who are followers of Paul the Šamyasatian (السمیساطی), and compose thirty small towns or villages in the district of Tornova. Our Lord the Patriarch, therefore, demanded of them to

conform to what was written in their laws. We had found, in a book, an ancient writing from the Holy Mount, in which this matter was expounded. This section of the book our Lord the Patriarch wrote out, and signed with his own name; and, after a long and an angry discussion with the Heads of the Muscovite Clergy at this meeting, he compelled them, by the testimony of their own books of Law, reluctantly to submit to the truth. Then he delivered this letter, or pamphlet, to the Patriarch, after he had put his name to it; and it passed into the hands of the Emperor. Afterwards, it was translated into the Russian language, printed, and distributed: and an imperial decree, in conformity with it, went forth, to prohibit the baptism of the Poles, and of other Franks of the same religion; for they approach the nearest, of any of the sects, to ours. Thus this affair was settled, and the business of the Synod concluded.

Never, since our return to Moscow, had we been able to learn for what reason the Emperor had brought us back; nor had we courage to ask: and on this account we murmured much amongst ourselves, particularly on finding that we were detained longer than we had been promised. Again we fell into our former uneasiness; and were tantalized with promises from day to day, whilst no one knew how to give us a precise answer. Now, at length, we discovered the motive of our detention, which was for three purposes. The first was, to discuss the affair of the baptism of the Poles; the second, to give testimony regarding the Metropolitan of Moldavia; and the third, to condemn a new heresy of a second Arius, which had made its appearance among the Muscovites, as we shall give an account of it hereafter.

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## SECT. IX.

### *CEREMONY OF THE EMPEROR'S DEPARTURE.—REVIEW OF THE TROOPS.— LETTER OF THE EMPEROR TO THE PATRIARCH.—EXCOMMUNICATION OF THE PROTOPAPAS OF MOSCOW.*

ON the Thursday of the Ascension, the report was verified, that the Emperor was that day to set out on his expedition: and he invited our Lord the Patriarch, together with the Patriarch of Moscow, to say Mass in his presence, in the Convent of the Ascension, opposite us. At noon commenced the ringing of the bells all round the city, for the assembly of the troops and the Officers of State, who immediately began to form in bodies: and we, at the same time, went to

the apartments of the Patriarch. Shortly after, the Officers of State began to bring forth their servants and horses, their standards and flags, from within the Emperor's palace, to the outside of the imperial gate; extending their line, with great display, according to their ranks and degrees, to the outside of the town. The servants of each Archon gloried over their fellows, in the fineness of their dresses and armour, and in their masters' horses, of the noblest breed, adorned in the richest trappings. All the people knew them, and said, "These are the servants and horses of Kniaz so-and-so; and those are the servants and horses of Boyar such-an-one." The first that appeared were the servants of the inferior Archons: after them came the servants of the Kniazes and Ministers of State. These collected together from all parts of the city; and, entering by the gate of St. John the Baptist, which is in the walls behind the palace, on the western side, advanced to the palace-yard; and then went out by the gate which is in front of the Church of the Annunciation. Here were standing the Priests in their copes, to sprinkle them with Ἁγιασμός. In the mean time, the new bell tolled; until, towards evening, the Emperor came down to the church, attired in his most splendid robes; and, instead of a crown, wearing a high cap, entirely covered with pearls and precious-stones: in it was a tuft, like feathers, with many branches hanging down, and braided with diamonds of the size of peas, resembling bunches of fox-grapes, which shook and glittered in the church, so as to dazzle the sight and attract admiration. On approaching the Emperor, I viewed this bright ornament at my leisure. I had been continually urging our Lord the Patriarch to ask Nicon, not to go out to take leave of the Emperor in their copes, but in their *mantyas*, *epitrachelia*, and *omophoria* only, that so we might enjoy the sight freely: and, as I requested, so it was done; for after they had put on their copes in the Sobor, and had performed a *Paraclesis* for the Emperor, the Patriarch of Moscow read over him the Prayers for War and Victory, and then asked our master to advance and do the same. But the Emperor would not have it so; saying, "Let him pray over me outside." We then took off their copes, and put on them their *mantyas*; but ourselves, the Heads of the Clergy, and the Priests, went out with them before the Emperor, in our copes, to bid him a parting farewell outside the palace. The rails on each side of the imperial gate had been covered with red cloth; and over them stood two Bishops, to sprinkle all that passed with Ἁγιασμός. In the mean time, the bells were ringing, and we arrived at the circular Oratory, the walls of which they had covered all round with red cloth, spread with brocade. The people were in number like the

sands of the ocean. The Emperor had invited the Swedish Ambassador to view the ceremony, that it might excite his astonishment. Then the Emperor advanced to our Lord the Patriarch, and bent before him, whilst he recited over him several prayers. At this moment the Emperor's saddle-horses began to move forward: they are magnificent, princely horses, brought from Persia, Turkey, Germany, Tartary, and the country of the Calmucks; and were covered with superb trappings. Then passed the numerous imperial coaches, with the Emperor's chief guards and soldiers, and their Stolniks, and the whole imperial suite, to our great admiration at their multitude and splendid appearance. After the Patriarchs had given their blessing to the Emperor, and bidden him farewell, the Heads of the Clergy, and the Archimandrites, advanced to present gilt images to his Majesty; and all, including the merchants of the city and ourselves, approached, to kiss his Majesty's hand. Then the Emperor parted from them; and, mounting his horse, rode away; whilst his troops, numerous as the sands of the sea, continued to follow him as far as he went that night, which was to a village where he has a palace, at three versts from the city, where he slept.

On the Friday morning, the Patriarch of Moscow called for our master; and they rode in his carriage, attended by us, to a village belonging to the Patriarch, at seven versts distance from the city; that they might there give a meeting to the Emperor, whose road lay through it. On our arrival at the village, the horses, wagons, and troops, began to pass; and shortly afterwards we heard the report of three guns, as a signal that the Emperor was mounting. Presently, the Emperor came up in his coach; and, being met by the two Patriarchs, was taken by Nicon, as his guest, to his palace; where Nicon presented to his Majesty and his Grandees a magnificent banquet for the afternoon. For our parts, we stood to view the troops, as they passed; and it was a day of sights, to be numbered among ages. It was a wonder before God, that we should return from our journey to behold such a spectacle.

Then the Emperor arose: and the Patriarch descended with him to the level of the road, to take leave of him. Here, after our master had blessed him once, he said, "Bless me again": and after that, "Bless me a third time": and, bowing, bade him farewell. We again had the honour of kissing his Majesty's hand; after which, he mounted his coach and drove off, and we returned to the city.

When the Emperor arrived at the Convent of St. Nicolas, known by the name of Mojaiska, distant from his own convent, forty, and from the city, fifty versts,



his Majesty sent a letter, by one of his Stolniks, to our Lord the Patriarch: in which, after the preface of his own titles, he says to him: "Great Lord and Father of all holiness and beatitude, by the grace of God, Patriarch of the great city of God, Antioch, and of all the East, Kyr Kyr Macarius! your spiritual son, the Emperor Alexius, bends to you in a *metanoia* to the ground, and inquires concerning your health and happiness. O Father! by the blessing of your Holiness to our Majesty, we are arrived, O great Effendi! at a fort called Mojaiska, on the tenth day of our travels, by the favour of the Almighty, in health and safety."—Lower down, he had written, in his own hand-writing: "Your spiritual son, the Emperor Alexius, bends in a *metanoia* to your Holiness." All these letters I translated into Greek; which I have kept with me, together with the Russian originals; sealed with red wax, bearing the impression of an eagle with two heads, and of the Emperor on horseback in the middle. Afterwards, the Emperor passed on to Smolensko, where he remained.

On the Sunday after the Ascension, our Lord the Patriarch celebrated Mass, in company with the Patriarch of Moscow, in the Sobor; when they excommunicated the Priest who was formerly Protopapas to the Emperor; the same person whom the Patriarch Nikon sent into banishment, on his first being made Patriarch. The motive for his excommunication was, that he had reared his head as a second Arius, and, founding a new heresy, had rebelled against the four Patriarchs; saying, that they were fallen from their dignity and office, by the prevalence of the Turks over them. He rebelled at the same time against the Holy Ghost. This wretch had fled from the place of his exile; and was returned to Moscow, where he lay concealed: in vain did the Patriarch endeavour, by the strictest search, to lay hold of him: he was not to be discovered, as he constantly changed his dress, and was always moving from place to place. Our Lord the Patriarch made a discourse concerning him, by the tongue of the interpreter, to the assembled Heads of the Clergy, and likened him to a second Arius; for the first was Protopapas of Alexandria; and this man, Protopapas of Moscow. He then anathematized him, cursed him, and excommunicated him, and every one who listened to his voice: and the singers, with the Priests, chaunted for him an anathema, thrice repeated. After the Mass, we went up to dine with the Patriarch.

On the day of Pentecost, our master said Mass with him again: immediately after which, they performed the accustomed genuflexion, each person having brought with him a bundle of leaves to place under his knees, as he knelt.

The Patriarch recited the Prayers with a low voice of humility and contrition, weeping; and when he had concluded them, he read the Lesson of the day, and afterwards preached. We did not go forth from Mass till after the seventh hour, when the Patriarch gave us a magnificent entertainment. This evening came on a very heavy rain, attended with much cold.

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SECT. X.

*ENCÆNIA OF A CHURCH.—FINAL DEPARTURE FROM MOSCOW.—ARRIVAL AT BOLKHOV.—QUICK VEGETATION OF A RUSSIAN SUMMER.*

THE Patriarch had been continually asking our master to write for him the *Ἐγκαίνια* for a church, and the order of the ceremony, according to the Greek Ritual. He had lately come into possession of the palace of one of the deceased Ministers; which he had refitted, and made into town apartments for his new convent; where we have already mentioned that he had established the Cossack Monks, that, when they came to town from the convent, it might serve them as an hotel. On the most elevated part of the premises he had built a handsome lofty church, which he had not yet consecrated. For this reason, he now urged our Lord the Patriarch to exert himself, and make out the order of proceeding in its consecration and *Ἐγκαίνια*, according to his own mind, and in conformity with the Grecian Rite, that he might see if it agreed with theirs. On this subject we felt ourselves much embarrassed; because the order of the *Ἐγκαίνια* of a church is not to be found in the printed Greek *Ἐυχολόγια*, nor yet in the Arabic nor any other, but is altogether wanting: for, after the most diligent search, our master found none. We afterwards learnt, from persons of good authority, that the Franks prohibit the printing of many things; one of which is, the *Ἐγκαίνια* of a church; another is, the preparation of the Holy Oils; and that this is out of spite to us: but the truth is, these two offices are proper to be kept in the treasury of the Patriarchs only. Having searched for a long time, we found, by the divine inspiration, in one of the books of the Holy Mountain, an ancient Greek Treatise on this subject, which, with much labour, our Lord the Patriarch translated, from the Greek, into the Arabic. Just as he had finished it, the Patriarch Nikon came to him of his own accord, in this afternoon of the Monday of Pentecost, and asked him to go and consecrate the church, and to recite the whole Service in Greek. It happened, that that very morning

our Lord the Patriarch had sent his Archimandrite before him to the new church, to make all the preparations necessary for the *Ἐγκαινία*; and the Patriarch Nikon had ordered his steward to buy all the requisite matters according to our master's directions: so we went, towards nightfall, to the spot; and entering an old church near it, we there, according to the instructions of the Rubric, performed Short Vespers. Then our master received into his hands the reliques of the two Saints, patrons of the two churches, and, placing them in the consecration pyx, went in, and set them on the altar. Then he concluded the Prayers; and we went to the new church, where we performed Great Matins, lasting from the evening till break of day, as their Matins usually do, with the chaunting and reading all in Greek. The Patriarch of Moscow's Archdeacon, and several scribes, attended, to take notes of the whole ceremony. At the *Πολυέλαιον*, our Patriarch and ourselves put on our copes, according to the Muscovite practice; and he threw incense round the church; which we did not quit till after break of day, almost dead with moving about, standing up, and want of sleep.

After three hours of day, the bells were rung, and we went in to attire the Patriarch with his cope and robes: then we walked forth, in grand procession, to the old church; where the Patriarch placed the pyx, with the reliques, on his head; and we set out on our return. Directions had been given, that when we tolled our bells, they should immediately toll the bells of the Sobor: on which signal, the Patriarch of Moscow, with his Bishops and Clergy, robed, and came, in grand procession, to meet us before the gate of the conventual lodgings, which we all entered; and going up to the church, we walked round it, whilst the Patriarch carried the pyx of reliques on his head, on a platform which had been prepared for this purpose, after the manner of a wooden scaffolding, three times, as is prescribed in the Manuscript. After the third circuit, we entered the church; where our Lord the Patriarch set the pyx of reliques on a desk in the *Νάεθης*; and having recited the well-known Prayers and the Gospel, he incensed them, and, carrying them into the interior of the church, placed them on a desk before the royal door. Then he finished the office and the Mass, according to form: and, by the blessing of God, we were so fortunate as to succeed in bringing forth the whole Rubric into action. The entire congregation was then enrolled; and our Lord the Patriarch proceeded to range them in their places, withinside and without. The principal part in reading the Prone &c. was performed by me. They now placed that beautiful image of

Our Lady within this church; and, on our leaving it, they closed up the doors, and, having sealed them, stationed there a troop of janissaries, as a guard.

We afterwards went down to the Refectory; where the Patriarch, on this day, shewed great honour to our master, making him sit in his own place at table. The Metropolitans, Heads of Convents, and Grandees of the city, all made great presents to the Patriarch of Moscow, of images, gilt cups, sables, chintzes, brocades, &c., in congratulation at his opening a new church of his own building: for the mystery of the *Ἐγκαινία* is very great with those who build churches; and on a day like this, they expend their heart's blood in alms and gifts, delivering themselves up to joy and gladness; as their church without the *Ἐγκαινία* would remain but a mere house.

The Patriarch himself presented gifts and dirhems to all the company: his Treasurer brought him dollars and dinars in trays. To our Lord the Patriarch he gave, in reward for his trouble, a gilt image of Our Lady, a gilt cup, two dresses of brocade, and two of cloth. To all the Heads of the Clergy, and the Archimandrites, he distributed dinars folded up in paper: to us and our servants, and to the servants of the Metropolitan of Moldavia, &c., he made a like distribution, and displayed much exultation and cheerfulness. To the great Officers of State, above all, he overflowed in generosity.

At the close of evening, we arose, and returned in the coach to our convent. At the desire of the Patriarch, all his chief Clergy came to receive our master's blessing; and having presented their offerings, they bade him farewell. By the Emperor's command, a second gratuity was given to our master, for his trouble; and our pensions, with the expenses of the road, were allowed till the end of Haziran, on the twentieth of which month our two years were complete.

On the Wednesday, we took leave of the Patriarch; and the vodvods having been brought to us, we drove forth from the city on the Thursday, the twenty-ninth of Iyar, in a coach which the Emperor had given to our master; for our own coach had broken down on our road back, and we had made a present of it to the Metropolitan of Nicia (نيقيه). On this day we passed over three rivers with bridges; and the second day, two, with boats; the one called Nari, which is half way between Moscow and Kalouga; the other Bratka, which, on returning to it this time, we found swollen to a great height, and covering all that country, so that we were nearly a whole day in passing it in boats. Afterwards, we crossed a sixth river of a small size; and, arriving at Kalouga, found the vodvods ready for us; the Vazir having sent orders before us, to all

the towns on the road as far as Potiblia, not to delay us a single moment. We had only to lament the labours and fatigues of the ten janissaries who escorted us from town to town, carrying their muskets and other arms, and helping forward the coach in the difficult parts of the road. By having the vodvods prepared for us beforehand, we drove on continually without interruption. From Moscow to Kalouga, the distance is one hundred and eighty versts. From Kalouga, the janissaries who had accompanied us returned home, and were succeeded by another troop as far as Lifin; these were relieved by others as far as Bieloți; and these again by others as far as Bolkhov, where our baggage had been left.

From Kalouga to Bolkhov the distance is one hundred and ten versts: here we halted one day, whilst we got ready our luggage, and bought horses and cattle; for we had sent orders to sell the cattle we left in Potiblia. It was surprising to observe what we now witnessed; for those lands which, on our setting out from Moscow, were entirely covered with snow, and on our returning a second time were all mud and clay, we found now, on going over them a third time, waving with tall rye, of the height of a man, already shooting ears, and intermingled with barley and other crops. We have before mentioned, that the practice of the Muscovites is, in the months of August and September, to sow their corn; which grows up a span or more in height before the cold comes on in the month of November. In the interval, they turn their cattle in, to feed upon it and fatten. Then comes the snow, and covers it up, without intermission, from the month of November till the beginning of April, when it thaws; and, as the earth softens, the corn springs up, and in forty days attains its full growth. This we had been told of; but we could not believe it, till we saw it with our own eyes.

Next, we were escorted by ten janissaries, from Bolkhov to Crachava; and thence, by others, to Sivska:—from Bolkhov to Sivska are one hundred and ninety versts. The Voivode of Sivska was very friendly towards our Lord the Patriarch; and being questioned by him on the affairs of his province, he answered: “I have command over eight thousand villages, most of which are Timarats to the Spalis; and I have sent from them, to the Emperor, a force of eight thousand soldiers.” We were surprised at the great amount of his contribution.

Again, escorted by the janissaries furnished us by the Voivode, we left this place; and arrived at Potiblia on Thursday the twelfth of Haziran, making

fifteen days from Moskow : the distance from Sivska to Potiblia being one hundred and twenty versts. The whole of our detention, in the different towns, was about four days ; so that we travelled over the road in eleven, having been enabled to accomplish this speed by the previous preparation of the vodvods, and by the great length of the day, which was seventeen hours. Besides, the greatest part of the road was easy ; and we drove at a quicker rate than even couriers usually do, resting our cattle from town to town. The horses here never go at a walking pace, but continually trot or gallop ; and yet do not tire. This journey from Moskow to Potiblia we reckoned at six hundred versts ; though it is usually rated a hundred or more higher, on account of the difficulty of the road. By the power of our cattle, which we changed every day, we performed it in eleven days : but the merchants, who travel with their own horses, are unable to accomplish it in less than a month.

## SECT. XI.

### *ARRIVAL AT POTIBLIA.—BRILLOK.—KIOF.—CONVENTS OF ST. SOPHIA AND ST. MICHAEL.—CONVENT OF ST. NICOLAS.*

ON our approach to Potiblia, our friend the Voivode came to meet us, without the city, as he had done before, in all joy and exultation, accompanied by all the Clergy ; who conducted us, in grand procession, to a church ; and then to a large hotel, where our Lord the Patriarch was continually honoured by their visits. We wondered much at one remarkable coincidence ; and that was, that when we came to this place two years ago, it happened to be a Thursday ; when we returned, this time to Moskow, and entered the city, it was a Thursday ; when we came away, it was on a Thursday : and now it was on a Thursday that we were again come to Potiblia.

On the third Sunday after Pentecost, at the invitation of the Voivode, we performed Mass before him in his principal church ; and early in the morning of Monday, the sixteenth of Haziran, the Voivode came to take leave of us ; and we set forth from Potiblia in vodvods, accompanied by ten spahis and the Dragomans, according to the command of the Emperor. As we proceeded towards Krabota, the Stolnik, with his troops and banners, came from that place to meet us, at a great distance : the Hetman having sent orders, it was said, to all the places under his authority, that they should everywhere go forth to

meet our Lord the Patriarch, and conduct him from town to town ; which they always did. Thus we arrived at Krabota ; where the vodvods and the spahis and the Dragomans left us, on their return, after we had made them presents in recompence of their trouble. By these we sent letters of thanks to the Emperor and to the Patriarch.

The Cossacks now began to pass us forward on their own vodvods, from town to town, until we came to *Brillok* ; whence the Polkobniks stationed there came out to meet us on foot. We alighted, in the first place, at our hotel ; and enjoyed the sight of a large fair held here, for the Festival of St. John the Baptist ; which was attended by numbers of Greek merchants from Romelia and Caramania, who bring silks, shawls, Persian carpets, white Abas, &c. : for in this country of the Cossacks there is no interruption to the fairs from one end of the year to the other ; but on every festival, in every season, a fair is held in one or other of their towns, as it has been regulated ever since the time of the Poles. We bought in the fair a number of horses. On the fourth Sunday after Pentecost, we went, at the request of the Abbot, to say Mass in the Costini Convent, of which we made mention formerly ; and were accompanied by a large body of Greeks.

On Tuesday, we set out from *Brillok*, conducted by the Polkobniks on foot, and preceded by a band of musicians playing on the Polish pipes ; whilst the Priests, round the coach, chaunted hymns, till we had left the city some distance behind ; when they bade us adieu, and returned. On Friday evening we came to the bank of the river Nieper, opposite to the Petcherskoi Convent ; and sent word over to Kiof of our arrival. We had with us a letter from the Emperor to the Voivodes, enjoining them all to shew every attention to our Lord the Patriarch, and everywhere to give him the meeting. This night we slept on the bank of the river, in perfect cheerfulness and tranquillity : for, from the moment we came within sight of the Petcherskoi Convent, by the distant glittering of its cupolas, and at the first scent that reached us of these blooming lands, our souls thrilled with gladness and exultation, our hearts became expanded, and we overflowed in thanksgiving to the Lord our God. During these two years in Muscovy, a padlock had been set on our hearts, and we were in the extremity of narrowness and compressure of our minds ; for in those countries no person can feel any thing of freedom or cheerfulness ; unless it be the native population. Any one like ourselves, though he became sovereign of the whole territory, would never cease to have a disturbed mind, and a heart full of

anxiety. The country of the Cossacks, on the contrary, was like our own country to us, and its inhabitants were to us boon companions and fellows like ourselves.

On the morning of Saturday, the twenty-eighth of Haziran, we went down into the boat; and it was afternoon before we came near to Kiov: for the Nieper was ruffled by the violence of the wind, and we had to make our way against the current. As soon as we approached, the Voivodes sent one of their Archons to the boat to meet our Lord the Patriarch, and, bowing to him on their part, to present the usual salutations from them. On our landing, there was ready to receive us, the Metropolitan of the city, in his mitre, with all the Heads of Convents, the Priests, the Deacons, and the whole population of the town; together with the Voivodes, and all the Emperor's troops stationed in the city, with their banners and firelocks; and, raising a loud shout, they conducted us to a church, where they performed the usual ceremony: at the conclusion of which, our Lord the Patriarch sprinkled them with the Ἀγίασμα; and they led us out and lodged us in a rich and magnificent hotel, where they parted from us. On the fifth Sunday after Pentecost, on which same day fell the Feast of the Apostles, the Metropolitan sent his coach for our Lord the Patriarch, to come to him to the Church of St. Sophia; in one of the chapels of which, dedicated to Saints Peter and Paul, we assisted at Mass. Thence we went to dine with the Metropolitan; and in the evening descended to the town. On the Wednesday came the Abbot of the Convent of the Immersion, situated in the centre of the city, to invite our Lord the Patriarch to say Mass there, in commemoration of the miraculous image of Our Lady, which had been brought from the country of the Poles. We went therefore, and performed Mass before a congregation of the whole town: and then retired to the banquet. On the sixth Sunday after Pentecost, we attended Mass in the principal church of the city, called the Sobor: and on the Monday, sixth of Tamoz, we prepared for our journey. Amidst the ringing of all the bells, our Lord the Patriarch went in his coach to the Sobor, to perform his parting devotions, and there found assembled all the inhabitants of the city; and he prayed over them the Prayers of Absolution, and blessed them; for all the people here have great faith in the Patriarchs, and in their papers of Absolution; and not one of them neglected, whether of the Archons; the Priests, both secular and regular, the young and old women, the girls, or even of the little boys, but all came, by his general permission, to our Lord the Patriarch, that he might pray over and bless them,



and to receive from him papers of Absolution ; so that we were in admiration at their piety, reverence, and humility. Some of the women, whose husbands were drunkards and of little religion, shewed a concern for their spiritual welfare, by taking out papers of Absolution for their husbands as well as for themselves, considering such a present as of the greatest and most particular value. Can any thing exceed the beauty of such religious sentiments ; which are not, indeed, peculiar to the people of Kiov only, but prevail in every town and village inhabited by the Cossacks. It was not our wish to make any stay among them ; but we could not help ourselves, for they flocked to us in crowds, which filled not only the apartments and the court-yard of the hotel, but also the street outside, from morning till evening, without intermission, perseveringly ; and we could not find room for all the loaves they brought us.

At length they conducted us forth from the city, whilst all the bells rang ; and we went up to pay a visit to the Metropolitan at St. Sophia. We alighted at his apartments ; where are the pictures of four ancient Patriarchs on canvases, of the full size. It has always been the practice with them in this country, when any Patriarch comes to visit them, to take his portrait exactly as he appears among them, that they may retain his remembrance for ever. All these four are attired with their surplices, croziers, suns, and tiaras : the first of them, to our agreeable surprise, being Joachim, Patriarch of Antioch, surnamed the Light. His face is of a very dark complexion, and his beard grey and pointed. On the portrait, his name is written in Greek ; and, from the date, we calculated that it is seventy-two years old. Next to him is Meletius, Patriarch of Alexandria, with a long white beard ; by the side of whom is Jeremiah, Patriarch of Constantinople, with a handsome face and beard ; and next is Theophani, Patriarch of Jerusalem, with a long black beard. All four about the same time came to this country, the one immediately following the other.

On Tuesday morning we took leave of the Metropolitan ; and, at the invitation of the Archimandrite, we repaired to his Convent of St. Michael, celebrated for its golden cupola ; where we assisted at Mass in the chapel of St. Barbara of Baalbec ; for they keep her festival on this day, which is the ninth of Tamoz, in memory of the translation of her body from the city of Constantinople to this place, when the Emperor Basil, the Macedonian, sent her, with his sister, as a present to Vladimir, king of Kiov and of the Russians. When on a former occasion we paid our devotions to the reliques of this saint, we thought that she was one of the new Muscovite saints ; until now, hearing her *Συναξαρί* read,

and understanding her history, we learnt distinctly that she is the very St. Barbara, Martyr, of Baalbec: and we again received a blessing from her body, which is that of a young person, with small pretty feet and hands. They have lately made for her a beautiful coffin of black ebony, inlaid with silver; and, at the request of our Lord the Patriarch, the Archimandrite gave him a portion of her ribs, which we have kept with us.

After dinner, in the evening, we came to the celebrated Petcherskoi Convent, attended by a numerous escort of janissaries, furnished us by the Voivode of Kiov. The residents met us with great ceremony, in a large body, amidst the ringing of their bells.

On the Wednesday, we went to the Convent of St. Nicolas, by the especial invitation of its Archimandrite; as we had not been there before. It is situated on that side of the walls of the Petcherskoi Convent which inclines towards Kiov; and has a wooden wall running round it. In front of its gate, on the road from Kiov to Petcherske, is a pillar of white stone, supporting the figure of St. Nicolas in gold, as the sign of the convent: to which you descend by a deep gully, like the narrow entrance to a cave, in a clay hill, enveloped by a thick forest. It has a wooden church of lofty dimensions; in which after we had assisted at Mass, we went up to the Refectory. Subsequently, we went to look round the convent; the situation of which was formerly a dense forest; which they cut down, and then laid the foundations of this handsome structure. In the centre is a fountain of water; which descends from the mountain, and throws up a high jet. This place is entirely surrounded by hills, covered with tall forest-trees. The river Nieper is on the east of the convent, but its banks in this part are very close and steep. After we had bidden the Monks farewell, we were taken to the wine-vaults of the convent, situated outside the gate. They are constructed in the best style of vaulted buildings; and the passage to them is lighted by beautiful domes as skylights: we then returned to Petcherske. This evening, a great festival was celebrated, with the ringing of bells and chaunting of Matins, at which we assisted with them, in commemoration of The sleep in the Lord of St. Anthony the founder; and they performed small Vespers in a church which is in the *Κατηχούμενα* above. In the morning of Thursday, the tenth of Tamoz, our Lord the Patriarch said Mass, at the especial invitation of the Monks, in presence of all the inhabitants of the town; and there took place an ordination of Priests and Deacons. On Friday, we went to say Mass in the Convent of the Nuns.

On Saturday morning, we received an invitation from the Head of the C<sup>o</sup>nvent of St. Michael the Archangel, &c., lying to the south of the Petcherskoi C<sup>o</sup>nvent, at a distance of three versts. There are two ways to it; one on the bank of the<sup>e</sup> river Nieper for horsemen, but very steep; the other is by numerous windings in the mountains above, through forests of fine fruit-trees, such as the plum, the apple, the filbert, &c. These, indeed, are blessed hills, resembling the hills of the Holy Mount, as we were told, for cheerfulness and retirement, spontaneously producing food for hermits and anchorets, who here also are said to be very numerous, living on the produce of these trees. This convent, also, is on the bank of the river Nieper; and the way to it is, therefore, by a great descent, and a deep gully. It is surrounded by steep hills, covered with wild fruit-trees: it has numerous springs of water; and its church used to resemble the Church of the Archangel, the architect of both, as we were told, being the same; but by length of time, and as the foundations of the sanctuaries were laid on the bank of the river Nieper, which is so deep and precipitous, the side towards the water, to the extent of one half of the church, was thrown, by the force of the current, into the midst of the stream; and the convent was, in consequence, long deserted, until, about seventeen years ago, the present Abbot made his appearance, and set about the restoration of the church. He advanced the situation of the sanctuaries to the choir, chipped the stone, and finished the upper part of the church with wood, which he covered with lime; so that it became a very handsome structure; under a very handsome title, namely, that of St. Michael the Archangel, whose festival is celebrated on the sixth of Iol. After we had assisted at Mass there, and had afterwards risen from the banquet, we approached to look over the bank of the river; which is indeed frightful to look down, from its great height; nor is it possible for any one to behold it without shuddering.

In the evening, we returned to the Petcherskoi Convent; where, on Sunday, we assisted at Mass, in the presence of the Voivode of Kiov. On Monday, we took leave of them; and they conducted us forth, and parted with us on the bank of the river Nieper, behind the above-mentioned convent. Here we crossed this stream for the second time in a boat, directing our journey towards Chmiel, in the town of Chechzin.

## S E C T. XII.

*BORISPOLI.—BORIOSLAV.—HELYAZ.—ZOLOTONS.—JERKAZ.—CHECHZIN.  
SOBOTA.—LISINKA.—OMANO.—RASKOBO.*

By noon, on the Tuesday, we had travelled five leagues; and arrived at a market-town, with a castle and fortifications, named *Borispoli*; that is, The city of Boris, son of Vladimir the Emperor, in which there is related to have been a large and ancient stone church, under the invocation of St. Chliba the Martyr, another son of Vladimir the Emperor; which the Poles destroyed, carrying its stones, and wood and iron-work, to Kiov; where they built with them the large new church which we formerly mentioned, and in which they had on this account no prosperity. We have heretofore related, that Vladimir the Emperor had twelve sons; all of whom professed the faith; except one, who remained an infidel, and entertained an enmity against his brothers. Two of them he invited to his house, who were Chliba and Boris, named, after their baptism, Romanus and David; and, by a stratagem, he contrived to kill them with his own hand. Thus they became martyrs; and the Russians and Muscovites observe many festivals in their honour, and build many churches in their names. Their images are known to all; being two brothers, standing close together, in royal attire, and with their calpacks on their heads.

To return:—This town is very beautiful; and its gardens are innumerable; as every house has a garden, and has also a well of sweet water, which is drawn up by wheel-work. Most of the trees are *vishna*, that is, red cherry trees. It has two churches, dedicated to the Birth of Our Lady and St. Michael; and outside is a third church, under the invocation of St. Nicolas. After we had stopped here a short time, we passed a little to the northward: and having travelled six leagues more, we came to a large town, rivalling Kiov in magnificence; and celebrated, in all these countries, as a capital, and as having been the residence of the Crál. Its name is *Borioslav*; and surrounding it are mounds of earth (طوابير), or beacons, without number. It has three gates in the fortified walls; one to land-ward; and two, fronted with bridges, over the large lake which encompasses the town, and has its source from a river flowing into it. This lake they have confined within artificial banks, forming dams for the mills, and ramparts for their cannon. Of all the towns and countries belonging to the Cossacks on this side the Nieper, this is the capital and metropolis. The Poles were in a very small number in it, being those only employed in the government; and thus the town is said never to have been subdued since its

foundation, having never been taken by the sword, but always by treaty : for it is really impregnable. As soon as Chmiel made his appearance before it, the Cossacks inside put to death the Polish governors, and made themselves masters of the town without war or contention.

On our approach to it, the Polkobniks came out to meet us, with the imperial banner, and with drums and Polish pipes ; and in like manner the Clergy, and all the people of the town, with their standards, in procession ; and conducted us, with vast pomp and ceremony, to the great new church, built of wood, dedicated to the Assumption of Our Lady. It is not yet finished ; but it excites the admiration of the beholder, by the singularities of its form, by its elevation and symmetry, and by its five domes. It is in the shape of a cross ; that is, it consists of four large arches, on four sides or fronts ; each arch flanked by two smaller and very handsome arches, so that their number in all is twelve. The great sanctuary is formed of the main arch, with the two side arches. There are four other sanctuaries or chapels ; two below, under the title of the Virgin's *سكبابس*, and the Elevation of the Cross : and above them, at the top of the *Κατηχούμενα*, are the two others ; one under the title of the *Ἀνάβιστος*, that is, the Hymn of the Saturday of Hymns ; the other, under the invocation of Saints Peter and Paul. This church has two *Κατηχούμενα* ; the first, over the western gate, for the chaunters, as usual ; and above it another range, going all round the great dome of the church, and exactly resembling the *Κατηχούμενα* of St. Sophia in the structure and pillars, which are pleasing to the eye of the beholder, and, though of wood, have all the appearance of marble. The *جبصين* hang over outside, with rails and arches all round. All these buildings are new, and not yet finished ; the machinery being still inside, by means of which they draw up the materials with ropes. Outside this church is a large gallery, taking in its eight corners, with lathe-turned railing. There are four other churches in this city, under the several titles of the Passover, the Transfiguration, the Trinity, and St. Nicolas. There was formerly a church belonging to the Poles, which they have now converted into a convent, under the title of the *سكبابس العذري* or Virgin's Veil. The Protopapas of this town has authority, as he told us, over two hundred Priests.

To return :--On our coming out from the church, they fired a number of cannon, out of their great joy ; so that the earth trembled. On the Sunday, on which falls the Festival of St. Elias the Prophet, and just four years since our departure from Aleppo, our Lord the Patriarch made for them an *Ἀγιασμὸς* after Mass, and sprinkled them all. The people of this town have great faith in

the papers of Absolution. The Polkobniks told our Lord the Patriarch, in his own house, that his government extended over nine towns, and over more than five hundred villages; and that he has under his command forty thousand troops: adding, that in a great emergency he could turn out one hundred thousand.

On Tuesday, the twenty-second of Tamoz, we left this town; being conducted by the Polkobniks and the whole population, with drums and pipes, and by the Clergy, with their chaunting, to a considerable distance: and having travelled four leagues, we came to a market-town, with a castle and fortifications, and a lake of water, by name *Helyaz*, containing a church dedicated to the Assumption of Our Lady. Then we advanced three leagues further; and came to a market-town similar to the former, named *Zolotons*, containing two churches, one of them dedicated to the Assumption of Our Lady. Again we proceeded three leagues; and arriving at the river Nieper, we crossed it: and having travelled two leagues further, we came to a market-town, which is the place of origin of the Cossacks, and is named *Jerkáz*. Here they fit out the boats which go forth into the Black Sea, as the river Nieper runs close by the town. This is the birth-place of Chmiel; and it is here the Cossacks first made a distinguished appearance. The inhabitants are like wild beasts.

Then we proceeded seven other leagues; and came to a city which is the constant residence of Chmiel, and is named *Chechzin*. From the time we crossed the river Nieper, we found the whole of the road a sea of sand on each side, according to the usual quality of the banks of this stream for a very extensive tract: and we found it particularly so from the moment we approached the last-mentioned city, where the sand appeared up to the stature of a man in depth, and our horses were ruined with fatigue. The whole circuit of the environs of this town is of this sandy nature. The Bisari, that is, the Secretary of Chmiel, came out to meet us, with a large troop of soldiers; and led us into the main avenue to the town, resembling a large river of sand. The castle, or citadel, in height and structure resembles the castle of Aleppo, and is seen to a considerable distance. As soon as we drew near to the town, the young son of the Hetman came out to meet us, with a procession of the Clergy; and we were conducted into a long wooden church, dedicated by the title of the Assumption of Our Lady, in the vicinity of the Hetman's palace; where on Sunday, by his invitation, we performed Mass with one of the Bishops, who was lately come as Ambassador from the Poles: after which, we went up to dine with him.

On Monday, they took us to a convent situated outside the town, called the Convent of the Trinity; where we assisted at Mass; and were afterwards taken

to dine with the Bisari, as he was the founder of the house. It has a church, under the invocation of St. John the Theologian. Then we returned to the city; which has four other churches, besides the one already mentioned. Its citadel has no equal in all the country of the Cossacks, for its height, the elevation of the mount on which it is erected, for its expanse, for the abundance of its waters, and the belts (بلطات), that is, the lakes (الصار), around it. On this account, it is very strong; but at the present moment it is in a ruinous state. Within it are found many mountain rocks; and it contains some surprisingly beautiful pieces of cannon, which are so bright as to shine like gold. All of them were brought by the Hetman from the country of the Poles; and they have all their inscriptions, arms, and other marks upon them. There is but one entrance into the town; which being situated in a valley, surrounded by oceans of sand, is extremely hot. We put the question, why the Hetman did not reside in a handsomer town than this; and were answered, that he chose this for his residence, because it is the frontier towards Tartary; between which and the country of the Cossacks is a distance of five or six days' journey, through desolate and depopulated wilds. This is a very central place; and the Nieper is only two leagues distant from it. We were told here, that at the present time this country furnishes three hundred thousand Cossacks, each with his musket.

On Saturday, the second of Ab, Chmiel came to pay a farewell visit to our Lord the Patriarch: after which, we left the town; and having proceeded the best part of a league, arrived at an immense bridge, the length of which, extending over lakes, صار, islands, and large rivers, it took us more than an hour and a half to traverse. The course or direction of the bridge is under the castle of Chechzin, and leads over situations which cause the passenger to quake with horror. At the end of it, we came to a town named *Sobota*; where the late Timotheus, the Hetman's son, used to live. The inhabitants came out to meet us, in procession; and led us into a large new church, under the invocation of St. Michael; in which are collected the treasures of the Armenian churches, which were plundered and laid in ruins by the late Timotheus, in Satchava, a place in Moldavia, of which we made much mention formerly: and his tomb is in this church. His wife, daughter of Vasili, Beg of Moldavia, came several times to visit our Lord the Patriarch, drest entirely like a Circassian slave, with a cloth calpack lined with fur, and attended by Circassian and Moldavian girls, drest, as herself, like slaves. On Sunday morning, after the Ὄρθρον, we performed, in her presence, a Μνημόσυνον for her husband; having suspended, according to their custom, a large banner over his tomb, on which

was painted the exact likeness of the hero on horseback, with his sword and club in his right and left, and with the province of Moldavia in the fore-ground, as the country he went forth to conquer. It was a picture that drew the tears of the beholder. His poor wife, who is mistress of four languages, the Wallachian, the Greek, the Turkish, and the Russian—on whom her father expended treasures of wealth to bring her out from Constantinople—is now, at a distance from her father and mother and brothers and people and country, living among strangers, in the palace of her husband, around which he had constructed a fort with trenches: and now the Hetman, his father, to increase its splendour, is building in front of it, in a lofty situation, a church of stone, in the name of St. Elias the Prophet. We observed, in its structure, a number of huge stones, the vast size of which excited our astonishment. On inquiry, we were told that they had been brought from a town which had belonged to the Tartars, five leagues distant from this, where the Tartars had a large Mosque. This the Hetman threw down, and carried away the stones to build this church with. After assisting at Mass, we left this place; and having advanced over a rough and difficult road, we came to a town called *Madjadoka*. In consequence of the Hetman's orders, the Sotniks always came out to meet us with his troops and banners, and conducted us from town to town.

Having proceeded three more leagues, we came to a market-town, named *Chafotino*; from that, to another named *Ismil*, at the end of ten leagues: from that, after a league, to another market-town, named *Balkliv*: at the end of another league, we came to a market-town, the name of which is *Orlanka*: from that, after two leagues, to *Bazfojka*; and thence, at the distance of a league and a half, to *Folshana*. The whole of this road, and all these towns, form the frontier to the country of the Tartars. From the last-mentioned place, after travelling a league and a half, we came to *Tarasunka*; and thence, at the end of two leagues, on Thursday, the seventh of Ab, we arrived at *Lisinka*.

On Saturday eve, the Sotniks of this town requested us, on behalf of the 'Εγναίνα of a new convent, which he had built in the suburb; and thither we went accordingly. It is on the top of a small hill, surrounded by pools of water and lakes (وصار). He has enclosed it with wooden walls, and fortified it with a trench and cannon. It is dedicated to the Trinity, and has a handsome church, under the invocation of St. Ignatius; in which we attended Matins from midnight till break of day; and, after they had prepared the things necessary for the 'Εγναίνα, we put on our copes, and the Patriarch went in and sprinkled the church in the usual form. At the end of the Mass, the Sotniks had all the



guns fired, to shew the greatness of his joy ; and, conducting us back to the city, gave us a banquet in his hotel. After the repast, we set out ; and having proceeded four leagues, came to a market-town, named *Boki* ; from which, after a stretch of four more leagues, we arrived, in the afternoon of Sunday, at *Omdano* ; where we were met by the Polkobniks, and alighted at his hotel. On Tuesday, we bade him farewell ; and he went out with us to where the Tabor, or encampment of the Cossacks, is formed ;—for, within these few days, information had reached them, that the Khan was mounting his horse, to march against them ; and they were therefore making ready to meet him, with great gladness and exultation. On our arrival at the Tabor, and immediately after the Patriarch had given them his benediction and prayed over them, they fired all their muskets ; and when they led us forth at parting, they pranced their horses three times, fancying it ensured their health and safety. To escort us, they sent two banners with their troops ; and we passed by those towns which the Poles, in conjunction with the Tartars, had burnt down last year, and made destitute of inhabitants. The roads are consequently subject to much dread and danger, particularly for the space of a day's journey before you arrive at the river Niester ; because, being a frontier line, there are met with in these parts numerous bands of Moldavian and other robbers. On Friday, the fifteenth of Ab, we came to *Rashobo*, and praised God for our safe arrival. Here we saw joyful tidings of good things, in the delightful prospect before us of eating grapes from the Moldavian vineyards, and feasting on the Moldavian *جيس* and other fruits ; which we had entirely lost sight of from Moldavia forward, and for the enjoyment of which we had been continually sighing. On this festival of the Assumption of Our Lady, there is held here a *Yarmaroka* ; that is, a fair for buying and selling. On Monday, we left this place, bidding adieu to the Cossacks ; who led us forth, and, at parting, fired their guns.

As soon as we had crossed the river, we were met by the Parkalamon and the Captains, on the part of the Moldavian government, in consequence of the orders issued by the Beg : and they appointed us two banners of *Velarashis* ; who ceased not to accompany us from town to town, as we drove on in *vodvods* with post-horses, until we entered the city of *Yash*, or *Yassi*, on Thursday the twenty-first of the month of Ab : in all honour and respect, the Beg having sent his Boyars to meet us on the road : and we alighted in the Convent of St. Saba.

THE  
**TRAVELS OF MACARIUS,**

*PATRIARCH OF ANTIOCH:*

WRITTEN

BY HIS ATTENDANT ARCHDEACON, PAUL OF ALEPPO,

IN ARABIC.

PART THE EIGHTH.

MOLDAVIA, AND WALLACHIA.

TRANSLATED

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LONDON :

PUBLISHED FOR THE ORIENTAL TRANSLATION FUND  
OF GREAT-BRITAIN AND IRELAND,

BY RICHARD BENTLEY, NEW BURLINGTON STREET.

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M. DCCC. XXXVI.



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## PART THE EIGHTH.

# MOLDAVIA, AND WALLACHIA.

## BOOK XV.

### MOLDAVIA.

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**T**HE Monday following our entrance into Yassi was the first of the month Ilól, or September : and the beginning of the Year of the World SEVEN THOUSAND ONE HUNDRED AND SIXTY-FIVE.

On the eighth of Ilól, the Beg made the request to our Lord the Patriarch, and he said Mass for him in the Church of the Corta. On the Festival of the Cross, the Domina, in her turn, sent an invitation to his Holiness ; and he said Mass for her, in her own church, within her own residence. Again, on the Sunday following the Feast of the Cross, the Domina, having repaired to the convent called the Convent of the Domina, sent a request to our Lord the Patriarch, and he again performed Mass for her. Great was the generosity, and profound and substantial were the attentions, shewn by the Beg to our master, in allotting him a daily pension of upwards of a dinar, with a daily allowance of twenty okkas of wine and fifty loaves of bread ; a cart-load of grass and barley, for five-and-thirty horses ; and a load of wood, with another of water, for the use of the Armenians ; besides candles of several kinds, and other articles of domestic consumption. In the land of Moldavia we began to smell the air of our own country ; and entered the bath, to which we had been strangers for seven-and-

twenty months; during the whole of which time we neither entered the bath, nor washed ourselves with water: and we now renewed our clothing, which had become ragged and soiled. We were still, however, very uneasy, on account of the length of our absence from home.

At the end of September, the Beg set out on a journey of pleasure, for Hosh; and thence for Galatz, that he might pay a visit to a new convent which he had built in the vicinity of the latter town; and he promised our Lord the Patriarch that he should come to him at his convent. As soon as he arrived there, at Galatz, he sent our master word; and his Vakil and Archons having fitted us out with vodvods and an escort, we set forth from Yassi on Wednesday the eighth of Teshrin al Avval, being attended to the outer gate with the usual ceremony; and came to the hill Formoso (تل الفر موسى), whereon is a stone palace: before arriving at which, you pass a stone bridge, where the last engagement between Vasili and the present Beg took place; wherein the former was defeated, and compelled to seek an asylum in the country of the Cossacks. On the ground where the battle was fought, the skulls of the slain are still to be seen. The next day we arrived at the town called Romanus; in which there is a great number of stone churches, and a magnificent convent in the name of St. Paraskevi, or Parasceve, a very handsome edifice, erected by the late Alexander Voivoda, and the residence of the bishops. In this town are many fine hotels, belonging to the Armenians who furnish the vodvods and every thing requisite for travellers. Hence, by extremely rough roads, and by crossing a large river, which is passed in boats, we came to another town; the name of which is Bakovi, containing a number of stone churches. From this place, by difficult roads, through forests and over mountains, resembling the roads of Muscovy, and even still more wild, we arrived at the first of the villages belonging to this Beg; which he received in heritage from his father and grandfathers, and which are some of the finest and most populous of villages, each hamlet containing a palace and a church.

Every corner of this country, from Romanus to Fokshan, is covered with towns and villages; and there are in it such delightful spots, watered with fountains and rivulets, as exceed description. Of all Moldavia, this is the most beautiful and most populous district. From Romanus, till you arrive at Fokshan, it is five days' journey: and this is the boundary line on that side of Hungary; which is possessed by a numerous Saxon peasantry, who are Franks, sectarians of the Pope; and have churches of their own: for in Hungary, as we were informed, there exists

an endless number of sects and tribes, so that, even in one and the same family, many religions are found, the father being of one persuasion, the wife of another, and the children adopting, each for himself, the creed that suits him. The Crál, and the governors or magistrates, are Calvinists: the holders of the forts are Saxons.

Setting forward, we found the roads extremely rough, and we entered forests dirtier and wilder than ever; and in the midst of them we slept, when night came on, not being able to reach the lodging. In the mean time, we set our cattle at liberty, to feed where they pleased; and lighted fires, which were kept up till morning. Then collecting our beasts, we resumed our route; and on Monday came to one of the towns belonging to the Beg, named Baghzànà, which is the name also given to the convent which he is building here. This place is situated between mountains, in a valley forming a beautiful meadow, and is protected on its four sides by the mountains. Through it flows a large river, named Tatrosch. In obedience to the orders of the Beg, we left our baggage here; and proceeded, unencumbered, towards the Beg's convent, which is on one side of the town. To penetrate to it, you enter a narrow ravine, which, whether behind or in front, or in any part round or near it, is the only passage to the convent; as it is in one corner of the town locality, and is surrounded by hills, Hungarians, and forests, with a large river in the fore-ground, at the bottom of a frightful valley. No sooner had we passed the ravine, and were approaching the convent, than we came upon a level green field, trenched all round; at the bottom of which the convent stands, encircled with numerous fountains of sweet water. The Beg had arrived here before us, with his Domna, and the Grandees, accompanied by their wives. On this account there was held a great Παναγύγη, or fair, but more especially on the score of the commemoration of St. Parasceve, the Bulgarian virgin, whose body is in the Convent of Vasili Voivoda.

The day after our arrival, we performed Mass, in the presence of the Beg, in a wooden church, which they have erected near the convent, together with additional cells, to serve whilst the edifice is in a train of completion. After Mass, we were entertained at the banquet until evening. The description of the convent is this: it is surrounded by a vastly high wall, with four towers, one at each corner; besides the bell-tower, which is over the gate. The whole of this building has been erected during the present summer; and there are said to have been employed on it more than eight hundred workmen of the Jankna (الجنكنا), slaves of this country: but the construction of the church is not yet com-



pleted. It is dedicated in the names of the two princes of the orders of angels, Saints Michael and Gabriel, and the rest of the celestial host. The Beg had sent and taken out for this convent an *Ἰστατικὸν* from the Patriarch of Constantinople, declaring it to be *مصطفى*, and to hold of the Patriarchate in chief, and that no other should have jurisdiction over it for ever. A similar grant he requested of our Lord the Patriarch; and his Holiness wrote for him an *Ἰστατικὸν* to the same effect, with excommunications and anathemas, &c. For its support, the Beg has settled on it several villages, and other property to a great amount. On Wednesday, the Beg returned; and we closely followed to the small town Baghzânâ.

On Thursday morning early, the Beg sent for our Lord the Patriarch, to have a parting interview with his Holiness; and the Patriarch prayed over him and the Domina: after which, the Beg set out for Yassi, having assigned us a captain; with his company, for our escort to Fokshan. In the evening, we came to a town belonging to the Great Frank (*للفرنك الكبير*), the name of which is Dâbija; where, in conformity with the Beg's injunctions, great respect was shewn us: as it happened also, on the next day, in another small town belonging to the same; in which is a large palace, situated on the bank of a large river, on a lofty and cheerful eminence, whither Stephani Beg fled, after his first defeat, near Yassi, by Timotheus and his Cossacks; and here took up his residence, as it is so near to Hungary and Wallachia. It was a matter of wonder with us, that we should now be passing over this road, on which no one had yet travelled, not even of the Monks. This Frank has with him the wife of the Sardâr, or Chief, whom Vasili Beg put formerly to death. She is of our kindred and nation; being descended from Peter Voivoda, who lived in banishment at Aleppo.

On Sunday we came to Fokshan; where we dismissed the captain, sending by him letters of thanks to the Beg. Here a similar detachment of troops met us, on the part of the Beg of Wallachia; and escorted us, on Monday, to Raminko; on Tuesday, to Botza; and on Wednesday, it was a long journey, from an early hour of the morning till late in the evening, before we reached Ployeshti. On Thursday we arrived at the Bostanik Convent. On Friday, the Metropolitan of Wallachia, together with the other Metropolitans who were on a visit to the capital, and a numerous body of archons, came out, in obedience to the Beg's order, to meet us, followed by the merchants of the town; and in grand procession they conducted us into Torghisht.

## S E C T. II.

*ARRIVAL AT TORGHISHT.—RECEPTION BY CONSTANTINE.—WALLACHIAN BANQUET.—GHOLISHTI.—BATYASH.—ARGI TOWN AND CONVENT.*

WE alighted at the Stalia Convent, our former lodgings, amidst the ringing of bells, as usual.

On Sunday, the Feast of St. Demetrius, Constantine Beg sent for us, in his coach, to join his company; and he entertained us with the utmost cheerfulness, respect, and generosity. So, also, on the Feast of St. Michael, the eighth of Teshrin Essani, the Beg sent for us; and we performed Mass for him in the Church of the Corta; after which, he entertained us at his table until evening, filling up the leisure hour with bowls of wine, and the distribution of robes of honour: and we returned to our convent. The same thing took place on the Feast of St. Nicolas; and on that of the Nativity, including the Eve; during which the same cheerful rites were observed. So also on the Feast of the Immersion, when we went to the Corta and put on our copes: and on the coming down of the Beg, our master blessed him, as usual; and all the Heads of the Clergy and the Priests went forth with their copes and crosses to the court-yard of the palace, where they formed a large circle. Then our master and the Beg went forth together; the latter being preceded by the Bostanik with their silver wands; whilst I walked before the Patriarch with the *Τριζήρι*, until the Beg passed to his chair; where, as he stood, our master blessed him; and then went to stand at his own chair, on the Beg's left hand. Near to his Holiness stood the Metropolitan of the city; and then came a row of Heads of Clergy, and Heads of Convents, of Priests and Monks, extending to the left. In front of them stood the Grandees of state; and the court was filled up with troops, carrying their arms and muskets. The Domina, and all the wives of the Grandees, stationed themselves in high galleries, which overlooked us. After torches had been distributed to all the people, our master went down to throw incense round the desk on which was placed the picture of the Immersion, and over the table whereon were set the silver vessels filled with water, the cross and the herbs. I went before him with the *Τριζήρι*, and my companion with the crosier. After the Gospel and the Prone, followed by the Prayers and the immersion of the cross, they passed before us with the flags and banners, towards the river, which was at some distance: and here our master dipped the cross and the image in the running stream, according to their practice; and,

rolling up the banners, they plunged them also in the water, with which they filled numberless vessels. At the same time, many children were baptized. Then returning, we found the Beg and the Grandees still sitting in the church; where our master first entered, sprinkling it, &c. At the moment the Beg advanced to kiss the cross, a signal was given, and the musicians struck up with their tabors, pipes, horns, trumpets, and every other kind of instrument; and all the troops fired their muskets three rounds, till our ears were deafened, and our hearts were disturbed with fear, as we were directly in the centre of all. I should have mentipned, that on the return of our master to the church, he went up, by desire of the Beg, to the Domina, in the gallery, and asperged her, with the rest of the females, and all the wives of the Grandees. After the prayer over the boiled meat, and the distribution of the *كوك* as usual, we went up to the banquet, which was magnificent. It is always the custom here, that when the servants begin to carry the dishes from the kitchen, the musicians attend, and play a tune with their fifes and tabors. The banquet, on such a festive day as this, never finishes without numerous rounds of cups. And first, they light a taper before the image which is over the head of the Beg, and come with a thurible; which I, rising from table, took, and incensed the image, the Beg, and all the assembly, as they were at table, but all standing up; whilst the Patriarch recited a prayer for the Beg. The first cup which the Beg drinks, is in the name of God; and this he doubles or trebles, for the whole round. The second round he drinks in the name of the festival; the third, to the health of the Emperor of the Turks, three times. At the very instant the Beg began to drink, immediately three guns were fired, and the tabors, pipes, horns, and trumpets, were sounded three times. The same thing was done when he drank the fourth round to the Crâl of the Hungarians; then the fifth to his son, three times; the sixth, to Stephani Beg of Moldavia, three times; the seventh, to Chmiel, three times; and the eighth and last round was drunk to the health of the Beg himself, at three or four reprisals. At the mention of the names of all these personages, they fired the guns, beat the drums, and struck up a concert of sounds from the *سنطيرات*, the horns, and all the other musical instruments, as from one mouth. In the same way they drank to the health of our Lord the Patriarch, three times; to the Metropolitan, three times; and three times to the health of the great officers of state, who were seated at the table. To sum up all in one word, it was utterly impossible for me to keep an account of all the cups which were presented, drunk, and emptied; for the cup-bearers would take

no excuse from any one, nor was it in the power of any one to have the quantity in his cup lessened, or to return his cup with any remnants: such were the express orders of the Beg, and such is their custom and hospitality. We were thus in great tribulation, in the midst of them. Last of all, they spread a carpet near the Beg; and the great officers of state, rising from their places, two by two, went and knelt down on their knees, and then drank each to the health of the Beg a large cup, containing, probably, an okka, or, it may be, two okkas of wine; which they cleared off, so as to make us shudder at the sight: after which, they rise and kiss his hand, and he kisses their foreheads. Then they resume their seats.—To say the truth, not even in Muscovy are the proprieties of these festivals observed with such precision as in Wallachia. The company did not rise from table till two hours after nightfall; and robes of honour were distributed, as usual.

This Beg loved us much; and was always joking with me, and affecting to grieve with me at my long absence from my family. God hold him in His keeping! Early the next morning, came all the musicians, with their instruments, to feast us, and take a handsome gratuity, being accompanied by the choristers, the scribes, the church servants, &c. We had heard from many persons, that in this country of Wallachia is a large princely convent, to which, it is believed, there exists no equal for architectural magnificence; and we were told by some Greek merchants, trading to the Frank countries and to Venice, that there is nothing like it there. It is called Argi Monastir. I went therefore to wait on the Beg, to ask his permission that I might go by myself to visit this convent. He said: "No; you shall not go alone; you shall go with the Lord Patriarch." Now, his Holiness had no desire for this, from his impatience of any delay in returning to our country. The Beg, however, sent for the Head of the convent, who happened to be in town, together with all the Heads of convents throughout the Principality, and made him go and invite our Lord the Patriarch to his monastery; and afterwards, ordered him to go on before, and prepare for him a lodging. The Beg was thus peremptory; because the said convent is of the class called Efendiko, and its government is held in reversion of the Beg. The Abbot, therefore, set off, to precede us; and we, having made our preparations for the journey, and being furnished with Efendiko, that is, government sledges and horses, and a Capigi, or gate-opener, to go before us, went out from Torghisht on Monday the twelfth of Canon Essani; and came in the evening to one of the villages appertaining to the great Logothetes, called *Gholishti*, containing a

church, double-roofed, large and handsome, which he has built in the name of the Holy Trinity. Rising above it, is the bell-tower, an edifice of great strength and defence. The palace of the Logothetes is a fine magnificent building, protected by a number of cannon. In it we slept, having been received with great honour, and treated with a princely banquet. The next morning we came to a market-town, called *Batyashti*, in which are ten churches of stone and brick. The inhabitants, with all their Clergy, came out to meet us. Here a fine sweet wine is made, which is of great celebrity, and is the best of all the wines produced in Wallachia. We halted about an hour, and then hastily set forth again. These roads we found very difficult and dangerous; as they were overflowed with water from the springs and rivers, and were covered with ice, like glass, which wounded the feet of the horses, and caused them to slip and stumble: moreover, the ascents and descents were frequent. Continuing our course till evening, we approached the town called *Argi*; at some distance from which, the people came out to meet us, carrying torches. This place contains nine churches; four dedicated in the name of St. Nicolas; the fifth, by the title of the Entrance of Our Lady into the Temple; the sixth, in the name of St. Peter the Apostle; the seventh, in the names of the two Saints, Peter and Paul; the eighth, by the title of the *Κοίμησις τῆς Θεοτόκου*; and the ninth, in the name of St. George. The houses of this town are handsome, and resemble those of the country of the Cossacks. Here are some Greek residents; and with them, the Abbot of the monastery came forth to meet us. We passed on towards the monastery, which is half-an-hour's journey from the town; but all along the road there is a continued line of houses belonging to the monastery, which are the dwellings of the *كاچيفالوس*, I mean *الجنكنا*, the slaves of the convent. We arrived at it by night; and being admitted, we performed our devotions in the church, whence we were taken to the refectory.

The next morning, we arose early, to attend the church service.

This is the description of the convent:—Over the gate is the bell-tower; built, within these few years, by the late Matthi Voivoda. The cells, forming the circumference, are a handsome stone building, with a higher and a lower gallery. In the centre stands the church; which is in reality, as it is reported to be, an object of wonder to the mind, and is without rival in the convents of this Principality. It was built by the late Naghoi Voivoda, one hundred and thirty-seven years ago, as we found by searching for its date. There being no marble whatever to be obtained in this country, the Voivode is said to have used the following

artifice for a supply of that material. He took out a Khatti-sherif from the Turkish Emperor, to build a mosque in the city of Bodom; and by this scheme he brought marble and stone from Turkey, by the river Dona or Danube, in boats, to this place. At the same time he engaged, as for the building of the mosque, architects, and other masters in marble and stone-cutting; and set them to work on this church; to the erection of which he was actuated by divine inspiration; for the spot on which it stands was formerly a pool of water, collected from springs, in the midst of which was discovered an ancient image of Our Lady, which one of the Priests came and conveyed to the church of the town; a church dedicated in the name of St. Nicolas, and said to be the first church built there, and containing the body of a saint, who was a young virgin martyr, named Philota. Her father is related to have been a great miser; and at that time there was a distressing dearth of provisions, which this young lady, without the knowledge of her father, distributed, from his stores, to the poor. One day, he suddenly came, and found her so acting; on which, he instantly cut off her head. Her body is still in preservation: she has a *Συναξάρι*, or peculiar office of her own; and she is in the constant performance of numerous miracles. We had the blessing of paying our devotions to her remains. Afterwards, the aforesaid image returned to its former place; and God subsequently inspired the said Naghoi Voivoda; who thereupon came to this spot, and began the building of this convent here; and the rather, because, as it is said, the seat of the government of Wallachia was in ancient times established in this town of Argi. As the site intended for the church was a pool of water, according to what we have already mentioned, he filled the pool up with stone and coal; and when the church was finished, it remained unrivalled, at least in outward beauty, as we saw; for the exterior is much handsomer than the interior. It is dedicated by the title of the Assumption of Our Lady. Round it is a passage enclosed by stone balusters, the number of which is three hundred and eighteen, to correspond, it is supposed, with the number of fathers of families appointed, by the command of the Voivode, to the collection and superintendence of the funds for the building of the church. The foundation is laid on huge blocks of stone, grooved with a channel throughout the whole circumference, along which the water used to run and overflow. In regard to the architecture, it is impossible for any person to give an adequate description of it, so manifold are the carvings, and the ornamented windows; of which, some are long and slender, others round, and bordered like shields. Above them are arches of small structure, in the joints of which

are circlets, resembling carved plates, made of stone. Their number is eighty-four; and at the top of each, the Voivode is reported to have fixed a brass bird, with expanded wings, as if really in the act of flying. When the wind was high, these birds whistled in the breeze, and shook the bells suspended under their wings. Some two or three of them are still subsisting. This church has four cupolas; two of which, over the gate, are high and circular, with spiral folds, and appear to the beholder as if ready to fall, as he does not perceive on what side they are supported. The great dome over the choir is furnished round with seventy balusters, said to be intended to correspond with the number of the Seventy Disciples. At the head of each cupola is a cross; and on the wings of the church, at each of the four corners, is a cross; so that they are, in all, twenty crosses. In the two main walls of the church, the southern and the northern, are, between the windows, six pillars in each, of white marble; and one half of them is seen on the outside. These pillars are reckoned to correspond with the number of the Twelve Apostles, and to be, in their names, the preservers of the building. Before the door of the church is a handsome cupola, on four pillars of marble, with bases of gilt brass. Round the vault of each of the four cupolas is suspended a large balustrade. All the carvings and ornaments on the walls, and in the cupolas of this church, are covered with gold, lapis lazuli, &c., in all possible colours. The walls are entirely girt round with a twisted border. The ascent to the church is by sixty-four marble steps: the door-way is also entirely of marble. The door itself is of two folds, of large proportions, and skilful fabric, being the work of artists from Constantinople: it has the age of the building inscribed on it, in Greek. Having entered the said door, you ascend three more steps, to reach the floor of the church, which is wholly paved with fine white marble. The church consists of two parts. The first part, which is the nave or porch, has twelve huge spiral stone columns, each couple being of the same form. The two before the outer door are passed between, by persons entering the church: the two corresponding are before the second door, that is, the door of the choir: then four others on the right side, and four on the left, make up the twelve, to the number of the Twelve Apostles, as before. Between each two pillars is a large painting, the work of Cretish artists, of surprising beauty, painted on both sides. On the front are certain martyrs on horseback: at the back are the portraits of celebrated devotees. Behind the columns, on the right, are the tombs of the Beggars of Wallachia, and of the founders of the convent and their wives: and on that wall each of their portraits is painted.

The door of the choir is large and beautiful, being of white marble : it is covered with gold tissue, embroidered all over with the representation of the Assumption of Our Lady. This covering, or curtain, is of beautiful workmanship, and truly magnificent ; and is reported to have been embroidered by the hand of the Domina of the aforesaid Voivode. The portraits of her husband and male children are drawn, in the same tissue, on the right side ; and those of herself, and daughters, on the left side, at the bottom of the veil. The choirs are two arches. At the top of the dome is the picture of Our Lord the Messiah ; and his crown is of pure gold. As to the picture of the Christ, which is on the door of the Tabernacle, it is formed of mosaic laid on a board, of very great antiquity ; and is the same of which it is related, in the Greek chronicles, ‘ That it was formerly placed at the Well of the Samaritan in St. Sophia ; when a Jew came, and struck it with his sword ; and immediately blood flowed from it, and bathed his clothes. The Jew then threw the picture into the well ; the water of which instantly overflowed, and turned into blood. As soon as the people became acquainted with this circumstance, they seized the Jew, by the evidence of the blood on his clothes.’ The whole of this history is described round the borders of the picture—how it was hung up ; how the Jew struck it, and threw it into the well ; how they apprehended him ; and how the evidence was enrolled in all the Greek chronicles of that time. The place of the blow was under the left hand, and there still remain the most manifest traces of blood. The greatest part of the mosaic has fallen off, and left the bare board ; on the reversed side of which is painted the Crucifixion. This is a treasure truly worthy of admiration ; as is also the image of Our Lady, which was discovered in the pool of water, and is still more ancient. This latter is continually working miracles ; and it is said, That on a sudden incursion of the Hungarians into this country, when they seized this convent, and put out the eyes of all the images in this church, they threw this holy image into the fire ; but it remained unhurt. In the treasury of the reliques of the Saints kept in this church, we paid our devotions to three heads ; the two heads of Sergius and Bacchus, and the head of Nifon, Patriarch of Constantinople, who died on the Holy Mountain ; and besides these, to many other reliques. In one corner of the edifice is a handsome chapel, with two cupolas, dedicated in the names of Peter and Paul. To say all in one word, this church is a gem in the world. Its munificent founder spent his heart’s blood in its erection, and spared no cost for its grandeur and embellishments. It is he who brought the illustrious image we have been mentioning from Constan-



tinople, and the other splendid reliques, having purchased them at a great price. To perform the *Εγκαινία* of this church, he procured the attendance of Nifon, the above-mentioned Patriarch, and that of all the Heads of Convents from the Holy Mountain.

The Refectory or Banquet-room of the monastery is very spacious ; and its tower is unequalled, except in the castle called the Hisno, in our country, being octangular throughout, and everywhere perforated in the manner of Solomon's seal.

The structure of the cells of this convent is very handsome, and they have galleries of communication from one to the other. All round the enclosure are lakes of water, for fish-preserves ; and the river Argi, from which both the town and the convent take their name, and which is a very large stream, flows near it. The Festival of the Convent is kept on the day of the Assumption of Our Lady, the fifteenth of August, and is attended by nearly the whole population of the country. On the second day of the feast, after Mass, there is a commemoration and banquet, in honour of the founders—God have mercy on their souls ! The third day is for the servants who gave their service on the other two days.

We performed Mass in the beautiful church of the aforesaid convent, on Thursday the fifteenth of Canon Essani ; and his Holiness ordained for them a Deacon Anagnost, a Deacon Evangelist, and a Priest ; and he clothed the Abbot with a girdle over the *Τρισάγιον*—for it is their custom not to take this gift of authority from any other but a Patriarch. At the same time, his Holiness recited over him the prayer, and named him Archimandrite. At the conclusion of the Mass, they took us to the tombs of the Beggars, the founders of the convent, and others : and, after they had performed a *Μνημόσυνον* for the deceased, the Patriarch read over them the Prayers of Absolution and Forgiveness. After we had risen from table, the Abbot presented to our Lord the Patriarch, out of the treasury of the convent, a carpet, and a sum of money ; and to each of us he made a similar present. On Friday we took leave of him ; and set forth on our journey, after having a second time performed our devotions in the church. Our master was assisted into his sledge ; and we came in the evening to the village of the convent, where we slept. Rising to depart on Saturday morning, we found the cold very great, and almost insupportable ; and as the large rivers of this country are very rapid, the middle of the stream was not frozen ; so that when the sledges crossed over, the water used to run into them ; and, as God is witness ! the mats and carpets were glued to each other,

and to the sledge, with layers of ice, forming one solid mass. Though in constant motion, the very cattle were disabled by the severity of the frost. Passing along rough roads, through forests, and over hills and vales, with frequent ascents and descents, we arrived in the evening at the town named *Kombolonghi*, which is a large place, in the intention of paying a visit to a great convent there, by the title of the Assumption of Our Lady. The meaning of the name *Kombolonghi* (Campolongo ?), in Wallachian, is Long Meadow; and such is the nature of the place, for it is a very long town, and in the midst of it flows a river. The throne of the Begs of Wallachia, in ancient times, is said to have been established here. The case is, that these Wallachians used to dwell in the towns of the Majars, under the government of the Crâl, who had a Comes of their nation. This Comes came to pasture his horses on these lands; which were at that time in the hands of the Tartars, but entirely void of inhabitants. Asking therefore permission of the Crâl, he came, and, by the help of God, expelled the Tartars from their occupancy; then, increasing in power, he became the sovereign lord of all this territory. They used to call him Negro Voivoda, or the Black Beg; and he built this convent. Between that period and the time of the late Matthi Voivoda the edifice had fallen to decay; but the latter Voivode paid attention to it, and renewed it: it is now, therefore, a fine large building, entirely new. Its church is handsomely erected on four beautiful pillars. The bell-tower is large, and very tall. This convent, from the most ancient æra, has been occupied by *Κοινόβιοι*, or Cœnobites. The people of the town, together with the Priests and Monks, met us outside the gates; and as soon as we had entered the church, they began the Vespers for the Eve of the Sunday of the Pharisee and the Publican. On the next, which was Sunday morning, we performed Mass; and his Holiness ordained an Anagnost, a Sub-deacon, an Evangelist Deacon, and a Priest. After the Mass, he went out, in his cope, to pray over the tombs of the founders of the convent, and to recite over the whole flock the prayer of forgiveness. We observed, with some surprise, the great religiousness of the people of this town, resembling that of the Cossacks; for not one of them, whether of the men or the women or the children, remained behind, but all came forward to confess, and to receive their blessing from our Lord the Patriarch.

Wishing to leave them on Monday, we found it impossible, so importunately did they throng around us: but early in the morning of Tuesday we regained our road, and arrived on the following evening at a new convent, under the title

of the Birth of Our Lady, belonging also to the Great Logothetè, and situated amidst hills and a vast forest. There is but one way to it, on horseback or in a carriage; and when any alarm is given in the surrounding district, the inhabitants flee with their families to this spot, and here be concealed. It is a very fine convent, and has two *jets d'eau*, or fountains, supplied with water from a spring at the top of the mountain. This place produces wine بالانستينى which they call Belelino: it is very intoxicating, and is of several kinds and qualities. The next day we hastened on our journey, as the road had been rendered easy by great falls of snow; and in the evening we came to Torghisht.

This year the winter was very severe, and fell heavy on the peasantry and cattle. The snow ceased not to shower down till the first day of the Great Lent, which was the ninth of Ishbat: numbers of cattle perished for want of fodder; and the river Danube was thrice frozen over; the first time to the thickness of three spans; after which came on a thaw, and a little of the ice was melted; then it froze a second time; and after that, from the snow, a third time, until the ice became nine spans thick. To get water from the river, they had to dig wells through the frozen surface; and it was said that the like had not occurred for thirty years.

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### SECT. III.

#### TOWN AND CONVENT OF COMBOLONGHI.—CEREMONY OF ABSOLUTION.— SERVICES OF HOLY WEEK.

ON the Tuesday της Τυροφάγου, or Cheese Tuesday, the third of Ishbat, we went up to visit a convent, in the neighbourhood of Torghisht, dedicated in the name of St. Nicolas, and known by that of Dalo. It is only an hour's journey distant from the city; but it is on the summit of a mountain, difficult of ascent, both in summer and winter; for in summer the road is deep in mud and clay, in consequence of the many springs of water flowing from the top of the mountain; and in winter it is slippery with ice and snow. The convent is placed in a fine airy situation, commanding a view of the whole country; and the church resembles that of the Argi Convent. It is related, that all that was left of stones and materials from the building of the latter church was carried away to build this, by the son-in-law of the Voivode, who succeeded him. But here the cupolas are all covered with mosaic on the outside; the walls are lined and studded with fine hard stone; and the windows are framed with white marble. All the grounds

enclosing this convent are vineyards and orchards of its own estate. We attended Mass here, and the banquet in the evening; and returned afterwards to the city, where, from the Friday till the Sunday τῆς Τυγοφάγου, particularly from one or two in the afternoon, until near midnight, the Grandees, their wives, the merchants, and the common people, flocked in crowds to our Lord the Patriarch, asking him for absolution, and that he would pray over them the Prayers of Forgiveness, whilst they bent before him in the utmost devotion, awe, and reverence. As for the Beg himself, he invited our master in the afternoon to the church within his palace; and after the Vespers, he threw himself on the ground, together with his great officers, and all the persons present, whilst the Patriarch recited over him, and over them, the aforesaid Prayers of Absolution. Then we went up to the great hall of the palace, in company with the Metropolitan of the Town, the rest of the Heads of the Clergy, the whole of the great Officers of State, and all the attendants of the Corta; when one of the Logothetai stepped forward, and read from a paper, in a loud voice, a kind of eulogium on the Beg, and a Polychronion; at the end of which he asked forgiveness, in conformity with the saying of Our Lord the Messiah in the Gospel of this day, "If you forgive your brethren their offences against you, the Creator will forgive you your offences." At the conclusion, therefore, our Lord the Patriarch stood up and blessed him, wishing him health for the great fast; and all present came forward and did in like manner, first bowing to the Beg, and then kissing his hand: the like ceremony they performed also with our master and all the Metropolitans. Then the Beg arose, and, taking our master to an inner apartment, spoke a long time with him in secret. His Holiness then paid a visit to the Domina; and we returned to the convent, where all the great merchants and others presented themselves in crowds in the church, for the Patriarch to read over them the Prayers of Forgiveness, as they lay prostrate on the ground. On rising, they all kissed his hand, making their bows and salutations; and thus they continued to succeed each other until the approach of midnight, as we already mentioned before.

On the first Sunday of Lent, by command of the Beg, our master went to the Metropolitan Church, and there, with the bishop, performed Mass. At the Τρισάγιον, they set forward a reading-desk, according to custom, and distributed wax tapers to all present in the tabernacle: and after our master had sat down on a chair, one of the Priests advanced into the middle, to read the whole of the Συναξάρις of this day. At the mention of the Orthodox Fathers and Saints, when

it is thrice responded, "Let their memory be eternal," our master stood up, and all present in the Sanctuary chaunted three times over, "Let their memory be eternal." So, at the mention of the heretics and schismatics, they put out their lights, chaunting a triple anathema three times: then, lighting their tapers again, they proceeded thus, till the end of the service. There was an ordination of Priests; and afterwards a great banquet in the hall above, with much drinking of wine; first, to the honour of God; then to the Virgin and all the Saints, three cups; then to the Beg, three; to our Lord the Patriarch and his attendants, three; to the Archons, three; and to the Metropolitan and his attendants, three. Thus we arose not from table before we were surfeited and overcome, and retired to our convent in a wretched condition.

On the Thursday of Penitence died Belesa Domina, wife of Constantine Beg; and we laid her out with great pomp, under the tent in the palace-yard. She was afterwards carried round the church; and her funeral was attended by a large body of Priests and Monks, besides the Heads of the Clergy, to all of whom handsome fees were distributed. After they had buried her in the porch of the outer church of the Corta, a great feast was given to the assistants, both high and low: and to the poor and labouring men, who attended, we were told that at least ten loaves of bread, and bowls of meat and wine, were distributed. On the ninth day, at the *Μνημόσυνον*, the same forms were observed.

Early on the morning of Palm Sunday, the Beg requested the attendance of our Lord the Patriarch at the *Ὁρθρον*: and at the *Πολυέλεον* they brought him branches of the tree, which he prayed over. Then the Beg came down, and he gave him a branch; and, in like manner, all the *Grandees* came forward and received branches, whilst the scribes stood distributing wax tapers to all of them. The same ceremony was observed to every person present in the church; and after we had finished the Mass, we went to a grand entertainment at the Beg's table.

On Wednesday in Holy Week, the Beg invited us, according to custom; and we made for him some holy oil, in his own palace. On Holy Thursday, we went in the coach, and put on our copes in the Church of the Corta, together with the Metropolitan of the city; and as soon as the Beg came down, they two bestowed on him their benediction: and then they proceeded to the outside, our master walking, by the side of the Beg, to the court of the palace; where long stools had been set ready, all round, with carpets, and three chairs in the centre, turned towards the east, and designed for the Beg, our master, and the Metropolitan.

On the left were stationed the Metropolitan and the Heads of Convents: on the right, the Archons. On reading-desks were placed the books containing the Service of the Ablution, and the silver basin and ewer. Then wax tapers were distributed to all present; and our Lord the Patriarch advanced, whilst I walked before him with his crosier, and incensed, &c. One of the Priests said the Gospel, with his face turned to the west: and when he came to the passage, "And he put off his garments," we took from our master his *σάκιος*, and other apparel, according to custom, and girded him with a linen towel. He then went, and, having poured water from the ewer into the basin, came first to the person made to represent Judas (وكان هو تباع تلك السنة بعينه وببدلته), and washed his feet first. Under them they had spread a carpet. After him, he proceeded to the others, till he had finished them all. The Metropolitan of the city was there in the place of Peter. After the Patriarch had completed the ceremony, and we had re-invested him with his Saccos, he advanced to the bowl of water set on the desk; and dipping in the ends of his fingers, he marked with them the sign of the cross between his eyes, and gave his benediction to the Beg, at a distance. So, also, the Metropolitan came down, and did in like manner, as also the Beg, &c.; and the latter, at the offering of the cup, entered the Sanctuary, and received the sacred mysteries.

On the morning of Holy Saturday, after we had performed the office of the Sepulchre in the church of the convent, we were sent for, towards noon, in the coach, to the church of the Corta; and after we had robed, the Beg came down, and the Priests went forth to place the Sepulchre on a desk, distributing tapers to all present, &c. Afterwards, they carried it, in grand procession, once round the church, on the outside; and having again entered, we finished the Mass, and ordained some Priests.

On Easter-Sunday morning, after we had performed the ceremony of the *Ἀνάστασις* in the convent church, we were sent for in the coach to the Corta; where we repeated precisely the same rites and services as we had gone through in the former year. After the Mass, which was said in the first hour of the day, we were entertained above, at the Beg's table. On Thursday, the first after Easter, we went with the Beg, as we had done in the former year, to the outside of the town, in procession, as usual. On Saturday, the second after Easter, we performed Mass in the metropolitan church, for a widow lady of one of the *Grandees*, to commemorate her husband's decease. On Ascension Thursday we again said Mass in the Metropolitan Church, in presence of the Beg; and,

according to annual custom, there was a banquet, which was prolonged till evening. On the day of Pentecost, after Mass, our master performed the prostration, in the church of the convent, as it is usually performed.

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#### SECT. IV.

##### *VICTORY GAINED BY THE MUSCOVITES OVER THE SWEDES.—SIEGE OF RIGA. BATTLE BETWEEN THE HUNGARIANS AND TARTARS.—CONDUCT OF THE HUNGARIANS.*

To return to the history of his Imperial Majesty :—After our separation, the Emperor went to Smolensko, where he took up his residence ; and, after some time, settled a peace with the Poles and their Crâl, on their submission to him. The terms asked by the Crâl were, that he should continue on his throne till his death, and that then the territories should revert to the Emperor ; but Chmiel and the Cossacks would not agree to this. As for the Swedes, against them marched the Kniaz Trabatskos *ترباتسكوس* with three hundred thousand men, according to what we have already mentioned, from the side of Novogorod and Pskov ; and, on the marching out of the Swedes to encounter them, a battle was fought between the two armies, in which God granted victory to the Muscovites, who routed their opponents, and sent a number of them captives in irons to Moscow, as we were informed by accounts sent to us by credible persons there. After this victory, the Kniaz took from the Swedes a great number of castles by storm, putting to the sword a countless multitude of the population, in order to excite the fears of their countrymen, and to deter them from ever again venturing on war. On his side, also, the Emperor directed his attacks upon the Swedish territory from Smolensko ; for it is fronted by the river Nieper. As soon as the garrisons of four castles on the line of the Emperor's march heard of his approach, they abandoned three ; and retreated, to fortify themselves in the fourth, as this last was eminently strong. On arriving before it, the Emperor thrice sent, to demand that they would surrender on terms of mercy ; but they would not by any means ; on the contrary, they reviled his clemency ; and he therefore said, " Let the sin be on their necks ;" and rousing his troops, he urged them to the assault. These, forcing the entry at the point of the sword, cut to pieces, by his orders, every person there found ; not sparing even one, as we were informed.

Thence the Emperor marched against the capital of Sweden, a town called *Riga*\*, celebrated throughout the universe, for its natural and artificial strength. According to the report we received from those who visited this place, it has three strong walls of earth; and within them, for the fourth defence, a stone-built castle. On the sea-side it has a good port or harbour, and is fortified with about one thousand pieces of cannon. As soon as the Emperor arrived before it, he threw up his lines of attack; and persevered in closely pressing the siege, till he took the three walls by storm. In these assaults, an immense number of his troops were killed: but he was nevertheless unable to devise any means of success against the stone castle, the garrison of which fearlessly resisted all his attempts, being plentifully supplied with stores and ammunition by boats from the sea; until, at length, the Emperor returned to his capital, and the siege was abandoned. Some of our friends wrote to us from Moscow, that, in the course of the year, the Emperor had taken from his enemies as many as eight-and-twenty castles and fortresses.

When the Crål of Sweden ascertained that his condition was ruinous, and that he had no power to hold the two cities of Warsaw and Cracow, with other Polish towns, he sent to make a covenant with the Crål of the Hungarians; the latter being equally a Lutheran, and their noxious religion and corrupt faith being the same; and invited him to his assistance, offering him the transfer of the said towns, and praying that they two might become one. This treaty was effected at the Feast of the Nativity last past: and whereas the said Crål had done benefits and granted help to the Beggars of Wallachia and Moldavia in the time of their distress, he now sent and demanded of them a succour of some thousands of troops; which, however reluctantly, they gave him. With the army thus collected, he marched forth, in the dead of winter, during the storms of rain

\* "Riga was built about the year 1190, when this country first received the knowledge of Christ. It is the metropolis of Livonia, a place of great consequence, situated in the latitude of 57°, on the north-east of the Dwena, which runs into the Gulph of Riga. It was taken from the Swedes by Peter the Great, in 1710, after a siege of three months; in which time the Swedish garrison, by famine, the plague, and the sword, were reduced from 12,000 to 5000 men; and of the burghers and inhabitants there died about 60,000. Several houses have yet the marks of the bombardment. The gallantry of the Swedes, in defending this place, was in some measure rewarded by the superior genius of Peter the Great, who granted the town a very honourable capitulation, which has been ever since religiously observed. The houses are made steep in the roof, for the better carrying off the water, which is very penetrating when the snow melts. They have seldom above two stories, and the streets are narrow. German is the language of the people of Riga; but the peasants in the neighbourhood, and other parts of Livonia, speak *Undutch*, a dialect entirely differing from the German."—HANWAY'S *Travels*, anno 1743, p. 71.



and the petrifying frosts ; in consequence of which, an immense number of his men were drowned in the floods, or perished with cold ; and having advanced to the aforesaid towns, he took possession of them. Here he met the Crál of Sweden, and made a junction with his forces. All this took place by the advice and instigation of Chmiel, who furnished to the Crál a body of auxiliaries, to the amount of thirty thousand men ; so that, seeing him thus strengthened, not one of the Poles ventured out to meet him. At the time of his setting forth from his own country, he had no more than sixty thousand men with him, as we were informed by persons of credibility : for the whole force of the country of the Majars is only from forty thousand to fifty thousand soldiers. But his tyranny was great ; his cruelty excessive ; and he perpetrated in the country of the Poles such evils and mischief as are not to be described, destroying churches and monasteries to a large extent. He began to utter calumnies against Chmiel, and to abuse him, saying : “ I have now prevailed in establishing my power over the two Principalities of Wallachia and Moldavia, which are completely under my rule : and the country of the Majars is that which has belonged to my father and my grandfathers before me. I have, moreover, spread my force over this country of the Poles, and have taken possession of their capital ; and there remains to me no longer any rival or opponent, but this Mojik, this Wallachian slave, Chmiel.” Hereupon, he set about assassinating, secretly, as many of the Cossack troops as he could, to weaken their strength. This was soon discovered, and, being carried to the ears of Chmiel, roused his utmost indignation against the Crál. He immediately sent to invite the Khan to ride out against him, that he might deliver him into his hands : and this actually took place ; for when the Turk and the Tartar heard of the Crál's incursion into Poland without consultation with them, and that the two Begg had given him aid and succour, they were much enraged against them ; so that a report was spread among both the Tartars and the Turks, that seven Cráls had agreed together, and made up their minds to an incursion into this country at the Great Carnival : in consequence of which, as we mentioned before, there existed great uneasiness among the people, which was prolonged and continued until this present Pentecost ; when news now came that the Khan had mounted his horse, and was in full march for these possessions. A violent agitation ensued, and all prepared themselves for flight ; whilst, at the same time, a report also was spread along the whole frontier of the Turkish territory, from Bodom to the mouth of the Danube, that the Turks were marching against the country of the Majars, in

conjunction with the Tartars; and must take Wallachia and Moldavia in their way, for their having given assistance to the Majars. The Beg therefore summoned together the troops of this province; who equipped themselves in preparation for its defence; and pitched several camps, which they fortified. In the mean time, letters were passing from Chmiel to the Khan, stimulating his approach; and as soon as he came up, Chmiel gave him a passage through his territory. When these circumstances reached the ears of Rakosti (راكوستي), that is, George Crâl of the Majars, he was seized with great consternation, and marched to the encounter of the invaders. At this juncture, the Cossacks withdrew from him, and he was left to fight with the Tartars for the space of three days. At the end of this time, they deluded him with an offer of peace and reconciliation: but, on discovering their treachery, he fled, alone, to his own home; leaving captives in the hands of the Tartars upwards of five-and-twenty thousand of his countrymen, as we were informed—taking no account of those who were slain in battle; with their prince, Cimianus, the greatest of the Crâl's generals, at their head. With these captives, the Khan returned to his country, in great triumph and overflowing joy; and this took place at the end of the month Tamoż.

Without doubt, this vengeance which overtook the Majars was in consequence of their invading the holy Houses of God, the churches, and the monasteries; and their murdering, without mercy or compassion, the Monks, Priests, and Christians, in Moldavia. I will just mention to you, Brotherly Reader, some of the filthy actions which we saw perpetrated on their part, when they were with us in Wallachia. One of these was, that to the aforesaid province came a Bishop from Romelia, a poor man, in very reduced circumstances, bringing with him a single mare as his whole property, which he went into the cattle-market to sell. Some of these Majars stopped to look at her; and one of them, stepping forward and seizing her by the bridle, said, "This mare belongs to me": on which, seven of his fellows proffered their testimony that she was his, and they took her away:—for this is an usual practice, in some of their filthy and mean transactions, that if one of them says, "This thing is mine," and it should so be his will and pleasure, he takes it; and if seven of his countrymen bear witness that it is his, it becomes so, to all intents and purposes. Such is their custom. God's curse be upon them, for haters of the religion of Christ, and of holy images, and of the glorious cross! That they are so, we saw, on their entering the churches, and destroying the holy pictures, or putting out their eyes with their spears; and on their committing

other base acts, out of their hatred to the Monks and Clergy, numbers of whom they murdered, as we formerly related, in the time of Basîl Voivoda.

To return to our story :—The poor bishop began to cry and moan for his mare ; but there was no one to help him ; until he was advised by some Christians to go and complain against the Majar to his captain. He went therefore, and preferred his complaint accordingly : but the captain reprovèd him, and he was turned out. Going to the Beg, he stated the affair to him. The Beg, who was subject to the despotism of the Majars, having no power to resist them, did all he could to soothe the heart of the bishop ; and when the captain came to visit him as usual, he spoke to him on the subject. The captain answered : “ After seven witnesses had borne testimony that the mare was his, namely, the Majar’s, how could he be deprived of it, when our law is such ? ” The Beg replied : “ This poor bishop has more than forty witnesses that the mare is his property, and that he brought her with him from his own country. ” “ Our witnesses, ” rejoined the captain, “ were the first to make their deposition, and this affair cannot be reviewed. ” The Beg, despairing of redress, had no remedy, but to give the bishop a horse from his own stud ; and with this consolation he dismissed him. Similar depravities to this the Majars have many, which time would fail me in enumerating ; but among their number is, that murder, adultery, incest, theft, &c., are allowed with them.—So much for the Majars.\*

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## SECT. V.

*DELAY CAUSED BY THE DEATH OF MARTIANUS.—VISITATION OF THE CONVENTS.—DESCRIPTION OF THE COZIA CONVENT.—THE FISH BASTROVUS.*

To return to the history of our own affairs :—The cause of our delay in this country was the cruel fortune of the late Patriarch of Constantinople, Martianus ; who was put to death by the Vazir, most tyrannically and unjustly, for no crime whatever, in the very capital. The Beg, in consequence, would not let us go, nor give us leave to depart for our own country, neither he nor any of his Grandees, out of apprehension for our safety. Growing weary of sitting still, our master asked the Beg permission to go forth and take a survey of the convents in the Principality : and this the Beg was pleased to grant him, appointing for him, at the same time, a Portari, that is, a Capigi, or gate-opener.

We set out from Torghisht on Thursday the eighteenth of Haziran, with all our luggage; for we feared that disturbance would break out; and the principal motive of our departure was, to remove from its source, and to retire into the land of safety, namely, that corner of the earth to which we had turned our faces; being by nature a most impregnable situation, in the vicinity of the Hungarian mountains, to which most of the inhabitants of the country flee for refuge in time of need; as our description of it, in the sequel, will more distinctly explain. We came first to *Piteshti*, and thence to the convent of Argi; whence we reached *Rimniko*, a Bishop's see, as we passed along the great and celebrated river *Olto*, which rushes down from the country of the Majars. Over it is a very large bridge, one of the good works of the late Matthi Beg. In this town we met the deposed Metropolitan, Ignatius. The episcopal palace here resembles that of the Metropolitan of Torghisht, both in its buildings and gardens, its orchards and ponds of water; only it is of smaller dimensions. Its church is under the title of the Divine Manifestation. Then the Capigi went with us to the great and renowned convent named *Cozia*, which lies to the eastward, at the distance of between three and four hours' journey, with the above-mentioned river close on the right. The road is very surprising and extraordinary, for its asperities and difficulties: it is a narrow pass, on the brink of the river; along which only one horse at a time can move, and that with great difficulty, caution, and abundant dread; for the river flows down a frightfully deep vale, full of rocks and bounding currents, with waves like the waves of the ocean; and, as it roars, its voice is terrific, disturbing the heart with alarm. It is a very large and broad stream, larger than the Aasi (Orontes) at Hemah (حماه): and beyond it, on the other side, are vast impassable mountains, covered with wood, and totally untracked. On the left of the road, that is, on our left, as we ascended, we had a very high mountain, perfectly steep, and all rock, overgrown with huge trees; and of this nature our path continued to be, until we came to a wooden bridge, ingeniously rested on the frightfully steep, and, to all appearance, unstable and untrustworthy brink of the river; at which when we looked, our hearts shuddered. In the event of any siege or distress being threatened to the convent, the Monks come and remove this bridge; which, being constructed of wood, is nailed, at one end, to two tall trees rising from the bed of the river, whilst the other end rests on the mountain precipice. On the removal of the bridge, its place remains an immense gap, neither to be reached, nor to be passed over; for there is no possibility whatever of effecting a passage in any way. No one has the power of going

down into the river, from the depth and perpendicularity of its banks: nor can he cross it higher up; for all the way from the interior of the Hungarian country it flows with this character of a fence and boundary: though, as we were told, when necessity compels them to it, they import, by this river, from Hungary what they want of wine, &c.; but it is done amidst the encounter of endless dreads and dangers. The mountain, as we said before, is never passed at all; nor, by their account, is there any way, either at the back of it or in any part round it: it is only to be penetrated by this wonderful gully, which is the work of the Creator (glorified be His name!); and which, as we looked, we were wrapt in amazement at beholding; for, when the bridge is once removed, should only a small troop be stationed here with their muskets, they are capable of repulsing many thousands of enemies. The strength and security of this blessed convent, so much famed throughout the world, are entirely due to the locality and situation we have been describing.

In consequence of the narrowness of the road, and its closeness to the edge of the precipice, we were afraid; and, alighting from our horses, we walked on foot, till we had crossed the bridge. Here we came out upon a large open plain, divided into fields sown with their crops, and into gardens and vineyards; which we had to traverse, until we approached the convent, which is a strong and handsome edifice, built on the border of the aforesaid river, but enclosed by huge and formidable mountain-summits, the intervals between which are barred up by impenetrable woods; so that in no part of the circumference is there any other access to it whatsoever; for this blessed spot is in a gap or fissure, at the very extremity of the province; and is bounded by Hungary both on the north and south, at the distance of two days' journey. The way to the latter is behind the mountains, towards the south, is extremely difficult, and is impassable to cattle.

The meaning of the name of this convent, *Cozia*, in their language, is, a "natural fort\*;" from its being situated on the highest of the numerous mountains in these parts. Into this convent no female enters, not even the female of any animal whatsoever: such is the regulation established by the deceased Mirtaja Voivoda, who built it, together with its church, under dedication to the Most Holy Trinity. It is said that he gave it this name of the Trinity solely because of the three mountains which surround it, on the south-west, on the north, and on the east. In front of the holy church is a fountain, supplied by a beautiful spring of water flowing down from the mountain, delightful to the senses. Around the basin are four

\* مغزی برید

faces, from the mouths of which the water falls: one is the figure of a Major, that is, a Hungarian; a second is the head of a Turk, with his turban; the third is the face of a Beg; and the fourth, that of a slave. In the basin there are fish always preserved. The cells of this convent are large, and of solid structure, one over the other, all round, with lofty porticoes: and on the east side are some admirable apartments, wherein the repasts are served, with balconies or galleries looking over the river; the depth of which here, that is, the distance from the top of the said buildings to its bed, is between forty and fifty statures or heights of man. These are sitting-rooms, which drive dull care afar, banish melancholy, and brightly clear up the brain. A man seriously ill is relieved here, by the cheerful sound of the waters; not only of the foaming river current, but of the fountain streams falling from the cliffs; and the liver is most particularly revived by the sight of these mountains, by the surrounding verdure, and by the delicate eating of those beautiful fish called *Bastrovus* (باستروفوس), which exist only in situations like this, and live only in waters rushing down from the hills, feeding amidst the rocks, and averse to mud and stagnant depths. It resembles the fish *Soltan Ibrahim*, at *Terapolis*, and is prettily marked with red spots. Its taste is fine, and superior in flavour to that of roast fowl: nothing indeed can surpass it, as a delicious morsel. It is much famed throughout this country; and, when salted, is carried in presents to the Beg and the Agas.

The garden of this convent is beautiful; and in it, also, is a refreshment-room, where we used to take our dinner in the middle of the day; supping, at a later hour, in the gallery we have described, where we were quartered. We found here an excellent wine, of superior quality, and high colour. Outside the gate of the convent, on the slope of the mountain, is a bubbling spring of water; and over it is built a handsome church, in the name of *St. Peter and St. Paul*. They call this place the *Hospital for the Sick*; and here, on this eve of the *Festival of the Apostles*, we assisted at *Vigils*, which lasted the whole night. Facing this place is a road; along which we passed for half an hour, down to the bottom of the hill; where is a prettily-built church, under the title of *The Birth of St. John the Baptist*. Here resides a devout *Pilgrim and Hermit*, whose cell is close to the church; where he ministers, and says *Mass*. This holy person solicited absolution from our Lord the *Patriarch*; and intreated him to plant for him a new shoot of a *walnut-tree*; that is, to plant for him a young *walnut-tree*, that it might be a memorial to him, and that every person, in future times, might know it as a tree planted for a blessing, by the *Patriarch Macarius of Antioch*. His

Holiness consented ; and taking a knife, he cut away all the springing shoots of the slip, leaving only a straight stick ; which when he had planted and blessed, we went away. This same thing he did in the garden of every convent we entered, such being a custom with them ;—and a very good custom it is, thus to preserve the remembrance of such a visit ; and also, by the knowledge of the date, to be able to reckon the age of the tree at that time planted. We were shewn, among them, a number of trees called after the names of the preceding Patriarchs who had visited these places.

On the morning of Monday, the Feast of the Apostles, his Holiness performed Mass in the Great Church ; during which there was an ordination of Priests and Deacons, as well Anagnosts as Evangelists : and he vested the Prior of the convent with a girdle, giving him the title of Archimandrite. After the Mass, we performed a *Μνημόσυρον* for the founders. Then we deposited all our luggage and goods in a secure place in the convent, by command of the Beg.

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## SECT. VI.

### *SINGULAR COLLECTION OF COMMENTARIES ON THE PSALMS, AND BOOK OF ORACLES.—COPIES TAKEN BY BABA YANI.—SALT-MINES.—THE MONOXYLO CONVENT.—CONVENT OF BISTRISA.*

WE had heard, that in the possession of Kyr Tsi Constantine, the Katakozinos, Bostanik (بوستانيك) of the late Matthi Beg of Wallachia, there was a large and most precious book, from the imperial collection of St. Sophia ; being an Exposition of the Psalms of the Prophet David ; which St. Nicetas, Metropolitan of Syrus, had amassed, with great labour, from all the writings of the holy doctors of the Church, and others, by extracting the explanation given by each of them, and making the whole into one large volume in Greek, consisting of three hundred of the largest-size folio pages. We were told by that eminently learned man, Kyr Paisius, the Sciot, (who during our absence in these countries had come from Jerusalem to Aleppo, and preached a sermon in the church there, as he afterwards informed us,) that he had travelled into all the European countries, and resided in the great city of Rome for a length of time ;—that he went up into the Pope's Library, the number of religious and pious books in which amounts to seventy-two thousand copies, each single ; and this is a thing well known ;—that, among them all, he was unable to find a second copy of this book

(the Exposition of the Psalms), which is therefore unique in the world. To the same effect we were told by many. There are indeed to be found small and singular books in explanation of the Psalms, by Theodorus Bishop of Corsica (قورص) and other doctors; but this St. Nicetas made a collection of all the expositions, and united them in one volume, as we said before. The number of doctors who have interpreted the Book of Psalms is forty, besides others. For example, the commentary on the first psalm, which begins, "Blessed is the man that hath not walked in the counsel of the ungodly, nor stood in the way of sinners; and hath not sat in the seat of the scornful." This is the original text, which is pursued by the author; saying, "In explanation of this text, such a Saint or such a doctor has thus said, word for word; and another has said thus and thus:" and mentioning their names in the margin of the book, he thus proceeds, to the end. This valuable compilation, not likely to be found in any but such an imperial library whence it was taken, many had been desirous of copying; but it came not within their power, for two reasons; the first, because its master and owner would not leave it in their hands, being unwilling that there should exist a second copy; the second reason was, its being of so large a size, and such extensive matter: so that some persons had actually begun to copy it; but after having done a part, they grew tired: and of this we saw some proofs.

As soon as I, the poor writer of these memoirs, heard the eulogium of this valuable book, I exerted my whole endeavour, and, by the power of the Lord the Messiah, the assistance of my father and the blessing of his prayers, I got it home to our lodgings. By the guidance of the Almighty, we found a Priest, named Baba Yani, from Scio, a fine Greek writer, versed in all the depths of language, and possessed of boundless science, whom we engaged to make a copy. As the love of wine is an innate propensity of the true-born Greek, I did not cease at the present juncture to steal away his senses, till we carried him up with us to this convent, where we forced him to stay and write. Each day we appointed him an allowance of two okkas of wine, for his dinner and supper; and his sense was sobered, and his powers of mind shone forth in all their brightness, and by the power of God he finished the book; at the beginning and the end of which, the aforesaid Metropolitan of Gaza placed a title-page, giving this account and explanation; viz. That, under circumstances, when this invaluable treasure was hidden, &c., the Creator sent the Father and Lord Patriarch, Kyr Macarius of Antioch, with his son, to discover it and bring it forth, to the attainment of their own premium and reward in heaven, and to the benefit of the whole Christian Church, &c.—The



expense which we incurred with this book, till the completion of the copy, was above one hundred rials. Afterwards, when we returned to our own country, to Aleppo, whither we took with us the aforesaid Baba Yani, I made him write a second copy, handsomer than the first: for it was our intention, with the will of God, some time during the course of our life, to send the book to be printed in the country of the Franks, as well for our own benefit, as for that of the whole Church of Christ. Should this, please God, be accomplished, we intended to begin translating the book into Arabic; and for this purpose we beseech the Almighty to grant us peace and tranquillity of mind! A reason also for copying it a second time, was, a fear of its being lost at sea, or meeting with any accident whilst printing; and thus so valuable a gem should perish: which God forbid! No; it was much better, in that case, that a second copy should remain safe in our possession.

We obtained moreover, from the aforesaid Metropolitan of Gaza, another book in Greek, the contents of which he had gathered from every country and from many authors. He had named it the *Χρησμός*, or Book of Oracles; and it was perfectly unique, there being no other copy of it whatever in existence. Its contents were, Prophecies from the Prophets, predictions of the Wise Men, and denunciations of the Saints, in the matters foretold them concerning the events in the East brought about by the Children of Hagar, and concerning Constantinople, and their capture of that city; things of very great curiosity, as regarding the past; and likewise their prophecies of the prepared and predestined dispositions of the future. Of this book I had two copies taken by the same writer; but it was after encountering great difficulty in persuading the proprietor to give it us to copy; for he, that is, the Metropolitan of Gaza, was altogether unwilling, until we gained his consent by several presents, and shamed him into the liberality of allowing us to do so. Every person looking into this precious book is wrapt in wonder at its prophecies, sayings, and other contents. Afterwards, the said prelate sent us a letter from this country, informing us, that when he was in the country of the Majars, they had plundered him, and taken every thing he had; and among other things, that they had robbed him of this very book. Praise be to God, who was pleased to inspire us with His grace, to exert our diligence in taking a copy of it! for otherwise it would have been lost to the world, and the Metropolitan's labour on it would have been uselessly expended. He sent to intreat us that we would get him a copy of it written, to supply his loss; and to God be all glory, always and for ever, in all circumstances, Amen!

We then took leave of the Archimandrite of the Cozia Convent, and of the

rest of the Monks, strongly recommending to their care the aforesaid Baba Yani: and after we had cleared the narrow pass forming the road to the monastery, we saw that the river divides itself into two branches; in the midst of which is an island, to which we passed over in a boat. On the island is a handsome convent, built of stone, in a concealed situation, for Nuns, and dedicated by the title of The Nativity of Our Lady. It is commonly called *Ostrob*. Having performed our devotions there, we left it, and came to *Raminko*. The whole tract of country between *Raminko* and the Convent of *Cozia* is occupied with large dams of water, collected between the roots of a tree resembling the willow. On opening the sluices, and clearing away the mud, sweepings of gold ore are taken up from the bottom: and this is the celebrated gold-mine of Wallachia, belonging to the Domina or wife of the reigning Beg; the products of which are farmed of her by the *Janakna* (الجنكنا) or goldsmiths of the Principality, and other workers in metal, it is said, for a thousand dinars annually.

On Thursday morning we departed from *Raminko*; and having been about two hours on the road, we came to a town where there is a salt-mine. In the province of Wallachia there exist, in all, four places where there are salt-mines, the annual lease-rent of which is one hundred and fifty thousand rials. This mine is the largest of them, and is resorted to by traders from Turkey, and ships from Constantinople, to purchase the salt and carry it home; as all the salt used in Romelia and at Constantinople is brought from this country. The method of cutting or digging out the salt is attended with very great labour. They sink each well or shaft about ninety yards deep, before they come to the salt; and all those who have been seized as robbers, or are otherwise in disgrace, are banished in irons, by the Beg, to this spot; where they dig this mineral during the night, and then carry it above ground in the day-time. Each piece is a large stone, between two and three hundred okkas in weight. These large masses are raised by the workmen, assisted by engines, turned, with long ropes, by horses. Here we beheld a sight distressing to the heart; for when the poor wretches came forth from the mine, we could look upon them in no other light than as spectres rising from the graves, from among the dead: God help them in their misery! Some of them work for hire. The whole soil of this country is salt: for example, as the water of some wells at Aleppo is saltish, here the water is congealed, and is a solid body of salt.

This town is a market-town, containing a number of churches; and the inhabitants came out to meet us: but as we had repaired thither only for what was

to be seen, we merely slept there that night, and early the next morning retraced our steps; there being no road for carriages, till we came to a highway, mostly difficult and woody; and by that arrived, in the afternoon, at a convent over the river *Bistrisa*, named The convent of the once piece of timber. The reason of this appellation was, that in ancient times there lived hereabouts a Hermit, who, on rising from his sleep, found an image of the Mother of God hanging on a tree, and saying to him, "Here it is my wish that you build for me a church, out of this tree." The Hermit arose, therefore, and cut down the tree; and with it began this building of a handsome church, which he roofed, and wholly constructed with the timber of this single tree alone. On this account they named it The church of the one piece of timber, and in Greek *Μονόξυλο*: and herein copious miracles were performed. About twenty years ago, one of the great officers of Government took a liking to this convent; and leaving the church at the top of the hill where it was, he built below it a large convent of stone, with a splendid church, by the title of The Assumption of Our Lady, which is occupied by Nuns. We said Mass here on the morrow, and paid our devotions to the aforesaid image of Our Lady; which is of large dimensions, and continually works miracles. The next day we went up, and said Mass in the old wooden church; and again paid our devotions to the blessed image. Near this church are two huge trees, said to be the fellows of the third which was used in its construction. After dinner we left the convent; and coming by a very difficult road, we crossed the river *Bistrisa* more than forty times.

Having descended the slope of a steep hill, we arrived, in the evening, at a grand convent, of some celebrity in this country, and of some strength of defence, named the Convent of *Bistrisa*, situated in a lonely glen, without any road behind it, in a position exactly similar to that of the Cozia Monastery, and built as a fortress. It has a church, under dedication to The Assumption of Our Lady, possessing a great treasure, which is no other than the very body of St. Gregorius the Banyaisan, whom they call by another patronymic, brought from Servia, by the founder of the convent, at a very great expense. It is laid in a silver coffin, gilt, and embossed on the convex lid with the exact figure of the saint. All round the coffin are the figures of other Saints and Angels. This coffin is a gift of the late Balasa, or Belezza (بالاسا), the Domina of Constantine Voivoda, who sent and had it made in the country of the Majars, where able masters were to be found. She is said to have given to the smith, in wages only, one thousand five hundred rials. To look upon it, is dazzling to the sight. On

its being opened, as they stood found it with tapers and thuribles, chaunting *Τροάρια*, with their heads uncovered, we were enchanted with the view of it, and with its fragrant odour; and we took a kiss and blessing from the Saint's holy hand. We performed Mass in the church, on Monday the sixth of Tamoz; and the Mass was accompanied with the consecration of a Monk and Deacon: after which, we went out to the refectory. This convent, also, is famous throughout the country for its strength of situation. The origin of its foundation is this. One of the ancient Hermits, distinguished for his virtues, found at the top of this mountain, looking over the convent from the north, the mouth of a cave; and, with skill and perseverance, he at length formed passages leading up to it, and built in it a church, under the invocation of St. Michael. When we went up to view this cavern, we ascended by a single path, one by one, up a steep ascent, having on our right a frightful precipitous cliff down to the bed of the river. On this account, they are guarding the greatest part of the way with railing from tree to tree. We did not reach the spot without great difficulty and abundant fatigue. From the brink of the hill to the cavern, for the distance of a stone's throw, are long narrow planks, with railing, like a bridge: these, on apprehending any danger, they remove; and here they lie secure, not even the devils being able to make their way to them. The Beggars, therefore, when any distress affrights them, send their treasures, with their wives, to these caverns. They are situated in the middle of the hill; and from them, to the bottom of the valley, are four and forty fathoms; upwards, to the top of the mountain, the distance appears immense. At the gate are two iron wickets; which we entered, like beasts, on all-fours: and continuing to advance along the tunnel, one by one, by torch-light, till we were almost dead with fatigue, we at last came out to a wide and level spot of natural formation, where we devoutly visited the church, built in a large recess, communicating with the outward air; and near it is a neat cell, always inhabited by a Monk. On the east of the church is another large recess, communicating with the outward air, and with the valley, where they are said to have a glance at the sun only at its earliest rising in the morning. Here is a large tree, to which hangs a long rope; which they work with a wheel, and draw up by it water from the river, or any heavy goods, which, as we mentioned before, they are in the habit of depositing here. These could not enter by the tunnel by which we penetrated; but being drawn along, by a secret road from the convent, to an opening under the place where the rope hangs, they are there hoisted aloft, and hauled into the gap. Within the cave is a fine spring of clear

water, always flowing in great abundance. This spot is faced by nothing all round, but a huge precipitous mountain, standing erect on the opposite side of the river. However, those who use the cavern, as a retreat for themselves or their property, make their term as short as possible; as their health is injured, and their goods are destroyed, by the bleak exposure of the place, and the damp maintained by the waters within it. We could scarcely credit our senses, when we were come forth to the expanse of day, and got down again safe to the convent. To describe this, it should be mentioned, that its cells, on the eastern side, look over the aforesaid river, which, descending from the highest parts of the mountains, dashes foaming over the rocks. In its waters are caught great numbers of the beautiful fish called Bastrovus (الباستروفس). The voice of the river is a constant thunder; for, as we said before, it rushes down from the highest parts of the mountains with the most rapid current; and at the bottom of its stream, and all enclosing it, are rocks: it never ceases, therefore, to roar like a thunder-storm. In the midst of these cells is a pretty neat church, under the invocation of St. Nicolas; and outside the convent is a third church, by the title of The Transfiguration, for the sick. We then took leave of them, and went away.

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## SECT. VII.

### *THE ARNOTA CONVENT.—IRON-MINE OF TORGHOGIV.—THE CONVENT OF TETSIMANA.—THE TISA TREE.*

ON Tuesday, we went up to a high convent on the highest part of the mountains, opposite to that we have just been describing, dedicated in the name of St. Michael, but commonly called the Arnoda or Arnoda Convent. The way to it is very difficult, and only to be passed on foot. We contrived, however, to ascend to it on horseback, and found it a distance of one hour's journey from the Convent of Bistrisa, to the east of which it is situated. It is a handsome monastery; and it is said, that, in his time, the late Abo Matthi Voivoda built for it a church of wood; that, when he died in Hungary, his son Matthi, who became Beg in his place, sent for his remains, and had them transported hither; and immediately began to raise the whole building in stone, with walls surrounding it, handsome cells, and a church, on which he bestowed much property and treasure; and, some time before his death, a box filled with the reliques of Saints, to each of which we now paid our devotions, one by one. They are,

first, the right hand of St. Michael, Bishop of Sonada, whose head is preserved in one of the convents of the Holy Mountain, and is taken, as we are informed, to the districts where the locusts make their appearance. The priests prepare an *Ἁγιασμὸς*, which they consecrate with this venerable relique; and this holy water they sprinkle on the lands and fields, and distribute to the people of the towns and villages; and by the power of the Almighty, and the intercession of the Saint, the locusts are driven away from them into the sea; and for that year, provisions are cheap among them, in consequence of the abundance of their harvests. This is a thing well known in those countries. . . .

We have been informed, that some years ago there was a great dearth in the island of Cyprus, caused by an invasion of locusts among them, which was uninterrupted for a series of seven years. They represented, therefore, their condition to the Soltan; and requested a Khatti-shefif, or imperial mandate, directing the people of the above-mentioned convent to grant them the head of the Saint. In consequence of this petition, an Aga was dispatched, from before the Soltan, with the desired mandate; and he repaired to the convent, to ask for the head. It was the custom of the house, and the established rule of old, not to suffer this holy relique to be removed from their precincts, except upon pledges. The Cypriots, therefore, lodged with them, as sureties, forty Archons, of the most noble of the island, till they had carried the head over to Cyprus, made an *Ἁγιασμὸς*, and sprinkled with it their whole territory:—and, wonderful to relate! the locusts were instantly expelled from the island, and drowned in the sea: and, as a votive offering, the islanders carried five thousand piastres to the convent, on returning with the head, and, having given thanks to God, departed. Thus, it is said, do all the people of Romelia, as well Moslems as Christians: for this Saint, at his death, among other requests, made this one especially to Almighty God: and this is a subject delightful to be known.

To return: We took a blessing also from the hand of St. Philip the Apostle, which, with the hand of St. Michael, above mentioned, is inlaid with gold: also from the palm of St. Marina the Martyr, with which she struck the Devil in prison. This holy relique cures the ague. Of these and others, all sealed with seals, and accompanied with a written description, a register is kept by the Abbot of the Monastery. Then we performed Mass in the church; and made an *Ἁγιασμὸς* in the fountain opposite the church, to which they say the water comes from the summit of the mountain, a distance of one hundred and forty-four fathoms. On the highest point, overlooking the whole country, they have

erected a large stone cross, such as we saw in other places, and especially on the roads, by the mercy of God, planted in great numbers. We were unable to go up to the situation of the head of the fountain of water, which flows down to the basin, because of the steepness and difficulty of the road. From the outside of the convent-walls there is a very extensive prospect over distant places, as the site of this establishment is so open and elevated. From it, we went down, on foot, to the convent below.

On Thursday we took leave of them; and, on departing from the convent, passed along roads of extreme difficulty and unevenness; taking in our way a small town, named *Rimeshti*, the native place of Stephanus, the present Metropolitan of Wallachia, who is now building here a church of stone. He is said to have been originally a writer, or secretary, in the Convent of Bistrisa: afterwards he became a Monk; and subsequently Abbot of the celebrated Monastery of Tetsimana, of which we shall presently give an account; then Metropolitan over the whole province of Wallachia, in the time of Matthi Voivoda; who afterwards deposed him, and substituted, in his place, Ignatius, Bishop of Rimniko, a prelate of whom we formerly made mention, at our first entrance into the Principality. Latterly, he has been restored to his dignity by Constantine Voivoda.

In the afternoon we came to a town in the vicinity of the mountain, and near to the river *Oltans*, belonging to one of the Boyars, who was Bostanik, but is now dismissed. It is called *Bolfarage*; and the Boyar is building within it a large convent, with a castle, under the title of The Assumption of Our Lady, to make it a burial-place for himself and offspring. He has called to him Monks and Priests, and lodged them in different houses, until he completes the building: and has settled on this convent the whole town, with its appurtenances of mills, gardens, &c., according to the practice, we have many times recorded, of all the Grandees of these countries. We performed Mass for him, in a large wooden church near the new building: and departing at noon, we arrived, in the evening, at another convent, named *Crasna*, under the invocation of St. Nicolas; which is also a stone edifice. On our way, we had passed many rivers. Here, on the morrow, we made an *Ἀγιασμός*: and after dinner departed, to entangle ourselves among difficult roads, forests, and waters, until the evening; when we came to a small market-town, named *Torghojiv*, being near a large river named *Jiv*: for *Torgho* is the word for bazaar or market, and *Jiv* is the name of the river. In this district is an iron-mine; from which, in the time of Matthi Voivoda, much metal was extracted. All our road from *Torghisht* to this place was under a

circular mountain, dividing between this country and the country of the Majars, empty and uncultivated for the space of a day's journey. The part towards Wallachia is round, like the half of a bowl; and the Monasteries, which I have described, are all situated on this convexity.

On Sunday morning, after we had assisted at Mass in the said market-town, we went forth; and passed over rivers without number; certainly more than thirty, all flowing down from the Hungarian hills, and speeding towards the Danube. We were told that seven-and-twenty streams, like the great river Oltao, which we crossed in boats, pass through the lands of Wallachia, coming from the country of the Majars, and throw themselves into the Danube; without mentioning numberless others. Blessed be God! all these rivers are of very fine clear sweet waters; and the ground, over which they flow, is full of holes, which quicken their absorption. Our road this day, till late in the afternoon, was extremely uneasy, from the hills and forests we had to traverse.

At the close of our journey, the Abbot of the celebrated convent of *Tetsimana* came out to meet us; and we alighted by the river of the same name; on the banks of which, on each side, is a large market-town, an absolute dependency on the convent. From the moment we approached this place, we obtained a view of the convent; which is situated in the middle of a valley, on the ledge of a hill, surrounded by vast mountains and forests. You enter upon this convent by the same sort of entrance as that of the Convent of Cozia, or the Convent of Bistrisa. There is no other road to it but this, lying through the very midst of the river; which we passed several times, as we entered an immense glen, to ascend to the spot where the convent is situated. From the mountain around it flow springs of water in rivulets; together forming the large river in the valley, up which lies the road to the convent. Before you arrive at the first gate, you perceive above it, on the mountain, a cell of a hermit; near to which is a small neat church, under the invocation of St. Anthony the Great: and here is a *Khalistao*, or preserve for fish, into which a spring of water flows down from the heights. We did not ascend to the convent without very great labour, in consequence of the great rapidity of the fall of the river, and of the quantity of trees and stones, which, when there is any rain, it drags and hurls down continually from the mountain brows. We went all round the whole mass of building, before we arrived at the first gate, constructed of iron, across a narrow path. In this spot is a fountain of water springing, with a jet; and over the gate, which is a large tower, are numerous battlements. Having passed this gate, we came to a second, of iron also,



over which is the belfry : and we entered the great church, which bears the title of The Assumption of Our Lady. It is a beautiful solid edifice, with two lofty cupolas ; the one over the Νάρεθηξ, the other over the choir, and both octangular. The treasury, or robe-room, is outside, on the right of the sanctuary. In front of the church door is a tunnel of fine water, flowing from a cavern under the mountain, where the magazines, or store-rooms of the convent, are formed. On the way to them there is a basin of masonry, in the ground, to keep the fish in, that have been caught, till they are wanted. Hence you pass before the door of the kitchen ; and on one side of it you pass by the بنيمية or cellars of the convent, used for cooling the vessels of wine, and for keeping fresh all the greens which they require. A portion of the water runs down to the privies : the rest flows to a small neat mill, always turning, which grinds for them all the grain they want, without trouble or difficulty. With these conveniences, the convent is well prepared for an obstinate defence. Indeed, it has no equal, either in this country or any other, for the beauty of its site and position, the abundance of its waters, and the natural strength it possesses, aided by the protection of its surrounding walls. This convent, also, was built anew by the late Matthi Voivoda. It had been, originally, the hermitage of a devout man, named Nicodemus, whose father was a Greek, native of the city of Castoria, and whose mother was a Servian. He ran away from his parents ; and came to this place by the inspiration of an Angel, who pointed it out to him, under the summit of the mountain, as an eligible spot for the abundance of its running waters ; and here, by scooping out the rock, he made himself a cell, to which you now ascend by the help of ropes, and performed great miracles. He went to the city of Bodom, the residence of the Crál of Hungary, and preached to him the faith of Christ. The Crál answered him, “ I will light up a great fire ; and if you pass through it, with your robes and gospel unhurt, I will believe you.” The Saint did so : he passed through the fire, together with his Deacon, who all the while threw incense : and, for this, their belief in him was great. The Crál gave him valuable gifts, among which were thirty villages ; and he bestowed on him great means for the construction of this convent, which it was he who first laboured at and erected. The Kniaz Aazar, or Lazarus, at that time sovereign of the land of Servia, gave him a large city, with the sixty villages around it ; and the Voivode of Wallachia made him a grant of all the custom-house dues within the circle of the convent, besides conferring on him many other benefits. The Crál above mentioned presented to him also a heavy silver thurible, in the shape of the castle of

Bodom, with its towers, which was shewn to us. The structure of this convent was formerly of mean substance and appearance; when the late Matthi Voivoda, on fleeing from Leon Voivoda, came to it, and stood on his defence. His enemies pursued him, and laid siege to the convent; but they were unable to prevail against it. Afterwards, the Voivode escaped from his confinement; and having gone to the city of Constantinople, was there, by the power and influence of the Vazir Abaz Basha, made Beg, and returned to Wallachia. The first thing to which he turned his attention was, the immediate re-construction of this convent, with an endeavour to increase its strength to the utmost; as it had been the means of his escape from the hands of his enemies, and he had taken a vow on himself to this purpose. Vast walls, in consequence, enclose the convent all round; which, being built on the ledges of the mountain, strike awe into the person looking up to them from below, particularly by the fall of waters rushing down from above them to the bottom of the vale. We never till now saw a place with such abundance of running streams. Within the walls are deposited five small pieces of artillery, near to the battlements, which command the road for a considerable distance. In this part of the convent, which is a sort of gallery or balcony over the valley and river, we were assigned our lodging.

In the convent cellar is a large butt of enormous size, the length of which is six and twenty spans, and the breadth nine. It holds three thousand fadras or vodras of wine, each vodra being equal to twelve okkas: it contains, consequently, six and thirty thousand okkas. They fill it with wine, by means of long funnels, fastened to the top and reaching to the outside of the cellar: and the wine is kept in it a whole year, for the blessing's sake; the butt having been constructed by the Saint, during a period of his life, with his own hands, of a kind of wood which grows no where but in the environs of the convent, and is called Tisa (تيسا). It resembles ebony, only its colour is approaching to red: and it is proof against decay. On this account, the name of the river and of the convent is Tisamana, that is, they are named after this tree. The wood is extremely hard and beautiful; and with it they make thousands of small barrels, bound with iron hoops, which never fall to pieces. I brought two of them with me to Aleppo, and still have them at home.

We blest ourselves with the Saint's *Φελόιον*, the very same in which he entered the fire, as we have before mentioned—it is of red cloth, trimmed with yellow; with the Saint's *Ωμοφόριον*; and with the ancient Gospel, which he wrote, with his own hand, in Hungary, in an admirably fine character, in the Russian language, on

handsome parchment. It is embellished with silver; and at the end of the book is the date, Six thousand nine hundred and twelve: so that it is now two hundred and fifty-three years old. The body of the Saint is concealed beneath the floor of the church; through their fears on its account from the side of the Majars, lest these should steal it; as they have so great a faith in its virtues, and are such near neighbours. They are now, however, constructing for him a tomb outside the church, in the portico, furnished with curtains, railings, &c. A finger only of the Saint is shewn as an object of devotion, and we took a blessing from it; as we likewise did from the reliques of other Saints in their possession, Patriarchs of Antioch. One of them was St. Ignatius, the Girt of God. There was also St. Chrysostom, with others. The Saint of the convent, in his lifetime, planted some vines and chesnut-trees on the mountain opposite the town, which are still in existence. On the hills around this convent are many pious men and Hermits, who repair to the church at all proper seasons, to receive the sacred mysteries. On the present occasion, as soon as news was sent them of the arrival of our Lord the Patriarch, they flocked to him, to ask his absolution: and we received their blessing.

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## SECT. VIII.

### *REMARKABLE COPPER-MINE.—CONVENT OF SATRAHAYA.—CONVENTS OF COROMOTRO AND TENTSARANI.*

Afterwards, we performed Mass in their church, on Tuesday the fourteenth of Tamoz; and the Patriarch ordained for them a Priest and a Deacon; and invested the Abbot with the girdle, giving him authority to take the title of Archimandrite, and to be a master of Confession and Communion. On the morrow, we took leave of them; and proceeded a journey of between three and four hours, to the famous copper-mine, situated on the borders of the country. As we were told, so we observed, that the Province of Wallachia is in the shape of a bow. Fokshan is near the Danube; whence, in the direction of the mountains to the Convent of Cozia, is a distance of four days' journey. Again, from Cozia to this copper-mine, in this frontier situation, is a distance of half a day's journey: and from Torghisht, hither, is four days. From this place it is another day's journey to the town called Bazaar, which is the frontier of Wallachia. Passing the

Danube, you have on one side the Majars; on the other, the Turks. On the land belonging to the Majars is the castle of Tenmishwar, which was taken from them by the late Soltan Soleiman: and there resides an out-post Basha. The length of Wallachia, from Fokshan to Bazaar, is about ten days' journey: in breadth, it does not extend far from the Danube.

This copper-mine was discovered in the time of the late Matthi Voivoda. The manner of its discovery was this. A Servian, going about hunting in the woods, and coming to this spot, which was then entirely unknown to any one, found a heap of black stones, moulded together from length of time; and become one solid mass. The stones had lain there since the time of the Greeks; and it was perceived, by their appearance, that there must be a mine hereabouts. The Servian waited on the Beg, to inform him of this circumstance; and took a lease of the ground from him: and under the authority of the Beg the mine was worked, and the ore brought out. The situation of the mine is at the top of the mountain. The whole surface of the environs, including the summits of the neighbouring hills, is covered with white stone; under which the soil is red, precisely similar to the earth of Aleppo. The waters are very abundant; and the shaft is like that of a salt-mine, covered with verdure, and deep; up and down which the workmen are moved by pulleys and ropes, drawn by horses walking round. At the bottom they are busy digging, both night and day, by torch-light; and with great labour they bring out the black ore-stone. That which they have not the power to cut through, by reason of its hardness, they surround with lighted coals, and then go up out of the mine. As soon as the fire is burnt out, and the place is cooled, they descend; and finding the stone cracked, they drag away the pieces, and hoist them to the mouth of the shaft. Some of the ore without veins is of a rusty green: some is light and yellow, and that is the pure copper. They mix, however, the whole of it together, and carry it to the melting-house. The description of the melting-houses is this. They are very wide and lofty, and their roofs are made to slope. In the middle of each of them are five or six furnaces, placed over wells or cisterns; and behind each furnace is a pair of very large bellows, like those used by blacksmiths, worked by water; for it is so contrived, that at the back of each shop is a pipe with a running stream, which falls on a wheel outside: this wheel turns a long thick beam; and by means of it the handles of the bellows are raised and lowered; so that the fires are blown with great force, whilst the workmen are continually standing by to supply coals and copper-ore. These fires are kept up with the severest attention and labour,

both day and night, till the copper is thoroughly heated and melted, and, by its weight, falls down into the pit under ground. As soon as it is cooled, they take it up in large masses; which they break small, and carry to the outside of the house. Here they bring together great quantities of willow and poplar wood; and piling layers of this wood and layers of the pieces of metal, alternately, to the height of a man's stature, they set fire to the pile on the four sides, and leave it to burn day and night till it is burnt out. Then they collect the metal; and subject it to fire a second time, in another place; and thus they continue, until they have done it six times. Afterwards, they return the copper to the same furnace it was first melted in, and melt it again. It runs down into the pit as before; but is still raw: and after it has cooled, they again place it in the furnace. This time it obtains a thorough melting, and now runs like water. They draw it off into moulds, and take it up like pieces of wax, a pure and beautiful copper. It is said to be finer and better than that of Castamona, being as soft as virgin silver; and it is taken, by the merchants, to Turkey, to Trebizond, Castamona, and Persia. The okka is sold at half a dollar; and they are reported in one year to have produced of it six hundred thousand okkas, whilst it was yet abundant near the surface of the ground; but now they bring it up from a great depth. For the last two years the produce has been two hundred thousand okkas each year: but a great capital and expenditure are required, to purchase the coal, and to pay the workmen, engineers, &c. The coal must be no other than that made from willow and poplar, and the wood also which they use to fire the copper must be of the same trees: and thus the whole of this district is cleared of wood, after having been an immense forest; and now they have to bring their fuel from a distance. We had long had a vehement desire to see this sight, and at length it fell to our portion. We asked them why the stones of this country are white like snow. They answered, that it was in consequence of the great heat and smoke arising from the operation of burning the copper-ore in the way we have described.

The stream which flows by the workshops, and turns their wheels, issues from the bottom of the mountain in which the mine is situated; and for this reason there lives in it neither fish nor frog, nor any worm or limp of any kind; though anciently it swarmed with living creatures. But as soon as they began to dig the mountain, and the mine was laid open, the water was poisoned, and the fish and other creatures were expelled from it; because the copper ore is accompanied with sulphur, and it is even thought that the entire base of the mountain is of

the latter material. One year, fire was lighted at different parts in the bottom of the mine; according to what we have before mentioned, that they subdue the hardest of the rock by flame; and this fire continued to burn for the space of ten years, it being impossible for any one to extinguish it. Yet, surprising as it is, the air of this place is nevertheless most sweet and wholesome.

Then our Lord the Patriarch performed for them an *Ἀγιασμός*, at the mouth of the shaft, and sprinkled the whole place. He prayed also in the workshops, over the furnaces, the Prayers of the Litany.—All the workmen and artists are Servians.

We were informed, that across the Danube, opposite to them, is a large city, the name of which, in ancient times, was *Claudiopolis*, that is, the city of the Emperor Claudius; but now they call it Cladova. The Turks, on making the conquest of it, gave it the name of Fatho Islām.

Nearly in the same direction is the city of *Belgrad*. Belgrad is a Russian word, properly Bielogorod, that is, the “White City”; and this town is five days’ journey distant from the mine.

The city of *Bodom* is eight days distant. The greater part of its inhabitants are, Majars or Hungarians, under the government of the Cæsar, that is, the Emperor of the Alamans, who is also called Emperor of the Niemsas, whose residence is the city named Bāj (باج), five days distant from the former. It is said that the Danube rises in his dominions, and, having flown for the space of a month’s journey through his territory, mixes at Belgrad with another large river like itself, the name of which is Saba. Afterwards, in consequence of the great number of large rivers which flow into it, it becomes an immense flood of water; and, running from the empire of the Niemsas to the Black Sea, falls into it, after a course of another month’s journey. On the bank of the River Danube, forming the frontier of the Turkish empire, are five Pashaliks. The greatest of these Pashas is the Beglerbeg of Bodom, who holds the rank of a Beglerbeg of Egypt: the second is the Beglerbeg of Bosna, a province fronting the Venetian territory, opposite Zadra (ذادرا): he rules over the Sandjak of Ibakio, which is the See of the Archbishop of Servia. The third is the Pasha of Belgrad: the fourth, the Pasha of the city of Sophia: and the fifth, the Pasha of Silistria.

On Friday, we left the miners, and traced back our steps to the lowlands of Wallachia, having finished with the mountains. We first entered within the rule of the Cadiship of *Fiddin*; then we entered that of *Craiova*, where the Bano rules with an extent of jurisdiction over five Cadiships. We proceeded along

the bank of the afore-mentioned river of the mines for the space of three hours ; and came to a small town belonging to one of the Boyars, where we were received with great respect. We stayed with them till Sunday, as they would not consent to our departure, until we had said Mass for them, and performed an *Ἀγιασμός*. After the banquet, we set forth, and in the evening reached another small town, where we slept.

Having risen early in the morning of Monday the Feast of St. Elias, full five years since our departure from Aleppo, we travelled for the space of three hours ; and were met by the Abbot of the Great Convent, called *Satrahaya*, but dedicated in the name of the Holy Trinity. We entered this truly magnificent convent, which is situated on the plain, and was built by the late Matthi Voivoda. It resembles a huge castle, having vast walls of enclosure, with numerous battlements. Within it is a beautiful fountain of running water, over which is erected a strong lofty tower. Over the gate of the convent is the belfry, handsomely and airily built, to a great height. The gates are of iron, the cells of neat construction, and the kitchen and stables are all vaulted with stone. It is said, that the first thing he began on, was the erection of the church, near to the present, and in the middle of the ancient village. Then he beautified the spot in reference to the church ; and commenced building a *Corta*, or palace, for himself. After this was finished, some persons said to him, “ But what is requisite, is, that you should form it into a convent.” He replied, “ So it is in the course of formation into a convent :” and in this manner he completed it. For this reason, the structure of this monastery is in the extreme of beauty, strength, and security. In the centre is situated the store-house or vaulted chambers, for the keeping of corn and wine ; and over these are magnificent rooms, and a large hall, with a verandah round it. This last apartment is now used as a refectory. All these buildings are whitened with lime, both inside and out. On the eastern side of the convent there are no cells for Monks, but only strong walls of enclosure ; over which looks a lofty edifice, containing a beautiful sitting-room, and a dining-room, in which the heart is eased of its cares by the cheerfulness of the prospect. Around are gardens, and a stream of water, flowing from a spring, and running into a fish-pond close by. The church is extremely beautiful, and is decorated with every possible ornament, being painted all over, within and without. In one word, it is a princely convent, and much celebrated in this country for its beauty and strength. We certainly met with none equal to it : the open prospect around is particularly cheering to the heart.

After saying Mass here, and partaking of a meal, we left them ; and having proceeded between three and four hours' journey, we came to an ancient convent, dedicated in the name of St. Parasceve, but commonly called *Coromotro*, that is, "Mouth of the River": for the river of the mines, the name of which is *Motro*, runs close by the convent, and supplies it with water. This convent is reckoned to be more ancient than that of *Tetsimana*: for St. Nicodemus was the first person who came to live here in holy retirement, and set about the erection of the church. A long time afterwards, he went to build the Convent of *Tetsimana*. The church here, in its ancient form, was small and mean ; and was pulled down by one of the Grandees of State of this country, who was *Fertek* or *Grand Cadi*, and whose name was *Brâza* ; a kinsman of the late *Matthi Voivoda*. From the time of his father and grandfathers he held numerous estates, consisting of convents, churches, and villages : and among them was this convent, of which a particular relation will be given hereafter. He built it up new, a second time ; and it was made a handsome and elegant edifice, with three cupolas ; the whole covering of the roof being of jointed plates, the weight of which is said to be sixteen thousand *okkas*. Unfortunately, the situation of this convent is extremely unpleasant, being infested with flies and gnats.

We made here a consecration of holy water, and a commemoration of the founders : and in the afternoon we travelled for an hour in a southerly direction and came to a convent under the invocation of St. Michael. It is commonly known by the name of the *Tentsarani* Convent ; that is, the Convent of the Kingdom of Gnats : and this appellation is founded in truth. It is a demesne of the Holy Resurrection ; and is governed by an Abbot, who is a native of Greece, and inhabited by Monks who are disciples of the Patriarch of Jerusalem. It is situated on the bank of a river flowing within the lappet of the mountain : and in consequence of the quantity of grass and verdure of the most luxuriant growth, and the thickness of the woods around it, the whole district swarms with gnats, to a degree beyond description. We passed two nights here ; during one of which we had not even a taste of sleep : for the second, we went up, in the hope of repose, to the top of the hill in the vicinity of the convent, where a new vineyard has been planted, and there is a huge tall watch-tower ; but we could not escape from the insect, either night or day, and suffered from it such severe torment as cannot be described. God protect the visitors of this convent ! With all this, we lighted up fires all round us, and raised a smoke with cow's-dung : but nothing of all these precautions availed us : on the contrary,



our enemy waged the war against us the more fiercely ; so that, God is our witness ! for most of our nights during this summer season, and during the great heats of this country, we were obliged to lie down with our boots on our legs, to clothe our hands with leather-gloves, and to cover up our faces : and yet we did not escape.

### SECT. IX.

#### TOWN AND PALACE OF BOYANA.—FILISHAN.—CRAYOVA.—THE BOGOVATES MONASTERY.—CONVENT OF ILTIYANI.

THE church of this convent is built of wood : we performed in it an *Ἀγιασμός*, and a commemoration for the founders : and then we bade adieu to the Monks. We journeyed for an hour and a half in a westerly direction ; and came to a small town belonging to one of the great officers of state, called *Boyana*. Within it is a large palace erected for the proprietor, the buildings of which are of surprising beauty. At the moment this Archon was informed of the passage of our Lord the Patriarch, it happened that within his family a wedding was about to be celebrated, in the person of his grandson ; and he sent, with great eagerness and joy, to invite our master to visit him. When we arrived at his house, we found them all busy with the preparations for the nuptials. But see what it pleased the Almighty should intervene ! Just then occurred the sudden death of the elder brother of the bridegroom ; and their joy, together with their festivity, was turned to grievous mourning, and into wailings and lamentations which exceed description. It is usual, in this country, not to betroth or marry the younger son or daughter before the elder. But they were much relieved and consoled by the presence among them of our Lord the Patriarch ; for he preached to them, and administered comfort ; and, after a long discourse, he persuaded them to complete the nuptials. Observe, therefore, how, in obedience to him, and waving all opposition to his paternal advice, they carried on two such opposite ceremonies, the nuptial and the funeral, at one and the same time. The men and the women had already been decked out, to go and fetch the bride from a distant place ; but, on the event of this melancholy death, they had been stopped. The Patriarch, however, compelled the parties to complete the execution of the affair : and they now, in their usual way, dispatched the bridegroom with his kinsmen, and many nobles and ladies, in coaches, with attendants, to

fetch the bride. In the mean time, they began the funeral rites of the deceased ; and, with great exertions, the Patriarch forced them to lay him in his coffin, and bury him by the afternoon of the second day : for they were unwilling to do so. On the next day, which was Sunday, they performed for him a *Μνημόσυρον* ; and gave a splendid feast, for which they slaughtered four heads of oxen, and fifty heads of sheep. Loaves they baked without number ; and they spread linen cloths, looking like whole pieces from the loom, on tables reaching from the centre of the house to the outside of the court-yard : on these tables they set the bread, in large loaves ; and on each loaf they placed a piece of meat. We went purposely to see what was doing ; and we reckoned the persons, who were placed one close to another, at more than fifteen hundred : for it is the custom in all these countries, when a report is spread of joy or mourning, that is, of a wedding or a funeral, that the people of the neighbouring villages come to make a meal. Over each company there stood a person with a staff, to see to them, that they ate and were satiated, and that to every one were given his three goblets of wine. To each they distributed also three (باتات) loaves ; and the guests continued sitting till they had finished their repast. Then they put up what remained before them in napkins, which they had provided to carry away these remnants ; and having prayed mercy for the defunct, they departed. Previously to the banquet, our master had prayed over all these tables, and had blessed them with the prayer, “ Have mercy on us, O God ;” and with incense, making commemoration of the deceased. When we ourselves sat down to table, numerous dishes were presented to us ; and, on rising, we had the prayers performed a second time, according to custom. It is not the rich only who give alms in the manner we have been describing : but the poor, also, when one of the family of any of them dies, walk behind him to the grave with meat and bread ; and, after they have interred him, they distribute this food to the bystanders, that they may pray a mercy on him ;—and very commendable is the custom !

The description of the weddings in this country (though we have before entered into this subject) is as follows. Sending their servants and labourers with carts up the mountain, they had thence brought to them a great quantity of the branches of the fir-tree ; and pointing the stems, they planted them on the walls around, before the gates right and left, on the roads on both sides, and from the church to the mansion. This with them is the token of a wedding about to be performed ; and we asked the reason and meaning of it. They told

us, that as the leaves of this tree never fall, and are always green with the fruit in the midst of them, so God grant to the bride and bridegroom.

On Monday arrived the messengers with the joyful tidings of the approach of the bridegroom, having preceded the party of horse who were riding before him; and having communicated the pleasing news to the parents of the young man, they received a distribution of (مخارم) shawls. Presently the bridegroom himself came up, with his accompanying escort of friends on horseback, mounted on a horse given to him by his father-in-law, as is the custom here, with its saddle, trappings, and bridle complete; and wearing on his head a (صرغج) panache of white wool, as is usual for bridegrooms. The bride was in the coach; and following her were other coaches, full of the ladies of the grandes of the country. Her brother was come with her. Behind her were two wagons full of goods, consisting of clothes, furniture, &c.; for it is the bride that endows the bridegroom, who gives nothing whatever to her. The bride's father settles on her, by writing, a (برودكا) dower, with farms and peasants, servants, vineyards, &c. in proportion to his ability. If she has children, these possessions revert to her husband; but should she die without offspring, the entire (برودكا) dower returns to her father.

As soon as the bridegroom entered the court-yard of the mansion, his father and mother gave him the meeting, as they did also to his bride with him: and having made them drink wine out of large silver cups, they proceeded to the church, with us preceding them. Here, in conformity with their constant practice, they spread a carpet under the feet of the young couple: and the (اشبين) godfather, having taken his place by the side of the bridegroom, whilst the (اشبينه) godmother stood near the bride, whose face was covered with rose-coloured (ضراي) lace, I, the poor Archdeacon, put on my cope, and, having robed the doctor in his 'Επιτραχήλιον, 'Ωμοφόριον and Μαντύα, I threw incense round the reading-desk or table which they had placed before the choir, having set upon it the gospel and the cross. As, in the course of the ceremony, the bride and bridegroom walked round the table, sweetmeats of almonds and raisins, and (قضامه) comfits &c. with (بانات) loaves, were thrown at them, and were greedily gathered up by the bystanders. After the conclusion of the prayer, the married couple advanced to kneel before the gospel, and kissed it, together with the hand of our master; and then went out. There was no crying now, nor wailing, as the day before. Bless them, for the excellence of their customs, in so speedily dissipating their griefs, and yielding themselves up to joy and gladness! In the evening, we were invited to the banquet, which was very grand, consisting of more than five or six

hundred dishes ; and every time they brought any thing in, they added it to what was already there.

It is usual for the bridegroom never to take his calpack from his head : as we saw in Torghisht, that in the case of all the young nobles to whom the Beg stands as (اشبين) godfather, he himself is uncovered in the church, and in presence of the Heads of the Clergy, but the bridegroom keeps on his calpack.

It is the custom, that for this evening the bridegroom himself waits at table, and serves up the dishes and drink : and the bride in like manner attends all the guests, from first to last, with their wives. After a little while, they brought in a box of *بصرما* some shawls, as is usual ; accompanied by a scribe, who had been in previously, and had written down the names of all the persons at table. To each (محرمة) shawl they sewed a piece of paper, on which was written the name of the person to whom it was to be given, in the order becoming his rank, that there might be no confusion one with another. These shawls they now distributed to all the guests ; whilst the scribe wrote all their names in a register, till he came to an end. Again : they brought in a large plate : and the first to whom they presented it, who was our Lord the Patriarch, put into it, in order to do honour to the newly-married couple, a quantity of piastres : and after him the other guests made their offerings. Those who had money with them threw in piastres or dinars, according to their station ; and some said to the scribe, ' Write down, to be received at my house, such a horse or ox, or such a number of sheep or hogs, or such a servant or جنكذ servants, &c.' By the time the roll was gone through, the plate was filled with money. The same thing is done among the women, in their apartment. Then the grandfather of the bridegroom presented to him a plated sword, and a scabbard of brocade and velvet ; and his father gave him a fur dress (باچه) of sables. All the pieces of money which had been collected were put up together in a napkin, and sealed.

When the bride, accompanied by the women, approached our Lord the Patriarch, and, kneeling before him, had received his blessing, the napkin containing the money was given to her, together with all the keys of the boxes belonging to her husband, and of the houses, and of the cellars where the pickles and wines are kept, all hanging by a silver chain : for in this country the wife is the guardian of her husband's treasures, and the keys are always hanging down from her girdle. She constantly sits at the head of the table, and her husband below her, on her right, as we frequently observed on many occasions.

Then they quaffed numerous rounds of cups : first to God ; secondly to the

Beg; then to our Lord the Patriarch; to the Bano, that is, the Cadi of this country, whom we have heretofore mentioned; to the father of the bride; to the grandfather of the bridegroom; to his father and mother; to himself; and to the guests. Thus they continued drinking until after midnight; when we rose, and came to our tents: for they had erected for us a large pavilion and tents in the meadow which is between the church and the mansion, and we were surprised at their neatness and clearness from dust. In the morning, all departed for their homes, and not a single guest was left behind.

On the night of the twenty-seventh of the month Tamoꝝ, and that which followed it, there happened a dreadful storm of thunder and lightning, which shook the earth; and we said, "The Resurrection is come!"

On Wednesday, we obtained, with some contention, that they should dismiss us: and having all of us received presents from them after dinner, we were loaded with their thanks, and conducted forth to a considerable distance. Having proceeded a two-hours' journey, we entered a town, the name of which is *Filishan*; where we passed the night preceding the Carnival of Our Lady: and in the morning, after an early repast, we bade adieu to the inhabitants; and having travelled for two hours, we came to another small town, belonging to a Boyar, where we slept that night.

On Friday morning we made a two-hours' journey, and came to a town named *Crayova*, which is the second episcopal see in the Principality of Wallachia. Formerly, in the time of Matthi Voivoda, and of the Voivodes who preceded him, there resided in this town a governor, entitled Bano, as Beg the second, who exercised authority of confiscation and death, and issued commands and prohibitions, without deference to the Beg in chief; until latterly, that Constantine Voivoda has abolished both the rank and the practice, lest corruption and depravity should be their results. On the present occasion, the said Bano, who retains the name only, came out to meet us on the outside of the town, accompanied by the Grandees and the populace. They conducted us into the large stone church built by the late Matthi Voivoda, in the name of St. Demetrius. It precisely resembles the Church of the Corta; being erected on four tall pillars, and having a light and cheerful look.

On the morning of Saturday the first of the month Ab (August) we made for them an *Ἀγιασμός* in the church; and in the afternoon, having parted from them, we came to a convent on the west of the town, in a ravine or glen, in the midst of a forest, dedicated in the name of St. Nicolas, and called, in their language,

**Monastiri Bogovates.** It is in the hands of Greek Monks, being a dependence on the celebrated Convent of St. Barlaam in Romelia, which, as we were now informed, is built on the top of a mountain, and is inaccessible by any road of ascent whatever: for the mountain stands like a single piece of rock aloft in the atmosphere, with its four sides perfectly square. When any person therefore comes to the bottom of the rock, for admission to the convent, he pulls a rope, hanging down, with a bell at the top; and the Monks hearing it, if it be a person whom they wish to come up to them, lower down to him a box, by wheels and ropes; and, on his taking his seat within it, they haul him up. It is a most magnificent and beautiful convent. The water they are supplied with is from the clouds; and they have corn-fields and vineyards up above; but these are not sufficient for their support, and the rest of their crops are in the plain below: on this account, therefore, they are submissive to the governors of the country, on whom, otherwise, they would be independent. Any person whom they are unwilling to receive, they pay no attention to, and give him, of course, no means of ascent, although he should be a dignitary of the highest rank and condition; and he has no power of doing any thing to compel them.

These Monks, who are in the aforesaid branch establishment, are changed every three years; and, from the head convent, another Abbot, with other Monks, are sent to replace them. The church is a handsome stone edifice, and is beautifully painted all over. In front of the door is a spring, like a deep well, out of which the water rises; and above it is a gallery, with a lofty cupola. Then we made for them an *Ἀγιασμόσ*, on the Sunday morning, the second day of August.

From this convent to the second convent of Bodom is a day's journey. Its name, in Greek, is *Phendones*; and in it resides a Metropolitan, who has jurisdiction over five hundred towns and villages, all Bulgarian. In the evening, we took leave of them; and having proceeded for two hours through the forest, we arrived at a convent dedicated in the name of St. Demetrius, and called *Jityani*, because the river Ji flows near to it. Around it is a large lake; which can no where be forded, but must be skirted for two hours, in order to reach the convent, which is situated in the midst of the woods. The lately deceased Domina left, by will, a sum of money for the erection of a new church; and they are now building it, with five cupolas. Afterwards, our Lord the Patriarch sprinkled the church, and consecrated it, by the recital over it of the usual prayers. We found in this convent, a vintner, originally of Satralates (سترلاتس) of Syria, whose name is now Demetrius; and we were told that he was of the freedmen of the Soltan Selim.

## SECT. X.

*BRATOSHÁNI.—BRANKOFÁNI.—THE GREAT FRANK, BRADA.—THE CONVERT JEW, ATHANASIUS.—FERKÁSH.—CARACOL.*

WE went forth from the convent in the afternoon; and arrived in the evening at a town, the name of which is *Bratosháni*, belonging to the Great Frank Brada, a kinsman of the late Matthi Voivoda, whom we have heretofore mentioned. He is the first of the Grandees of this country, by inheritance from his ancestors; and his possessions are immense, as we shall distinctly shew after a while. By the afternoon of the next day we came to a town, the name of which is *Brankofáni*, in which is the palace of the aforesaid Archon: here also are houses which belonged to the late Matthi Voivoda, whose origin was hence. We went likewise to a convent in the vicinity, placed in the midst of a wood, and dedicated by the title of The Assumption of Our Lady, which they call the Convent of Brankofáni, in relation to the town. This is also a building of the late Matthi Voivoda's. We afterwards performed Mass in it, on the Festival of the Transfiguration, and baptized a young Jew with great gladness. This Archon is vastly rich; and without his equal, either in this or any other country. He is said to have on his estates twelve thousand breeding mares; and in each of the two hundred villages belonging to him there is a herd (هرگله) of horses. He owns thirty thousand head of sheep; of which five thousand are reported to have died this year of disease; and eleven thousand were stolen from him by the robbers, with seventy hordes of wheat, in the disturbance which took place among the troops, at the beginning of the reign of Constantine Voivoda. He has four thousand head of oxen, one thousand buffaloes, four thousand hogs, and three hundred rows of bee-hives, each row producing, from every bee-hive furnished with bees, more than a fojieh (فوجیه) of wax, and about a hundred fadrehs (فادره) of honey; every fadreh worth a piastre: and this is purchased and carried away by the merchants, for Turkey. Every year this Archon sends a thousand head of oxen to Stambol, driven by his servants, to be sold for ten thousand piastres. He has fifteen hundred *Jenkena* (جنکنا) slaves; and it is said that no person has possessions any thing like his; unless it be the Cozia Convent, which has one thousand Jenkenas. We were informed, that he takes from each family, at the feast of St. George, six dinars, and at the Feast of St. Demetrius as many more, in quality of Kharadze or poll-tax; and that the sum is valued at twenty

thousand dinars. As the Archon himself is, so are most of his Jenkenas, artists; being skilled to work in the precious metals, in iron, &c. His annual income, clear of all expenses, is reported to be twenty thousand dinars; and yet his soul is very mean, particularly as regards his table,\* at which he used to drink nothing but plain water. But he is very compassionate towards Monks and poor persons, and is very fond of building churches and convents, and contributing to the support of the Clergy. He owns a number of monasteries; some of which he built himself, making on them the most liberal settlements, of oxen, sheep, horses, bees, farm-houses, mills, and serfs: some he inherited from his ancestors, the first of which is the Convent of Pistrina, an ancient erection of theirs: the rest are, the Monoxylo Convent of Nuns, the convents of Arnota, Satrahaya, Sadova, Ghoramotro (built by himself), and his convent of Brankofâni. He is at present building a monastery in Hungary; for the Crâl loves him much, and calls him father; and he is believed to hold numerous possessions in that country. All the convents which were built by the late Matthei Voivoda he has taken into his own hands, being, as we mentioned, the Beg's kinsman and nearest relative; and he is now regulating them. No other person interferes with the Monks, or with their estates: and it is he who deposes their chiefs, when they deviate from the path; and elevates others: nor is he subjected, in this, to the smallest opposition on the part of the Beg. To sum up all in one word, his good works are numerous, his buildings splendid and abundant, and he is a most religious Christian, fearing God Almighty. We used to see him, at the time of rising to prayer at midnight, unceasingly reading the Psalms of the Prophet David, and the rest of the appointed Ritual, from the beginning of the Service to the end; standing in one of the corners of the church, and looking neither to the right nor to the left; and occasionally employing himself, with all his heart, in lighting and putting out the candles, and in the rest of the Church Service, as though he were a *Κανδιδάφτης*, or rather much more eagerly, so that we wondered at him. Without doubt, the Creator, blessed be His name! has given him all this wealth, because he is deserving of it. When we sat down to table in the morning and evening, he never ceased standing on his legs to serve us; nor did he cease drinking and presenting to us goblets: and as long as these goblets were drunk in the name of God, in the name of our Lord the Messiah, in the name of the Most Holy Trinity, and in the names of the Virgin and of the Saint, Patron of the festival—to the Church, to the Soltan, to the Beg, to our Patriarch, and to the health of all the guests—we comforted ourselves, and



said, "Praise be to God, we have escaped!" In the mean time, however, the Archon was planning to draw us out to quaffings beyond those of others, and which none else knew of; such as, drinking to our healths one by one, and in particular to the health of this poor writer: then asking the names of my children, Anania and Constantine, he drank and presented a goblet to the health of each. In like manner he drank the health of our people. After that, we said, "Praise be to God! we have escaped, and are now at liberty!" But the Archon, standing up, seized a bowl, and said, "This is to the health of the stewards of our Lord, the Patriarch, at his See," and, drinking himself, poured out wine for us. Again we said, "Now, at last, we have done!" but we had not time to look about us, before he again put his hand to his cup, saying, "This is to the health of the Heads of the Clergy of the Ἱεραρχία of Antioch—this is to the health of its Priests—this is to the health of its Deacons—this is to the health of its Nobles—that is to the health of all its peasantry:" and no one dared to refuse drinking, for we were all of us ashamed to reject the cup which he presented with his own hand; but we were completely surfeited with the excess of liquor. Such, however, is their mode of hospitality at their banquets, and such the demonstration of their great friendship. We calculated that we drank at the Archon's table from seventy to eighty cups of wine.

On Friday, the Archon took leave of us, to go a distant journey; and we turned back, and came to a convent named *Hotaráni*, or *Horetáni*, dedicated to the Assembly of Angels. It is occupied by Greek Monks, and is a dependence on the Convent of Dionysius on the Holy Mount. The greatest part of our way lay over a pavement of round stones, which is said to have existed since the time of the worship of idols. This convent is poor and mean.\*

The Portári, or guide, whom the Beg had appointed to attend us, was originally a Jew, of the name of Khâkhâm, and was baptized in the reign of the late Matthi Voivoda, becoming a Christian of the strictest principles: and we witnessed on his part such deeds and merits, such relations, witty sayings, and rare qualities, as exceed description. Of these we will mention, that he gave us the history of his origin; telling us, that his father was a native of Aleppo, a Jew of the house of Obod, who removed thence to become an inhabitant of Constantinople; whence he, the son, repaired to this country, to carry on trade,

\* Here follows a list of the Convents of the Holy Mountain, which the Translator has thought it needless to insert.

until God was pleased to guide him to the truth. He has many disputations with the Jews, and has led many of them to believe, as we were ourselves witnesses. One day a Jew merchant came to Torghisht: and as soon as we saw him, we said, in jest, to our Portâri, "Can you now convert this man?" He answered, "Yes, I can:" and suddenly, the next day, without any expectation on our part, he brought the Jew to our Lord the Patriarch, to kneel down before him, and with his own mouth to confess his repentance, saying, "I hope of your Holiness, that you will baptize me; for I have to thank God that He has led me to the true faith by the hand of this Christian;" pointing to the aforesaid Athanasius. At this we were much surprised: and our Lord the Patriarch sent the man with me to the Beg; who afterwards gave orders, and we baptized him. The Beg subsequently conferred great benefits upon him, enrolling him for pay in his army, and giving him a young lady in marriage.

Athanasius told the Jews: "When you enter your synagogues, clothed in your Tailasâns or stoles, each of you turns his head towards the east, and, bowing, thus repeats from the Psalms of David the Prophet, 'I enter thy house'; then, turning to the west, he says, 'And I worship in the temple of thy holiness'; turning next to the south, he says, 'By thy fear, O Lord'; and to the north, 'Guide me to thy justice': but this", said he, "is the precise figure of the Cross."—The young Jew whom we baptized in Crayova had been preached to and converted by him.—He related to us, saying, "I one day asked a company of Jews this question: 'You say that the Messiah shall come from the race of David; but your tribes are broken up: tell me, then, whence it now remains for him to come?'"

Another day, said he, talking to me concerning the *'Avrîdωρα*, the Jews proposed to me this difficulty: "You Christians say that each individual host is the body of Christ itself; now, of the thousands of persons who communicate in your churches, does each eat the body himself?" Athanasius answered them, That the body of Christ was like a mirror; in which, if whole, a man may see his image; and equally, if it be broken into thousands of pieces, he still may see his figure in every piece. At this answer they were abashed;—and it is indeed a glorious and a beautiful answer.

He told us, moreover, that it is among the writings of the Jews, that when the Messiah comes, it will be lawful for them to eat pork. He was therefore continually upbraiding them, and saying, "We Christians eat pork, because we believe that our Lord Jesus Christ الذي هو ماسيا did come into the world, and the predic-

tions of the Prophets have been fulfilled: but you do not believe in his coming; eat therefore in sorrow and restriction."

He said, again, that the law of the Cashidiari (the Devil) and his society is named, in Hebrew, *Habel* (הבל), that is (لاش) "Vanity." Now the *Ha* among the numerals is "five," the *Ba* "two," and the *Lam* "thirty." The *Ha* is the five prayers which the Jews pray every day; the *Ba*, which is the "two," is the two festivals which they celebrate in the year; and the *Lam*, which is the "thirty," is the thirty days of the month of Fasting. The whole of it is consequently *Basamâta* and *Basafestis* (بساماطا وبهاسفستيس); and in Hebrew, *Habel Habâlim* (הבל הבליים), "Vanity of Vanities."

Telling us of the Efrayîsa who was with him, he said that he had taken her against her will, and that, in consequence, she had given him poison. On his fate drawing near, she immediately went and called the Antrobito (انتروبيطو); saying to them, "Come quickly to catch him, for he intends to bequeath to you a law." They hastened therefore instantly, and came to him: and he began to make signs to them, which are known to the Jews, but which we cannot write: and in this providence was a compensation.

The numbers, he said, in Hebrew were like those in Arabic; and that as when any of us sees his friend, and salutes him, he says "Assalâmo Aleikom"; in Hebrew the salutation is, "Aleikhom Salâm."

Many things like these he told us; and we were much delighted by his familiarity with us, for he amused us greatly with his sayings and with his company.

In all these convents and churches, the Devil and his Imps are painted in a flowing river of fire, and their names are marked on them. In the Jitiâni Convent we saw him painted as a black romping bear.

We now return to our tour.—Having set out from the Hotarâni Convent, we travelled about an hour, and came to a town belonging to the great Stolniks, named *Ferkâsh*, in which he has a large palace.

On the morning of Saturday, the retired Comes invited us to visit his new wooden church, which he has built, under the title of a convent, in the neighbourhood, dedicated to Saints Peter and Paul. Our master sprinkled it with the *Ἀγριασμός*, and we returned; and in the afternoon, setting out again, we came to a large market-town, *Caracol*, in which is a large palace, built by the late Matthi Voivoda a short time before his death, and enclosed with wooden walls, containing an extensive vineyard, and a church of stone, to which there is an open path from the houses. In this church, we assisted at the Evening Service

and at the Matins. Mass we attended in another stone church built by the Great Stolniks. In the afternoon, we moved on; and came in the evening to a small town, where we slept. The whole of this road lies within view of the Danube, and within the distance of three or four hours' journey from it: hence, being frontier ground, its towns and villages are few. Most of the inhabitants of these districts are of the regular army, and Rash, that is, Sipâhis, wearing red uniforms, and mounting guard.

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## SECT. XI.

CONVENTS OF SHAGHÂRJA, CALVI, STANISHTI, DRAGHOSHIN, CLOKOJOK,  
GLAVOJOK, CAMSHORA.

ON Monday, at noon, we came to another large convent, in the midst of the forest, newly built by the same founder, with walls of enclosure, battlements and fortifications, and a magnificent church resembling that of the Bokofates Convent. It is thus strongly built, because the Danube is near to it, within an hour and a half's journey. It is a whole day's traverse distant from Crayova. This convent also belongs to the Frank Brada, whom we have heretofore mentioned. We performed Mass in it on Tuesday, the eleventh of the month of August; and on the morning of Wednesday we crossed the River Ji, in a boat; and came in the evening to a town settled on the Patriarch of Alexandria, since the time of Radzivil Voivoda, and named *Shaghârja*; situated in a beautiful spot, with extensive lands and possessions, and a yearly revenue of five or six hundred piastres. There is a Monk, deputed by the Patriarch, always residing in it; who is changed every three years.\*

In the morning we came to the Jitiani Convent: we then passed Crayova, and came to excessively rough and precipitous roads, among mountains and valleys and woods; which we traversed, with great labour, until the evening; when we arrived at a convent under the invocation of St. Nicolas, called *Câlvi*, large, handsome, and strongly fortified. Its construction is the work of the Niemsas or Germans; and its cells extend all round the building, by outer galleries. The church is very neat, with its belfry; and the whole is within a valley closed in

\* After *يعني اقلوم سنين* follow the words

by the surrounding mountains ; so that it is a hidden monastery, and the road to it is hidden ; for we arrived at it without once seeing it, until we were entering its gate. It is a convent of much celebrity in this country.

Early in the morning of the Festival of the Assumption of Our Lady we made for them an *Ἀγιασμός*, and received a blessing from the right hand of St. Nicolas, which has its fingers all perfect ; and those fingers, however wonderful it may appear, are some straight, others bent in the form of a bishop's hand when he gives his blessing. It is ornamented with gold, and is esteemed of high price. We received a blessing, also, from a piece of the head of St. John the Baptist, the gems studded on which are of great value : these, with the plates of gold, form a kind of sun around it—from a cross composed of eleven green emeralds, the smallest worth a hundred and fifty dinars. The inner substance is solid gold. It is of German workmanship. The said stones are inlaid on both sides ; and the cross is worth three thousand dinars. We had never, as yet, seen its equal. They have an *Ἐπιτραχήλιον* of gold-tissue, all studded with pearls and gems, valued at more than a thousand dinars ; for the persons who built and endowed this convent, settling on it these estates and benefices, were great archons, who ruled over half the country of Wallachia. It was they who raised the late celebrated Michael Voivoda to the throne ; and afterwards plotted against him, and put him to death.

This convent it was our wish to take and attach to the Patriarchate of Antioch, as there are convents attached to other Patriarchates ; but we found scarcely one, with the exception of the Abbot and a few of the Monks with him, who would enter into the compact.

On Sunday after Mass we bade them adieu, and came again to the difficult road ; and again passed the River Oltans : and in the afternoon we arrived at a village belonging to the founders of the last-mentioned convent. It contains a church of stone, under the invocation of St. Procopius, in which we next day performed Mass.

We then went to another convent belonging to the same persons, dedicated by the title of The Assumption of Our Lady, and called *Stanishti*, distant from them a two-hours' journey, and situated in a valley in the midst of extensive forests. Its structure resembles that of the Câlvi Convent : the belfry, especially, is exactly like to that of the latter ; for the architects who built the one convent were employed also on the other. The zeal in this country for building convents is very great ; and they settle on them splendid endowments,

of messuages, lands, vineyards, gardens, mills, peasants, Jenkena, &c. Each convent is the burial-place of its founders : and withinside the door of the church are painted the portraits of those who built it ; that, is, of the Baron himself, his sons, father and brothers, one following the other, on the right as you enter : on the left are his wife and daughters, and the wives and daughters of his relatives. Their names are written over their heads ; and all their ambition is this, that, in after-times, their children's children may look up at their portraits, and say, " This is the portrait of our grandfather ; this of our grandmother, &c." The picture of Our Lord the Messiah is over the door ; and they, being all on the two sides, are drawn with their hands expanded towards him, and saying, " Accept from us, O blessed Messiah ! this holy church, which we have built to the glory of Thy name ; and reward us, for our labour, with thy holy kingdom !"

In this convent is a running fountain of water : but the whole place is now desolate ; for the owners of it, soon after its erection, submitted its government to Nicephorus, Patriarch of Alexandria ; after whose decease no one paid to it any attention. We performed a *Μνημόσυνον* for the founders of the convent, and then returned to the village.

On Tuesday, we went to cross the River Olto in a boat : and leaving the jurisdiction of the Bishop of Raminko, we entered that of the Metropolitan of the capital. We passed over excessively rugged hills and valleys, where the roads were broken up by the heavy wagons ; and came at noon to a convent dedicated to The Trinity, called the *Draghoshin* Convent, after the name of the person who has now newly built it, near to the River Olto. It is quite in the neighbourhood of the Stanishti Convent ; but as there is no direct road for wheel-carriages, they took us by an immense circuit of half-a-day's journey. The church is handsome ; and near to it is a fountain, and a huge bell-tower.

Returning thence, we came, in the evening, to the burg *Banokirks* ; and next morning we passed the market-town *Slátna*, and the River *Olto*, which is near to it, and is crossed in boats ; and came to a convent dedicated in the name of St. Michael, but usually called *Clokojok*. It resembles the convent we had previously visited ; and has, like it, a fountain of water. It is occupied by an Abbot and Monks of the Greek nation, from the Cortlamish convent on the Holy Mount ; its founders having made it a dependence on the latter.

On Thursday morning we went forth, and pursued the direction of Bokaresht ; for we had been brought very near to it ; and our road was all to the east and north, but very rugged, by reason of the thick woods. On Saturday we reached

a convent by the title of The Annunciation, and the name of *Glavajok*; an erection of one of the ancient Beggars, whose name was Niagho Voivoda, associated with Petrus Voivoda. The date of its foundation is just one hundred and seventeen years before the present. The church is large and beautiful in its architecture, having two domes; the one over the nave, the other over the choir. Over the four arches are four columns, on which the dome is centered. We had not seen in this country any church to compare to this; which resembles the church *Ada*, in the town of Terapolis. The cells of the convent are all of stone; and on the south side of it is a large lake. It is situated in the heart of a vast forest; and the way to it is concealed.

On Sunday, we performed Mass in the convent, and invested the Abbot with a girdle; and the Mass was concluded with a consecration of Priests and Deacons. After the repast, we bade them farewell; paid a visit to the mansion of an Archon; and thence, passing through a small town belonging to his wife, called *Petrashli*, we arrived at a convent called *Camshora*, or Poor-house, dedicated by the title of The Entrance of Our Lady into the Temple; and situated on the bank of the River Argi, which we crossed. We then passed another convent, under the invocation of St. Nicolas; and arrived in the afternoon at the city of *Bokarsht*, the renowned seat of the Beggars since the most ancient times.

## BOOK XVI.

### SECT. I.

*DESCRIPTION OF THE CITY OF BOKARESHT.—THE VILLAGE AND PALACE OF DOBRANI.—REMARKABLE CORN-MILL.—CONVENT OF COMANA. VILLAGE AND PALACE OF COYANI.*

WE were made to alight in the Convent of St. George; which is well known as a dependence on the Resurrection; and is occupied by an Abbot and Monks under the Patriarch of Jerusalem. This town of Bokaresht\* is very large, and is said to have contained for many years about six thousand houses. It has forty churches and convents; and the famous River *Dombovitsa* flows through its centre. We afterwards went to the Corta; which is a building of great dimensions, and is surrounded by tall wooden walls. It was, formerly, of old standing; but was pulled down by the late Matthi Voivoda, and rebuilt entirely new. It is an edifice surprisingly elegant and delightful to behold; and is handsomer and more cheerful than the Corta of Torghisht. Its church is dedicated to The Assumption of Our Lady; and therein we performed an *Ἀγιασμός*.

Then we went, on one side of the town, to a lofty eminence commanding a view of the surrounding country; where the present Beg has been engaged in building a large convent, with a magnificent and most splendid church, resembling the Church of Argi in the interior: but this is of brick; and in the nave has twelve pillars, each of one round piece of stone, to make up the number of the twelve Apostles. It is surmounted with four large cupolas, and has spacious outer galleries. He has covered the roof with lead, the weight of which is said to amount to forty thousand okkas. We performed in it an *Ἀγιασμός*; and his Holiness sprinkled it, according to custom: for it had not yet been finished, and consequently remained unconsecrated. It is dedicated in the name of

\*"Bucharest is a large city, situated in an immense plain, and said to contain one hundred thousand inhabitants: the houses are built of wood and plaster, with a court or garden, according to the oriental custom: the streets are laid with planks, like those in the towns of Russia. The inhabitants are composed of a mixture of all nations and religions, who have distinct places of worship, and, under the government of the Sultan, enjoy a degree of toleration unknown in many of the more civilized states of Europe."—KINNEIR, p. 17.



Constantine, which is the name of the founder, and of Helena. Then we passed to a convent under the name of St. *Cáterina*, or Catherine, in which are an Abbot and Monks from Mount Sinai; to another, bearing the name of St. John the Baptist; to one dedicated to the two Apostles Peter and Paul, of the foundation of Matthi Voivoda, and attached to one of the convents of the Holy Mount; to another bearing the name of the Forty Martyrs, and called the *Carandino*, being a dependence on the Convent of the Assumption of Our Lady, in the city of Joannina; then to a small convent bearing the name of St. Saba, which its founders formerly made a feoff to the convent of the same name in Jerusalem; and it is now presided over by an Abbot delegated from the Patriarch of Jerusalem.

On Saturday, we went to say Mass in a convent bearing the name of St. Nicolas, of the foundation of the late Michael Voivoda, situated on an eminence on one side of the town, and of great size and magnificence, with three cupolas. Here, on the same occasion, a Priest was ordained. On Sunday morning we performed an Ἀγιασμός in the Convent of St. George. On Monday, the last of the month of Ab [August], we visited a convent bearing the name of The Trinity, one of the buildings of the late Radzivil Voivoda, who ruled in his time over Moldavia and Wallachia. This convent, also, is on one side of the town, on rising ground, encircled by a river and stagnant water; and, at the time the waters are out, is accessible only by a passage over a wooden bridge. It is a handsome edifice, with a fine prospect; and its church is large and spacious, very light, extremely ornamented, and entirely covered with painting. On its south side is the place of the tombs of the Beggars, and their vaults of white marble, furnished with veils of gold tissue. They are made in the shape of a cupola, resting on four iron pillars; and the portraits of the deceased are painted on the wall. Here we performed Mass, and held an ordination of Priests and Deacons. This convent is a dependence on the Iberisko Convent, that is, the Convent of the Georgians on the Holy Mount, and is occupied by a Grecian Abbot and Grecian Monks, who are changed every three years.

Outside the town is another convent, erected by Matthi Voivoda.

On the morning of the first Greek Saturday, the first of the month of Ilól, and the anniversary of St. Simeon the Stylite, of Aleppo, the opening of the year SEVEN THOUSAND ONE HUNDRED AND SIXTY-SIX of the world, we set forth from Bokaresht, at noon; and came to the village formerly resided in by the present Beg, when he was a retired Archon. He afterwards became Commander-in-chief of the army. The village is called *Dobrání*, which means "The Beautiful."

The Corta, or palace, is large, and is enclosed with walls of jointed planks of wood, within which are spacious handsome buildings, with recesses and domes entirely covered with the portraits of Saints, and the description of wars, &c. The apartments look over an immense garden, laid out in plots, like the gardens of the Franks, with tile gutters. On the outside is a large pool of water, with a bridge over it, from one side to the other. In the centre is a handsome kiosk; and near to it a very large stone church, bearing the title of The Assumption of Our Lady.

On the next day, immediately after the ceremony of the *Ἀγιασμός*, we proceeded, by a rugged road, through a thick forest, along the margin of a lake, which never quitted our path, to the vicinity of the River Argi. Here is a fine large mill, belonging to the Beg, to which we had hitherto seen nothing comparable. It has six wheels outside, and six grinding-stones within: each stone is enclosed in a box, like a wine-press; and the meal, as it falls, is caught in bags hanging at the bottom of the box, without any escape of the finer pollen; the stones being placed high above the floor of the mill. It yields every year, by contract, a sum of one thousand Venetian *scudi*, besides supplying the household with meal. The most wonderful is, that there is an ingenious contrivance within, by which the meal is made to fall by itself, and the bran by itself.

We wished to coax the Beg to give this mill to the See of Antioch, its income being clear money; and, as we could send a person every year to receive the thousand *scudi* without further trouble, we considered it vastly preferable to any number of monasteries, a species of property which requires so much labour to be rendered profitable, and so much attention in regard to the Monks and servants: but, unfortunately, it was afterwards burnt, together with the village and the palace, as we shall have occasion to relate.

We then passed the river, over a bridge; and came to a village belonging to one of the Grand Vestiarii, who is retired, the name of which is *Ghradesht*. The proprietor has built within it, lately, a magnificent lofty church of stone, under the title of The Assumption of Our Lady.

The next morning we left, and, passing along rugged roads and an extensive ravine, we came to a convent, dedicated to St. Nicolas, called *Comana*, of the foundation of the late Shāhrbān Voivoda, father of the present Beg. It is a large double house, enclosed by stone walls: and at the four corners are four towers, with arched galleries round them, for the enjoyment of the prospect. One of them resembles one of the towers of the Convent of the Trinity, in Moscow. The belfry is over the gate. What delighted me most, was, the view of the

green grass-plot, extending over the whole of the convent court, with its well of fine sweet water, and the cells of the Monks disposed around it. This convent is thus situated on an island, being environed with lakes and pools of water, and mud, unfathomable; and there is no causeway to it whatsoever. We passed over to it in the boat: and the river Danube is very near to it. What they say, 'That if the Emperor came to make war against it, with his whole army, he would be unable to prevail,' appears true; for the situation is very strong, amidst lakes which never freeze even in the severest winter, and the under-water sand, and mud.

In the latter part of the evening, we set forth; and, returning by the road we came, arrived, in the dusk, at a village belonging to the Grand Bostanik Constantine, on a lofty eminence, overlooking the River Argi, named *Coyani*, in which he has a large palace, after the fashion of the palaces of Constantinople. There is something particularly to be admired in the structure of the two main buildings, which are opposite to each other, and not differing in the least one from the other, with their cupolas, and all painted in imitation of the waving lines of coloured marble. At the top of each dome is a circle, exactly like a solid piece of the hardest porphyry; and the rest is various colours resembling those of marble; the wood-work being of rare beauty, and the recesses and windows charming. Within the enclosure is a large church, dedicated in the name of St. Nicolas.

## SECT. II.

### VILLAGE AND PALACE OF VIÁRESHTI.—CONVENTS OF NIGHOYASHTI AND PLATARASHT, TINKAN, CALDROSHAN, AND SYNAGOGO.—PREDICTION OF WEATHER.—MARRIAGE CEREMONY.

THE next morning we left; and having passed the river in a boat, we came, in the forenoon, to a village named *Viáreshiti*; in which is a mansion and a palace without any equal in the world, unless it be in the country of the Franks; for the sister of the Domina of Matthi Beg, who built it, brought master architects from the country of the Majars, and stone from the country of the Turks; and they set about building it with polished stone, within and without. Even the vaults and the cellars below, the porches &c., are all of finely-worked stone, and of great strength of construction, exciting the admiration of the beholder. The edifice is of three stories, one above the other, and is so cheerful as to dispel all care from the heart of the sick. It would be vain for me to attempt a description

of its admirable interior arrangement into closets and apartments. In the middle of the area between the buildings are well-contrived secret repositories for stores, the doors to which are laid in the pavement over their roofs, which are all covered in with brick tiles. In this manner, we were told, all the buildings in Hungary are planned, to the great comfort of their owners and tenants. But the situation of this village is very unhealthy; and the tract of country around is full of alarms and terrors, particularly on account of its vicinity to the Turks. For my part, I should not desire such a building as this to be erected any where but in the direction of the Cozia Convent, and of that mountain of peace and tranquillity on which is found an almost total security from fears and dangers.

From this village we took our departure in the afternoon; and arrived in the evening at a convent situated in a place called *Nighoyashti*, and dedicated in the name of St. Michael and the rest of the host of Angels; which was built by the deceased Helena, Domina of Matthi Voivoda. It is an entirely new edifice; and close to the rivers Argi and Dombovitsa, which mix their waters here.

We left on Saturday morning; and came at noon to a magnificent convent, under the invocation of St. Mercurius the Martyr, in a place called *Platarasht*, built, by the late Matthi Voivoda, new from its foundations. We were informed, that in one of his wars with Vasili Voivoda, of which this spot was the theatre, he had recourse to the intercession of the martyr; who appeared to him in a dream, and inspired him with courage and fortitude. The next day, on rising from sleep, he put his enemies to the rout with great shame and discomfiture, and therefore erected this convent. The architecture of almost all his convents is uniform.

Then the brother of the Beg invited us to a village belonging to him, situated in an island in the midst of a vast lake, of no fixed surface, nor with any road or pass to it; the name of the place being called *Frojonasht*. He however made us a road; and this was an affair of continual difficulty and labour, till we at length passed. He is engaged in building for himself a large palace in the island; and there we performed an *Ἀγιασμός*.

After the repast, we arose; and having travelled for the space of two hours, we came to a convent of long standing, in an island also surrounded by a vast lake. We passed to it in a boat. It is an ancient monastery, called *Tinkan*, dedicated in the name of St. Simeon the Doctor.

After an *Ἀγιασμός*, a Mnemosynon to the founders, and the subsequent banquet, we left this place; and ceased not moving onward till the evening, when

we came to a convent under dedication to St. Nicolas, and called the Convent in the Waves (بالأمواج). It is situated on the bank of a river. Health and happiness to its population, and to all who dwell near it! for you might suppose it to be the very river of Aleppo itself, such is the silvery greyness, and such the sweetness of its waters, and so thick are the rows of willows that are growing on its borders. Here we slept for that night. In the morning, we performed an *Ἀγιασμὸς*, a Commemoration for the Founders, and the Prayers of Absolution; and, having quitted the convent, returned the way we came, to the mansion and palace of the founders.

Thence we passed to a magnificent monastery, the way to which lies through a ravine. It is surrounded by an endless and bottomless lake, is dedicated in the name of St. Demetrius, and is called *Caldroshân*. Its celebrity is great throughout the country, as it is one of the largest-sized convents: and it is also of the erection of the late Matthi Voivoda. The building is vast, and entirely new from the foundation, with a church of extreme beauty, and cells and apartments of princely elegance. The immense lake environs it; and, with the exception of a wretched road to the main land, there is no method whatever of access to it. Here lies enshrined St. Metrophanus (مطرانوس), Patriarch of Alexandria, and we received a blessing from his venerable skull.

Next morning, we set forth; and came to another convent, the last of the convents we visited. It is an ancient foundation, by the title of The Entrance of Our Lady into the Temple, and is called the *Synagogo* Convent. Its structure is severally to be referred to the deceased Mirtajâ Voivoda, Radzivil Voivoda, Mabasâraba Voivoda, and Petros Voivoda. Besides the principal, it has two other churches on the wings, containing the cells, by the titles of The Annunciation and The Assumption. This convent also is situated in an island, with an immense lake around it, over which there is a long bridge leading to it. After we had performed here an *Ἀγιασμὸς*, and a *Μνημόσυνον* for the founders, we left on the morning of Thursday, the tenth of the month Ilôl; and having driven along at a rapid pace, we entered *Torghisht* in the evening, after an absence of eighty-two days from that capital.—Now the convents we have described of this Principality of Wallachia are those situated within the *Ἰπαρχία* or jurisdiction of its Metropolitan, and that of the Bishop of Raminko: but to the convents which are under the jurisdiction of the Bishop of Boza, and are in those parts of the Principality, we did not go.—May the Almighty preserve them all for ever! Amen!

At the end of Teshrin Alavval there came on some severe cold weather, attended with much snow and a sharp frost, which lasted for ten days: then it ceased, and was followed by a second spring, with sun-shine, heat, flowers and fresh verdure, after every thing had been burnt up by the frost. Immediately the feeders of horses and other cattle returned with them to the pasture, for a second season, after having previously withdrawn them to their stables for protection. During this cold, great numbers of sheep, oxen, and beasts of burden, perished, so sudden and severe was the attack: and now, after we had been burning fires both day and night, we again felt the heat of the weather oppressive.

*A Lesson.*—We observed among the Wallachians an excellent method of foretelling the severity or mildness of the weather, by certain signs: It is, that on the eighth of the month Teshrin Essâni, a commemoration is held of St. Plato, whose festival they throngly celebrate with sacrifices, offerings, and Masses. From year to year this day is looked forward to; and whatever on it happens, is an omen with them, and a clear and certain indication: for if on this day there is snow and cold, they say the severity of the cold this year will be great: but if there is rain and sun-shine, they foretell that the ensuing winter will not be intensely cold, but mild. Thus it happened this year: the rains, with partial sun-shine, continued uninterrupted till the ninth of Canon Elavval; and then began the cold and snow.

On the eighth of Teshrin Essâni, our Lord the Patriarch married Constantine Voivoda to a Circassian bondmaid or slave, whom they had named, at her baptism, Nâdala (نادالا), that is, Κυριανή. The coronation, or wedding, was performed within the palace, in the Harim, or women's apartments above. The Patriarch stood as bridegroom's *اشمين* or godfather, and the Metropolitan prayed over the couple; but at the time of the benedictions, it was his Holiness who always blessed them. There had been prepared for them crowns of gold; and when they were made to go round the table on which were the image, the gospel, and the cross, there were scattered over their heads, nuts, comfits, dirhems, and dinars: such is the custom.

At the conclusion of the prayer, the bride and bridegroom were made to sit on two chairs, in their princely dresses; the Domina being decked in a profusion of chains of gold and pearls, diamond stars, &c.: and the Boyars came in to offer their congratulations, being preceded first by our Lord the Patriarch and the Metropolitan of the city, and then by the remainder of the guests, amongst whom were ourselves. In the same way, the wives of the Grandees afterwards

entered, to present themselves. Then the bride and bridegroom were led to the inner apartments; and we went forth, to take our seats at the great banquet given on this day, at which were drunk rounds of healths, with the usual firing of numerous guns, till evening: and there was an exhibition of performances of agility, by an Indian woman of most Satanic cleverness, to which we had hitherto seen nothing comparable: she would walk on her head upon a rope with her feet thrown up into the air; and she would fix some naked swords on a round drum, and, introducing her head, she would stand on it, and begin to twist herself round; and the drum, being made with a spring, would revolve, by the force of her most wonderfully skilful play.

On the Festival day of St. Nicolas, the Beg went to keep the feast in a convent belonging to him by inheritance from his ancestors, under the invocation of the Saint, and commonly called the *Cobia* Convent, in the vicinity of Torghisht. In like manner, the Feast of the Nativity was fully observed and celebrated according to the custom of former years; as was also the Feast of the Immersion. But on the eve of the latter arrived the news from Constantinople, that the Beg was deposed; a sort of thing which had not occurred since the time of Matthei Voivoda. This became the occasion of the ruin of Wallachia, of the abduction of its inhabitants into captivity and slavery, and of its utter desolation: to us it became the source of innumerable and indescribable frights and horrors.

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### SECT. III.

#### *DEPOSITION OF THE BEG, AND ITS CAUSES.—VISIT OF THE TURKISH AGA.—DISPATCH OF TRIBUTE TO THE PORTE.—WAR OF THE TURKS AND TARTARS ON THE PRINCIPALITIES.*

THE case of the deposition was, that last year, when his Highness the Soltan Mohammed, whom God preserve! and the Grand Vazir, Mohammed Pasha, surnamed the Cupreli, an Arnaut by nation, were engaged in a war with the Frank ships at the mouth of the channel of the White Sea (the Dardanelles), the said Vazir sent to ask of the Begs of Moldavia and Wallachia a thousand purses each (the purse being a sum of 500, and the total, therefore, 500,000 piastres); telling them, that he considered it their duty, whenever the Emperor went forth to war, to make him a present of money for the service. He demanded moreover, from each, five hundred thousand head of sheep, and three

hundred cavalry horses. On hearing these demands, the Beks were much disturbed, and, by the advice of all their people assembled in Corta, they jointly sent to petition his Highness the Sultan, whom God preserve! and he accepted their excuses; at the same time scolding his minister, and telling him, "We are not yet released from our war with the Franks, and still you wish to stir up against us a second war." The Vazir, being cowed with dread, no longer persisted in demanding from the Beks any thing; and each of them was quit for about five thousand piastres, which were secretly applied, by each of their agents, to effect the desired object, by causing their petition to fall into the hands of the monarch. The supposition of the provincials in the mean time was, that the Vazir, like his predecessors, would quickly lose his station: and these poor men had no idea that, as we shall hereafter have occasion to record, he would stedfastly maintain his office for the long period of five years. Treasuring up for them, therefore, in his mind, a store of hatred, to be expended on their persons at the first moment the times should declare themselves favourable, he at length satiated his vengeance, both on the Beks and the two Principalities; as we shall now, if it please God, most distinctly explain.

According to annual custom, there came to the Beks an Aga of the Treasury, to receive the yearly tribute, attended by seventy or eighty persons. The Aga and his suite are allowed the pension and appointments prescribed by usage in the registers (for nothing is done here but according to some established rule); and the Aga usually stays some twenty days or more. This tribute, or Kharadge, is collected from all the Grandees of the country, and from the Ayans and Captains, in proportion to their possessions and incomes. The rayahs have nothing to do with it; excepting only the farmers of government-lands, who pay their rent with this tribute in addition. As soon as the money is collected, it is usual to send for the Aga in a coach lined with fine red cloth, drawn by four horses all of a colour, and accompanied by a led horse carrying nine purses, that is, four thousand five hundred piastres, and a piece of fine cloth and satin, for himself: for his officers and servants there was a purse of five hundred piastres each, and a piece of cloth, varying according to their rank, from the finest to the coarsest. All this is invariably distributed to them; and the smallest increase or diminution is carefully avoided. In the interim, the Bek pays to the Aga several visits of ceremony.

Early in the morning of the appointed day for the delivery of the tribute, we were invited to the Corta; whither came the Aga, with the whole of his suite,



mounted in the carriages which had been sent for them to ride in. The Aga took his seat with the Beg on an elevated place looking over the palace-yard, that he might behold with his own eyes the arrangement of the treasure. Then persons hired for the purpose brought forward nine covered wagons, each yoked with eight horses at the least; several with ten and twelve: and the musicians began to play a tune, with drums, pipes, and trumpets, whilst the people crowded round as spectators. The first wagon they brought forward had a new chest in it; to fill which, the soldiers commenced removing the bags of money from the chamber of the Camarâsh or Treasurer, each carrying a couple on his shoulders, preceded by the Great Vestiâri, who looked to the regular disposition of the money-bags in the chest. In this first were placed thirty-three bags; but in the other chests, in the other wagons, only thirty-two. Over them the Vestiâri laid a covering of fine woollen cloths and silks, to fill up the chest; which he then locked, and sealed with his own seal. Thus were all the wagons successively brought up; and, having been loaded with the woollen cloths, silks, and other presents, were ranged in order: and all this was done according to strict rule and register. It is usual for the Great Vestiâri to go with the treasure, and deliver it to the Soltan's government: and this tribute-money is restricted to the payment of the wages of the Janissaries in Constantinople, into whose hands it comes two days before the feast of the Ramazan. In the wagons, there was nothing whatever, but the chests we have mentioned: but it is usual afterwards to hire the vacant space to the merchants, who fill up the wagons with sundry goods, to the full weight they can carry; because they are never stopped or impeded in their transit, either at the Danube or elsewhere; and this is a source of profit to the contractors.

We sent a whole package of goods to Constantinople, under the care of the Khorî Saba, President of the Convent of the Flemings. But nothing arrived at its destination; though we had conferred so many benefits on this Monk during the last five years, and on the day he parted from us had given him one hundred piastres as a provision for the journey. It turned out, however, that he robbed us; and may God, who is judge between him and us, reward him according to his deserts!

To return:—The train of wagons then set off; and the Beg went forth with the Aga, conducting him a considerable distance, with drums and trumpets, and amidst the cheers of the military. It is usual, when the treasure arrives at Urushjuk (Rustchuk), that the Vestiâri goes, with the Aga, to the Mehkemeh, or

Hall of Judgment, and delivers it, with legal proof of its amount : lest, were any loss to befall it in Turkey, the Aga should have a claim for the deficiency. The Vazir was at the Castle of the Channel of the White Sea (Dardanelles) ; and they repaired with the treasure to his presence ; when he immediately gave vent to his indignation, on seeing the Vestiâri and the rest of the Beg's delegates ; and, discharging the flame of hatred which he had fomented in his bosom, he asked the Vestiâri for the sheep which he had formerly demanded. The delegates forthwith sent to inform the Beg of this ; and the Beg assembled the Grandees of the province, in consultation. After much discussion, it was finally agreed to send the Vazir twenty purses, as their price. No sooner had this money reached him, than he repeated his demand for the horses ; and all this was merely that he might raise pretences against them. In great vexation, they were compelled to agree in collecting for him, from the retired Boyars, three hundred horses, which were dispatched to him.

Then the Vazir sent to his Highness the Soltan, at Constantinople ; saying to him, " Arise, and go to Adrianople ; and reside there, until I come to you, and fill your bags and coffers with gold and piastres." The Soltan therefore departed for Adrianople, where he remained.

As soon as this event came to the knowledge of the allied parties, namely, the two Begg, and the Crâl of the Majars, they were seized with much dread. Afterwards, the Vazir himself came to Adrianople, to join the Emperor ; and it was agreed between them, to send and demand from each Beg one thousand five hundred purses, and from the Crâl of the Majars a like sum. This was entirely to raise a pretext for a quarrel with them ; for the Vazir knew well, that they would not give the money, nor yet five hundred purses ; and that they would refuse, if it were only on the ground of avoiding the establishment of such a custom. It was further intimated to them, that, should they withhold the grant, they must at least wait on the Soltan, to kiss his hand, according to the practice of the former Begg. These two, as we before hinted, having raised themselves to the dignity by the edge of their swords and the power of their wealth, had not presented themselves at Istambôl ; and how was it possible they should now have confidence enough to venture an appearance at the Soltan's court, after the occurrences just mentioned ? how could they do otherwise than entertain a just dread of the treachery of the Turks towards them ? But the Vazir urged upon them all these demands, to raise grounds of animosity ; as his desire was by all means to deprive them of their dignity, in satisfaction of his own vengeance.

In the mean time, the Vazir had sent a Capigi into Hungary, with a Khattissherif, addressed to the Hungarian Grandees, and to the Saxons, who are strong and powerful, and hold in their hands the seven great fortresses, which, as we have before observed, are the mainstay of the country of the Majars. The purpose of the rescript was, "First, that if they desired tranquillity and peace, and that the Turks should not sally forth against them, they would first depose their Crâl Racotzi, and elevate to the throne some other person, whom they might please to select; and, secondly, that they should surrender to his Highness's commissioners two fortresses situated in (البرغاز المصائب) the channel near to the city of Bodom, in order to open to the Turkish forces a way by land, to march at any time on Zadra or Venice. If they complied with these terms, they would prevent, they were told, all the consequences of a very serious war." Moved by this intimation, the Hungarian Chiefs held a Svato (مصاظر), that is, an assembly and divan; and, coming to an unanimous decision, deposed their Crâl, and appointed another, according to the recommendation of the Turks. The new Crâl, however, did not long uphold his newly-acquired honours; for the old Crâl marched and made war against him, and, having put him to flight, resumed his seat, in spite of all.

When the Vazir was informed of this, he flew into a violent passion: and first sent to depose Constantine, Beg of Wallachia, as has been already mentioned, the news of his deposition having arrived on the Eve of the Immersion; and, at the same time, the announcement of the grant of the Begship to a man belonging to the Emperor's household, named Mikhna, that is, Michael, son of Radzivil Voivoda. As soon as this was certainly known among the Wallachians, they exclaimed vehemently, and the Beg was very indignant. It was ascertained, at the same time, that the Vazir had sent a Khattissherif to the Khan and his Tartars, enjoining them to rise, and march on Moldavia and Wallachia. The first thing, therefore, the Beg instantly applied himself to, was to send calârâshes, or messengers, to give notice, all over the country, that the people should abandon their occupations, and flee to the mountains, from before the face of the Tartars. These directions were followed; and the whole country, in consequence, was thrown into the greatest confusion; the farm-houses and villages being emptied of their wretched inhabitants, amidst the severe frost which then prevailed, and the deep snow which everywhere lay on the ground: and the circumstances of the miserable Wallachians were such as to draw tears and wailings from the beholder.

Then the Beg called an assembly of the Grandees ; who, on consultation, came to a resolution to send and petition the Vazir, entreating him to have mercy on them, and not to establish a new custom to their prejudice, nor impose on them a burden exceeding their power to sustain ; but to adhere to the regulations of preceding Soltans, between whom and them so many transactions and negotiations had passed. This, their humble address, however, profited them nothing : on the contrary, the Vazir persisted in his animosity and hostility with greater vehemence ; and was continually sending to them one Capigi after another, to disclose to him their state and proceedings. As soon as each of these Capigis made his appearance in the divan, the Grandees by themselves, without the Beg, would suppliantly approach him with their entreaties, that he would go and intercede for them, that their Voivode might not be deposed, as the whole population was content with him ; and even the people in the streets cried and shouted in the Capigi's face, that it was their desire to have no other Voivode but Constantine ; the Beg having previously sent to inform the inhabitants generally of what was in agitation, and to instruct them how to act. But neither did this mode of application avail them any thing : and, in conclusion, being convinced that mere words led to no favourable result, the Grandees came to a determination to engage in a war with the Turks, rather than surrender their Chief. This, their determination, was instantly manifested, by the enrolment of men for regular pay ; for they could no longer restrain the bursting expression of their resentment, at the tyranny of the Turks, and at their bold transgression of the anciently-established laws. Whenever a new Vazir was installed, he immediately looked to demanding from them tribute beyond the rule, and applied himself to the introduction among them of new customs and practices. The next thing done was, that the Beg remitted the Kharadge to the whole Principality ; it being customary for this tax to be paid every month ; though from the poor man he takes annually three dinars only, from the rich six, on the condition that they be always prepared to march out with him whenever he pleases. On the present occasion, the people flocked to him ; and he distributed to them flags and banners for their captains and colonels ; and all the officers of government were engaged in writing their names and numbers. The Metropolitan of the city stood, from morning till night in the church, swearing them on the Holy Gospel and the Cross, that they would not be treacherous to their Voivode, but would all be of one heart in his cause. After they had taken this oath, muskets, arms, and ammunition, were distributed to them ; and more than

ten thousand soldiers, with pay, were enrolled. A new enrolment was also made of the Dharrabs and Sakams, on whom, formerly, the anger of the 'Beg had fallen; and this operation was continued until all the numbers were taken. The whole amounted, according to the report of credible persons, to upwards of one hundred and ten thousand soldiers. Besides these, the Crál of the Majars sent him a large auxiliary force, with their field-pieces; considering, that whatever happened to the Beg, happened to him on his account. To Chmiel, and the Cossacks, a request had been sent for assistance; and the Beg was in momentary expectation of its arrival. Next, he sent his body of Captains to the Danube frontier, to keep guard on that side.

And now the report was confirmed, that Cadiri Aga, who in the sequel became Pasha of Damascus, had arrived at Urushjuk, in quality of Sakmani Chawish, or Aga of the Throne, to the new Beg: and the Aga sent some of his suite to Constantine, with an intimation, that he should arise and depart, and no longer tarry, since, in the mean time, the new Beg was timid of making his entry. On this, the Beg and the whole country set up a great outcry; but so far from shewing open hostility and malice towards their opponents, they held back, to solicit and pray; and even sent to promise the requisite number of purses to the Emperor and the Vazir, to the Pasha of Silistria, Fazli Pasha, who married the daughter of Soltan Ibrahim, and to the above-mentioned Aga of the Throne: for they have a very great habitual dread of any war with the Turks; because they know that an attack on their part can receive no lasting check or interruption; as was made evident to them by the expedition of the Turks against Bagdad, which took place eighteen years before; which town the Turks perseveringly besieged, until they took it: and equally, by their more recent expedition against Candia, an island in the sea, about thirteen years ago. And now much distress, accompanied with a great panic, manifested itself amongst the inhabitants of the Principality; and the condition of many became destitute, particularly on account of the intensity of the cold, uninterruptedly increasing by the continuance of frost and snow. Where, indeed, could the poor wretches seek a refuge? The Turks, in the mean while, were in the habit of crossing the Danube over to the Wallachian side every day, and of retiring at night; so much were they subject to fear: and both parties were making themselves ready for war. The peasants, for their refuge, fled to the tops of the mountains; and the merchants and landholders, more particularly, withdrew to the mountainous district of Combolongi (Campolongo?), the Argi Convent, and the Cozia

Convent, which bear towards the mountains of the Majars : for the majority of the inhabitants of the Combolonghi, Argi, and Cozia hills, are persons who are in the practice of carrying goods for hire in their wagons, carts, &c. ; and when any alarm gives the signal for flight throughout the country, they instantly come to the capital, and, loading the people's goods in their wagons, take and deposit them in secure places known to themselves. With these carriers the merchants are all well acquainted. The hire they take for the transport of the goods is very high, and indeed extravagant ; and on these occasions there is full proof of the truth of the proverb, which says, " The misfortunes of one class of men are good fortunes to another."

As for ourselves, we continued to reside in Torghisht till the end of the month Canon Essâni.

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#### SECT. IV.

##### *DEPARTURE OF THE PATRIARCH FOR COMBOLONGHI.—CAPTURE AND DEVIATION OF TORGHISHT BY THE TARTARS.—REMARKABLE HIDING-PLACES IN THE MOUNTAINS.*

At the beginning of the month Ishbat, we took leave of the Beg, and departed for Combolonghi. We had previously dispatched thither all our luggage, with العارق, and also our treasure ; as the other refugees had not only done so, but had taken with them, whithersoever they went, provisions for themselves, and barley for their cattle. We had scarcely occupied our lodgings in the celebrated Combolonghi Convent, before reports were spread of the arrival of the Tartars, with the Soltans, at Braila ; and some communication had been held with them, by capturing a man or two, in order to learn from these what their numbers might be. At first, they were told that the Tartars amounted to sixty thousand ; but afterwards most of the informants agreed in saying that their number was only sixteen thousand. With these forces the Soltans beset the country, and entered it ; and they tranquillized those who had not fled from before them, with the assurance that they might remain at their homes without fear or molestation, being obedient subjects to the command of their sovereign. This, however, was nothing but deceit and malice on their part ; as it is always their custom, at their first entrance into an enemy's country, neither to commit plunder, nor to make captives, but only to seize the horses, and what provisions they want for themselves. On the other side, the Turks, under Fazli Pasha,

having advanced, and crossed the Danube, marched to Jarjario, on the Wallachian territory. The Beg, in the mean time, began to dig a trench on the road to Combolonghi, in order that, if distress and defeat should be his lot, he might fall back upon it to defend himself, and thence take refuge in the country of the Majars. His Domina, with the rest of the wives of the Grandees, his whole moveable property and treasure, his horses, and all his heavy luggage, he sent to a small town above Combolonghi, on the road to Hungary, called *Rokalo*. Here the Domiha made her stay: and it was her desire that the Beg should send us with her, and her company of females; but we refused to expose her and them to the fears and dangers which might be occasioned by our being known to be with them. Afterwards, the Beg fixed his resolution not to go forth from Torghisht, but to fight his enemies there; which was far from being a praiseworthy determination: and when the news reached him of the approach of the Turks to Bokaresht, he sent orders to the troops stationed there to set fire to the whole town and Corta; and the convents, together with the churches, were burnt down; which also was a crooked counsel. His idea was, that when the new Beg came, he should be disabled from finding any place wherein to establish his throne, or where he might be crowded to by the people and troops to tender their homage and obedience to him; for he entertained great apprehensions on the part of the population, lest they should prove treacherous, as it afterwards fell out.

Then he changed his plan; and returning towards Bokaresht to war with the Turks, he came to the neighbourhood of the Khalistao, or Fish-pond, of his own formation; and there halted to make a repast. At this spot, news were brought to him, that the Spatar, whom he had sent to carry on the war with the Turks at Bokaresht, had fled, and returned without striking a blow, because the officers refused to fight. He then received a second piece of information, viz. that the Sakams and Dharrabs, who had deserted and run away from him into the Turkish territory, were come in advance of the Tartars, on the side of Boza, to the mountains in the vicinity of Torghisht, on the road to the Marge or Meadow Convent, the second belonging to the Bostanik, and his village; and that they had approached Torghisht, with the intention of falling on and intercepting the rear of the Beg, whilst the Turks assailed him in front. This was clearly a dispensation of Divine Providence; and the Beg, alarmed, returned to Torghisht, where he dug a trench without the walls, to fortify his position. Then, for causes known to the Almighty, and in consequence of His Divine protection being

withdrawn from the Beg and the country, the Beg retreated, without having attempted even a battle, to the sort of entrenchment called in their language *Shanso*, which he had formed on the road to Combolonghi. Here he halted; having stationed at Torghisht the Spatar, with the command of upwards of twelve thousand regular troops, under orders to maintain that post. This was on the Sunday of the Cheese Lent (مرفع ايجين). Observe also this perverse disposition which occurred; which was, that the Beg gave permission to the troops in Torghisht to plunder whatever was left there of eatables, wine and other liquors, laid up in the stores; under the idea of leaving nothing, at all events, for the use of the enemy: and at the very moment they were engaged in plunder, and overcome with intoxication, lo! about three hundred Tartars made their appearance before the town, having marched on in advance of the main body of the army, to inform themselves of the circumstances and position of Constantine. No sooner had these commenced a skirmish, than the hearts of Constantine's troops entirely failed them, and the Spatar fled from the Tartars with the whole army that was with him. Nor did the Tartars cease the pursuit, till they had driven the Wallachians as far as the Beg's *Shanso*: and with a little more speed they would have taken the Spatar himself alive. On the *Shanso* they would certainly have made a successful assault, had it not been for the vigorous defence opposed to them by the Sakams with their muskets. And yet, during the whole of this proceeding, it is curious to reflect that the Tartars were in fear of the Wallachians, thinking it was an artifice on their part thus to retreat and leave the town free to the invaders; that afterwards, when their enemies were spread in its innermost recesses, they might return upon them, and take them behind and before: but the flight of the Wallachians, with all their superiority of numbers, was true and sincere. The Tartars turned back to Torghisht, putting to the sword all the foot-soldiers they found on their road and in the town; most of whom were drunk, and had packed on their shoulders what plunder they had been able to collect. The whole of these they unmercifully slaughtered, to the amount of upwards of one thousand three hundred men. Then they plundered the town, and set fire to it; and horrible was the distress! for most of the people were entrenching themselves in their various tenements; as no one believed in the flight of Constantine, but all thought that he was victorious. A vast number of persons were carried away from it, into captivity. As soon as the news of this affair reached the ears of the Pasha and his Turks, they hastened



their march towards the capital, accompanied by the new Beg. The commencement of the fire in the town was on the first night of the Great Lent.

But the Stalia Convent, stood a severe siege, being occupied by a troop of Cossacks with their wives, who fought to the death with an united body of Turks and Tartars, until night came on; when seeing that the besiegers had set fire to a corner of the building, and fearing a conflagration, those who had the power of making their escape fled, under cover of the night, to the mountains, and dispersed. The enemy, having made good their entry into the convent, put to the sword upwards of one hundred and sixty persons, between Monks, elders, and poor men who were too weak to flee away; and sent away into captivity a great multitude of the young and healthy. The church, which was entirely filled with chests and furniture belonging to the people, the invaders set fire to; and it was totally burnt, both inside and out, including the walls and the roof: and with it perished, alas! that Iconostasis of such rare beauty. In the upper vaults of this church we lost, by the fire, two chests of pewter jars filled with the Myron which we had concocted a short time before in Moldavia; and (جملة زبقي وساعة) عظيمة ناقوسية a quantity of quicksilver, and a large silver time-piece, with some clothes and furniture, which we were unable to carry away, were all burnt, together with sundry deposits confided to us by different persons. Then they dug up the tombs of the dead, and stripped them; set fire to the Metropolitan's palace and church, and to the church of the Corta; and dug up the tomb of Matthi Voivoda, who had enjoined in his will that they should take and bury him in the Arnoda Convent, mentioned by us formerly; but Constantine Voivoda had refused his consent. They dug up also the tombs of Matthi's wife and son, and of the Domina of Constantine; and stripping the bodies, and carrying away their garments, threw them abroad naked, after breaking to pieces all the tombstones. Mischiefs like this they perpetrated in the city, far beyond our powers of description: nor did the fire cease its ravages in this devoted town, till the greatest part of it was destroyed.

And now the Tartars hastened to the mountains, to make captives of those who had fled thither; and dragged away a great multitude, particularly from the towns built on the famous river Yalonitsa, which runs from above Torghisht to the town of Valoge near the Danube. These towns and villages were like Paradise; and resembled the Ghauta of Damascus, in the number of their gardens and public buildings: but the Tartars now entirely laid them waste;

for the inhabitants were taken amidst a careless confidence, increased by the assurance given them at the beginning of the invasion, that, being faithful subjects of the Soltan, they need give way to no fear, there being no apprehension for them.

The Pasha, accompanied by the Beg, entered Torghist on Tuesday, in the first week of Lent; and, in conséquence of the scarcity of food, they are said to have eaten flesh-meat alone, (I mean the new Beg, and the rest of the troops,) there being no bread to be found, nor any persons to make it. Afterwards, they marched away, on their return to Bokaresht; and the Pasha ordered Torghisht, walls and all, to be set fire to, to be revenged on Constantine Beg for setting fire to Bokaresht, which is the ancient capital. As for Constantine, out of pure fear he moved away from that Shanso which had been added to his Tabor or camp; for some informers to the Tartars, his enemies, had guided them to the tops of the mountains, whence they might descend to intercept his retreat: for the road from Torghisht to Rokalo is a narrow glen, extending back as far as the country of the Majars. He fled in consequence; and came to the bridge called *Sokoli*, which is on the famous River Dombovitsa, a river flowing from Hungary to Rokalo. Here the Domina was staying; and here, entering on the Rokalo road, which is a very difficult road indeed, being between two mountains, with room for only one horse to pass at a time, he, with vast exertion and labour, had the artillery-carriages dragged along by his men; and halting in Rokalo for a few days, he made another Shanso outside that place, constructed wholly of trees, to maintain his defence, until he had sent the Domina into Hungary, and all the wives of the Grandees with her: and then, in obedience to the command of the Crâl, he set out after them, and repaired to a castle within the city of Brashob, belonging to the Crâl, called *Fagharâsh*, where he stopped with all his adherents. His situation here was most ignominious and shameful (may God deny him lasting safety, for the deeds he perpetrated!); and the Crâl was very indignant with him, for having run away without fighting. Afterwards, he bought for him a castle in the neighbourhood of the country of the Niemsas, at the price of twenty thousand dinars: and there the Beg went to reside. Until the Crâl, however, had completely drained him and his followers of all their horses, arms, money, and the whole property that had been inherited from Stephani Beg, he gave neither him nor them any rest; saying to them, "Whatever has happened to us, or will happen, must all be attributed to your retreat among us."

The Tartars in the mean time arrived near Combolonghi; and then retired,

plundering, burning, and making prisoners. Most of the troops had been separated from Constantine whilst he was in Rokalo, and dispersed themselves; and many he took away with him against their will: but all now repented; for their departure from that place was a sorrow and a hardship to them, as we shall explain hereafter.

In regard to ourselves: The Bishop of the convent had a troop of confidential and devoted servants, watching the roads from a distance: these, when they knew of the approach of the Tartars, gave us notice of it. We had previously dispatched all our luggage to the mountains, under the hand and trust of the said Bishop; who, to each band of faithful peasants dwelling in these mountains, had delivered a package, or two or three, of our goods, with their hire, for them to keep and conceal in caves and hiding-places known to themselves at the mountain-tops. On this subject we had been informed that they have (هوتات) deep glens, in the nature of wells, of immeasurable depth; towards the centre of which are kinds of caves. Down these they lower the packages by ropes; and a man descends with them, to stow and hide them in the caverns. Each family of the mountaineers has hiding-places of this description, known to none but themselves: and for each package they are paid a Wallachian dinar, which is equal to a piastre and half a rial: nor must the package be large, otherwise it cannot enter the mouth of the recess. On taking the goods, they give security to restore them in the same condition in which they receive them; and, as we were told, these poor men carry the packages on their backs to where the glens are, as there is no possibility for the march of cattle between these mountainous rocks and precipices. And now we became comparatively tranquil, having retained nothing with us but necessaries for our daily use, such as our clothing and carpeting. Even the chest of copes and other clerical robes, the Patriarch's crown, &c., all this we parted with. The Bishop did the same thing with the conventual property; and the merchants, who had fled in our train, with theirs.

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## SECT. V.

### *FURTHER RETREAT OF THE PATRIARCH TO CORBI PIETRA.—VILLAGE AND CONVENT OF NIKSHORA.—RECEPTION OF THE NEW, BEG.—CEREMONY OF PALMS AT BOKARESIIT.*

As soon as we had ascertained the truth of the report of Constantine's flight from the Shanso on the Combolonghi road, we departed in haste, early on the

Sunday τῆς Τυροφάγου; and came in the evening to a village called Corbi Pietra, that is, *تلي الجبل* the Crow Rock; because within it is an immense tall rock, standing towards the east like a chiselled wall, in the centre of which is an ancient church, small but handsome, said to have been shut up and afterwards discovered by one of the holy Anchorites, to whom its situation was disclosed in a vision. Coming to it therefore, he opened it; and the ancient figures are still to be seen in it. In this church, Mass is regularly celebrated. There is a large river flowing through this village. Whilst we were here, the Metropolitan of the capital, having fled away also, came to us; and early on the Tuesday morning we left, for the purpose of climbing a mountain, which was a task that we accomplished with much difficulty. On the mountain is a small ancient convent, called *Gharâdâs*, where we now took up our abode: at the same time, all the goods that remained with us, of any weight or bulk, such as metal utensils, and bedding, we delivered into the hands of the peasants belonging to this convent, under trust of the Abbot; being advised so to do, that we might be clearly prepared for further flight: as God help us, should we be taken! The coaches also we gave up to be buried in the thickets; lest, when should happen what happened, their traces might be discovered, and it might be known that we had been here. Our horses were kept saddled day and night; and we were constantly prepared for flight to the most inaccessible parts of the mountains, fearing so much as we did to be captured by the Tartars, particularly as our name was so great. Some persons went to prepare us a hidden-place in the woods, of very difficult access, known to no human creature but themselves; that, when the irruption should occur, we might retire to it alone. In common with all the rest of the fugitives, we were, in the mean time, afflicted with the severest distress, and tortured with the liveliest fears. Notwithstanding the depth of the fallen snow, and the intensity of the frost, no person dared to light a fire, not even of those fugitives who were retired to the midst of the forests; for fear, as they alleged, the Tartars might see the smoke at a distance, and pursue its direction. Imagine what must be the condition of these destitute and poor wretches, who ventured not so much as to have any dogs with them, for fear of their barking! At night, our terrors prevented us from sleeping; and the whole country was fled to the tops of the mountains. When the Tartars came to Combolongi, it is certain that the Almighty, exalted be His name! struck them with blindness, and they marched back.

The convent we have been last mentioning is at the extremity of the moun-

tain-ridges, on the approach to Hungary; and beyond it there is neither any road nor any dwelling. Near to it is another village, of the name of *Nikshora*, that is, the Village of Walnuts, there being in it a great number of walnut-trees. This village is on the top of a mountain, and consequently commands a prospect over the greatest part of the low lands of Wallachia, and almost everywhere over the towns and villages situated on the bank of the Danube. Here were most of the wives of the Grandees; and may God's mercy be on the person who built this convent on the highest of these places! for we profited by it extremely, being under cover, in small cells, one above another, whilst all the people, including the Grandees, were out in the open air. Glory to God for all these turns and terrors which we experienced! until now, that it became our lot also to come and visit this convent, and to view these blessed mountains and table-lands, which, health to their inhabitants! are ever in peace and security. They have not, indeed, any alluvial soil to grow their food in; but they go with their carts, laden with the fruits every year produced in their season among these mountain-tops, to the low lands near the Danube, and barter these fruits for corn to supply their annual consumption.

*Note by the Writer and Composer of these Memoirs:—*I was one day at the house of the Great Frank of these countries, who was an ardent lover of history; and he asked me to give him some account of my native land. I did so, informing him of its stone buildings and fortified castles, and that we knew neither fear nor fires, nor any thing of the kind. He answered: "You have spoken the truth: but we, nevertheless, give thanks to Almighty God, that we have no castles in our country. For castles and fortresses we possess these mountains and forests, against which no enemy can prevail. Were it otherwise, and had we castles in our territory, the Turks would long since have expelled us from it." It is for this reason, certainly, that the Turks have never had the power of seizing Wallachia, or of remaining in it; and the Frank was undoubtedly right in what he said.

To return to the affairs and history of Constantine:—On his entering Hungary, he took with him, as we have already mentioned, most of the Boyars and Grandees of his Principality, and a great part of his troops, in spite of their reluctance and unwillingness, into the interior of that country; where they afterwards deserted from him, secretly, by unfrequented roads, and were murdered in great numbers by the Majars. In the mean time, Mikhna Voivoda, the new Beg, took up his residence in his father's convent, that is, in the

Convent of the Trinity, at Bokaresht; and fortifying it, began first to build round it a wall of wood, in two rows, filled up with earth, that he might stand there on his defence: and the people and military began to come to him, to make their obeisances, and to offer their apologies, begging him to accept the assurance that what had passed was against their wishes and through dread of Constantine: and he readily pardoned them. Then he dismissed Fazli Pasha: and after he was gone, he gave to Sakmani Chawish upwards of forty purses for his services, and to the Capigi Bashi above twenty; and discharged them. He next dispatched letters, in his name, throughout the whole province, proclaiming peace and pardon, and calling on the fugitives to return to their homes. Of these occurrences the news regularly came to us; for with some of the merchants in our company I myself used to mount on horseback; and we used to discover and learn the news at Nikshora and Corbi Pietra; and having gone as far as Combolongi, we turned back. On the arrival of the letters from the new Beg, announcing peace and security, people in all parts took confidence, more particularly after it had been everywhere ascertained that the reports of tranquillity and peace were true, and that the Tartars were gone off with a body of captives, said by some to amount to between seventy and eighty, by others to exceed one hundred and fifty thousand. Many had been redeemed from their hands by the new Beg, who permitted not the Turks to make a single captive; and if the latter did carry away any person into captivity, it was done secretly, by theft, without the Beg's knowledge.

After this, we returned, with other fugitives, to Combolongi; and took up our quarters in the convent, on the Monday of the third week in Lent: but we left most of our goods in the hands of the peasants until near Easter, when we demanded them back; and it took all the money we had remaining, to pay the expenses of the hire; for during this whole length of time we had been eating and drinking from our own purse. And praise and thanks be to God, who did not permit us to be so inveigled as to go with Constantine's Domina into Hungary, whence we should never have been able to escape! for many rich merchants and others fled with Constantine to Brashob, and were not afterwards permitted, by the thieves and robbers, to leave that country, and return to Wallachia, being hindered and held back by their accursed arts and villanies; and sorely did they repent, who had not left their property in Wallachia. At last, with much difficulty, and at the sacrifice of all they possessed, these deluded merchants effected their departure. And God be further praised, that we did

not send to deposit in Brashob any portion of our luggage, as others did! for such persons had much affliction of heart in recovering their deposits. The poor orthodox inhabitants of Brashob, as well as those of all the other countries of the Majars, wished much, according to the information we received, that our Lord the Patriarch should come to them; but it was a thing of difficult accomplishment. Almost all the peasantry about Brashob are orthodox; and they have for Hungary two Bishops, under the jurisdiction of the Wallachian Metropolitan. Their Priests are upwards of fifteen hundred, as we have mentioned, when speaking of all these particulars on a former occasion.

Then the new Beg sent to threaten the Majars; and insisted vehemently that they should allow a free departure to the Boyars whom Constantine had taken with him, as well as their wives, against their will; and that they should let all the Wallachians, who had fled with him, return to their homes: for the Majars had closed up against them the entrances of the mountain-passes, and had forcibly resisted their departure. All the ways into Hungary, as we were told, are narrow glens, over which are built castles and towers, to command both the entrances and the exits. As soon as the Majars heard the threats of the Beg, they gradually abandoned their course of proceeding. How often did I not go to Rokalo, and there see whole troops of military men, and other fugitives, who had run away out of Hungary by unfrequented paths, between whom and the Majar soldiery fierce war and battle arose! Every one of these was returning to make his court to the new Beg; who gave to each the most agreeable reception, and restored him to his former rank. The Beg had retained with him three or four squadrons of the Tartars; and he now sent them to keep guard at Rokalo, for two reasons; first, that the Majars might be held in dread of them; and, secondly, that no treachery might occur on the part of the Wallachian guards, by permitting Constantine to make a descent from Hungary into Wallachia, and attempt a sudden seizure of his person; for such designs had been whispered about. Again I mounted on horseback, and went, with a number of others, to Torghisht; where we saw the poor persons, who had been killed, lying strewed about the streets. Afterwards, by order of the Beg, a large hole was dug for them, and they were thrown into it. Above them was raised a large mound, or barrow, as a token ever to be remembered. We could not help weeping at the contemplation of what had passed over Torghisht, and of its present condition. No place to sleep in could we find, except the cellar of the convent, and other cellars; nor was any vestige whatever remaining above ground of the buildings

themselves. Without doubt, this was a wrathful visitation on the part of Almighty God.

Then our Lord the Patriarch sent to the new Beg a letter of congratulation : and he, receiving it most graciously, sent an answer, purporting that he was very desirous, and constantly wishing, to meet his Holiness ; but requesting him to stay where he was, in the Combolonghi Convent, until the Beg should be rid of the Turks, and time and opportunity should lead to their meeting.

Remark these circumstances, which took place in our time :—first, when we were in Moldavia, all the strange things which happened to Vasik Beg, of that country, and his deposition : then, after him, the deposition of Stephani Beg, of Moldavia, as will be hereafter related : next, the decease of Matthi Voivoda ; the deposition of Constantine, which occurred just now ; and the elevation of this new Beg : which last event was the closing scene.

On the Festival of Palm Sunday, it is customary with the people of Combolonghi to walk round the place in procession ; as they do also on the Festival of the Annunciation, Holy Thursday, Easter Sunday, Monday, and Tuesday : and they all come in a body to the convent, where are performed a Paraclesis and an Hagiasmos ; after which they return home. On the first-mentioned day, our Lord the Patriarch did not say Mass ; but on Easter-day, he performed, according to custom, the Hajama (حاجامة) for Mass. On this occasion, we were informed concerning this new Beg, that on the Palm Sunday he went through, with great care and devotion, the precise form of ceremony observed at Moscow ; being actuated by his great faith, regularity, and zeal for Religion. He had resided upwards of five-and-twenty years within the Emperor's seraglio, among the Turks, and yet no one had seduced him to deviate from his creed. At the beginning of every month, we were told, he used to call the Clergy to him, to perform for him an *Ἁγιασμός*, hear his confession, and administer to him the sacred mysteries. Moreover, he used constantly to go round to the churches ; and never neglected the order of prayer, either morning or evening. He was therefore, by long habit, a strenuous zealot for Religion, and was consequently at enmity with the hostile invaders. As the Feast of Palms happened to fall in at this critical moment, it struck his mind how appropriate was the part played on the occasion by the Emperor of Muscovy ; and he did the same, though none of the Beks had ever done so before him. Drawing together, therefore, the Christian troops, and attiring himself in his richest dress, he went forth, with a large attendance. The Metropolitan of the city rode on a mule, robed in his



full canonicals, and with gospel and cross in his right hand; and the Beg held the bridle, as he walked, attended on his right and left by his footmen, with his saddle-horses led before him, and the Grandees of State following him, each leading a horse. Thus they proceeded, notwithstanding a heavy fall of rain and an abundant depth of mud, until they had walked round the whole city of Bokaresht, and had returned to the convent; when the Metropolitan finished the Mass.

## SECT. VI.

### *RETURN TO BOKARESHT.—KIND AND RELIGIOUS CONDUCT OF THE NEW BEG—HIS CORONATION.—ENCENIA OF A CONVENT.*

ON the Feast of St. George, there was a procession, according to annual custom, in Combolonghi: and our Lord the Patriarch went with them to an ancient church at one end of the town, dedicated in the name of St. George, where he performed for them an *Ἀγιασμός*, and they then returned to Mass. We now began to prepare for setting off to join the Beg: and two days later, we started from Combolonghi, and came to Piteshti. At Bokaresht we arrived on the twenty-eighth of Nisan, and were lodged in the Convent of St. Saba. After Easter, the Beg sent an invitation to our Lord the Patriarch; and we went to him, and had an interview with him. We offered him a present of a Muscovite picture, a large lamp, a mirror, and some rarities which had remained in our possession; and the Beg settled on his Holiness a pension. All the Beg's conversation, and all his questions, were derived from theological writings, and referred to points of Religion, so that we were astonished at his sayings. His love for meeting his Holiness, and conversing with him at all times, became very great indeed; and, for his greater convenience, he removed the Patriarch from the Convent of St. Saba, and brought him to lodge near him, in his own convent. This was a mercy on the part of Almighty God; for we were taken to occupy quarters in the very centre of the Convent Church. After the fire which had ravaged this town, nothing was left standing, nothing escaped, but the churches, from their being vaulted, and built of stone; and in these edifices the people of rank were lodged. Many things to excite regret and indignation were reported to us, as having occurred in them; for the Turks and Tartars, with their captives and plunder, quartered themselves in the very sanctuaries, and refrained from no kind of filth and abomination: as it is in the revealed word of Almighty God, which

says, that when His Divine Majesty is angry with a nation, he has no mercy even for the houses of his own worship.

On the fourth Thursday after Easter, by command of the Beg, we put on our copes, and went out with him in grand procession to the outside of the town, with lighted torches, as usual: for he did not interrupt the processions for a single Thursday. We did so again on the fifth and sixth Thursdays after Easter. Every Thursday they directed their steps to a particular side of the town, where there was an open space; and on their way thither the singers chaunted the Paraclesis. On arriving at the spot, they formed a large ring; within which they set two chairs, the one for the Beg, the other for our master. Next they spread a carpet in the centre for his Holiness, and he stood up to read the particular prayers for rain and cheap corn: they then returned. Before the Beg walked the footmen or yeomen of the guard, twelve in number; six on the right, and six on the left: six being Turks with gilt turbans, and six Wallachians with braided caps of red velvet. Both going and returning, the Beg walked on foot, with our master constantly on his right hand: and as they walked abreast, they conversed together. As the procession returned, the singers chaunted the words for Easter, until we arrived at the church of the convent, where we celebrated Mass.

On the Thursday of Ascension, we performed Mass, by invitation of the Beg; and the festival was observed with great solemnity. The Sunday following, we again performed Mass; and it was in the presence of the Great Ambassador come from the Crál of the Poles, and going to the Emperor at Adrianople; who attended the service with the most cheerful devotion: and between him and us there was established a perfect friendship.

On Whitsunday a very great solemnity was observed; and such joy took place as had been rare of late: for the Beg requested of our Lord the Patriarch to crown him, on this day, with the crown of sovereignty, according to the form prescribed in the great and royal *Εὐχολόγιον*, and with the usual blessing appointed for monarchs. We began therefore our preparations. The Chokhadar came and spread the carpets in the church, from the Beg's throne to the royal door: and after our Lord the Patriarch had robed, together with the Metropolitan of the town, the Bostanik with the Camarash came; and having asked permission, they entered and laid on the altar a crown of a peculiar shape, for the Beg, which had been made at Constantinople, and was long and high, like the head-dress (السلافة) of the Seleucians. The bottom was braided with gold.

wire, and it was decorated with a *صرعج* or *سرتوج*, *i.e.* a plume of feathers of a magnificent largeness, like branches of flowers, in crystal and different kinds of gems. The Beg had recently bought it for two thousand dinars. They placed on the altar, likewise, a braided girdle and hanger, and a gilt mace.

When the Beg came in to the *Τρισάγιον*, I went forth from the Sanctuary, accompanied by the Metropolitan's Archdeacon, with the *Τρικηρία*, to the front of the Beg's chair or throne; and we bowed to him. And now the Great Bano, with the Great Logotheti, came and took the Beg by the arms, and, leading him down, advanced with him step by step, as we preceded them; and I said, first looking towards our Lord the Patriarch, *Κέλευσον*, and then my companion said *Κελεύσατε*: and I repeated *Κέλευσον Δέσποτα Ἄγιε* to within a short distance from the royal door; whence came forth two bishops, who, taking the Beg by the arms, conducted him into the Sanctuary. There they bowed to him three times before the holy altar, as he knelt with his head uncovered, whilst I said *Προσέχουμεν*. Our master then laid a part of his *Ὠμοφόριον* on the Beg's head, saying, "The grace of God, which at all times heals the sick and perfects the defective [the Beg had requested his Holiness to change his name Mikhna into Michael], has promoted the Prince, the lover of Christ, Michael, son of Radzivil Voivoda, to the rank of a Monarch: we now, therefore, pray, for his sake, that the grace of the Spirit of all Holiness may come upon him:" and we cried out thrice, *Κύριε Ἐλέησον!* The Patriarch then raised him up, and, assisted by the Heads of the Clergy, first invested him with the girdle: next he put on him the hanger; and then he bound him with the sword. Afterwards, he clothed him in the robe of sovereignty, which was an upper cloak or gown of brocade, adorned with sable fur; and instead of the head-dress (*كشمة*) of sables used by the former Beks, he put on him the Stamboul crown we lately mentioned, and fixed on it the (*صرعج*) pennache. As he used each article of dress, he always said, "We clothe the servant of God . . . with . . . &c;" and we responded with three times *Ἄξιος*. Then he blessed and kissed him: and two Bishops took him and delivered him to the two Archons at the door of the Tabernacle, who led him up to his throne. On this, first, our master went forth to congratulate him, bless him, and pray for him: after his Holiness followed the Heads of the Clergy: after them the twelve great Archons, the Priests, the Monks, and the Deacons: and after them, the rest of the State Archons, till all had finished. The Mass was concluded with an Ordination of Priests: and the concourse of persons to the festival was very great.

The Beg had sent and had brought to him from Constantinople a very large

pavilion, which cost twenty purses, and was very handsome, with three (طوغات) rings of gold; besides two pavilions which he already had with him. All these he set up together, with a wall like a city wall around them. The situation was an open field before the gate of the convent, surrounded by the river; which he here made full and abundant, by damming up the stream flowing through the moat of the convent walls on the third side, and digging for it a shorter course, so that on every side of the field was a rippling channel. The field itself was beautifully diversified with sand and verdure; and round the great pavilion he set up about seventy new tents, in the Turkish fashion, for his company, including Grandees and servants; for he had received a Khatti-sherif from the Vazir and Emperor, commanding him to get ready for marching with them against the Majars. As soon as the church was cleared, after Mass, we all went together to this spot. The whole of the troops, in their various ranks and degrees, were drawn up with their muskets, some to march before the Beg from the church to the outside of the convent, and others to line his passage, and guard around the pavilion.

On this day, again occurred an arrival of an Ambassador from the Majars, bringing with him the guns which Constantine Voivoda had carried away, on his flight into their territory; for the Beg had sent to demand them, as the property and military stores of the Principality; and the Majars, actuated by their fears, had returned them instantly. As soon as we came to the pavilion, and the Beg had taken his seat at the top, all the company entered, to offer their blessings a second time; and now they began to fire the guns three rounds. The guns were fifty-three in number; for the Pasha had left the Beg all his guns, for his protection and aid; and among them were three of iron, each with seven mouths. All the troops discharged their muskets in three volleys, making the earth tremble with the noise, and darkening the air with the smoke, so that we could neither see nor hear each other. On this day, the table was not laid till afternoon. We were much surprised on remarking the qualities of this Beg; for he discoursed with the Polish and Hungarian Ambassadors in their several languages, without the help of an interpreter: the Wallachian he possessed as his own mother tongue; and he could speak, moreover, in the Greek, the Turkish, and the Persian.

He now began to finish the building of the Convent of Constantine Voivoda, situated in this town; which had never been completed; and he charged the Great Bostanik with the preparation of all the requisites for the Encænia. To

our master he made a request to the same purpose ; and having prepared ourselves for the ceremony, we went to the convent on the Sunday of All Saints. We robed ; and the Beg came in state. On his entrance, they began the Litany, and the production of the reliques of the Saints from the church below, in their shrine, placed on the head of our Lord the Patriarch ; behind whom the Beg walked, until we returned to the new church ; which, having first walked round, we entered, and finished the usual service of the Encænia. At the moment of consecrating the altar, the portraits of the Four Evangelists were brought forward, painted on four leaves of paper ; and under each of these portraits, at each corner of the altar, they put some portion of a mixture of mastich, wax, and marble, boiled in a pan ; and the Beg stuck on the paper with his own hands, laying upon it a dinar, until he had performed this office, at all the four corners. The dinars were handed to him by the Protopapas. The first chancing to be an Egyptian coin, the Beg scorned it, and threw it aside ; and scolding the Treasurer, insisted on his bringing forth another for it, which was Hungarian, and therefore Christian.

When our Lord the Patriarch went out to chrism the walls and pillars of the church with Myron, the Beg followed him, with a long-handled brush in his hand, painting, in the traces of our master, crosses, beautifully formed, with the boiled mixture. We were astonished at his skill and aptitude ; for he appeared as if he had superintended the consecration of thousands of churches in his time, so well did he know and understand the directions of the rubric, and so accurately was he acquainted with the church books and bells.

After we had gone out from Mass, the Beg seated himself in a tent outside the church, until the attendants had drunk their spirituous and sweet liquors ; and then we returned to the banquet in the Hall.

The Beg was never apart from our Lord the Patriarch in the mornings and in the evenings ; and was mostly with him at dinner and supper, asking him questions, and entering with him into discussions concerning affairs of Religion, besides numerous other matters.

## SECT. VII.

*INVASION OF THE TURKS INTO HUNGARY.—DEPARTURE OF THE ARCH-DEACON FROM BOKARESHT TO GALATZ—HE RETURNS TO THE PATRIARCH AT PITESHTI—MAKES A TOUR TO COLLECT IN MONEY.*

ON the Festival of the Apostles we performed Mass, with the same solemnity as before : and the Beg received the sacred mysteries ; for he had been summoned to a military expedition with the Khan of the Tartars, the Vazir, the Pasha of Silistria, Cadiri Pasha, who had been Sakmani Chawish, and the Beg of Moldavia, Chapka Voivoda, to make war on the Majars. For, after the flight of Constantine, the Vazir deposed also Stephani Beg of Moldavia, and elevated in his place this Chapka, who had been Capi Cakhia to Stephani, at Constantinople. This Beg brought with him an army of Cossacks ; who marched out of spite to the Majars, for the deeds we have mentioned as having been perpetrated by them when they invaded the country of the Poles. All this movement was in consequence of its having come to the knowledge of the Beg, that Constantine was not content to have saved himself by flight, but that he was actually collecting troops, and had already got together upwards of ten thousand men, with the intent to come with them and sweep the whole country of Wallachia from the district of Combolonghi onwards, and to perpetrate mischiefs beyond redress. This information he now distinctly imparted to the Vazir ; who, in consequence, mounted his horse, and, marching his troops to war against the deposed Beg and the Majars, first moved from the city of Adrianople to Sophia, and then to Belgrad, where he halted. In his company were reported to be eighty thousand armed men. The Pasha of Silistria crossed the Danube with the troops of the Dobroja, mostly Tartars ; and entered the territory of Wallachia, which lay on their line of march. He came to the town called *Jorjitsa*, and there remained upwards of forty days, whilst they were collecting for him, out of the country, provisions of flesh-meat, butter, biscuit, barley, &c. He allowed no person in his army to injure or molest any one ; but the Beg, nevertheless, and the Grandees of the province, afterwards came to regret the invasion of the Turks into Hungary. The Wallachians, it is true, do not like the Majars, who are their enemies to an extreme degree ; but neither do they wish that the Turks should have a stationary point among them, for fear they should make Wallachia and Moldavia into Pashalics, according to their design entertained of old. They began, therefore, to send petitions to the Soltan, entreating him to put a

stop to this war, that their lands might not be devastated by the passage of troops, to the utter annihilation of their stores and crops. The Majars also sent many embassies, to solicit peace; but the Turks rejected their prayer; for the Saxons, masters of the Seven Castles, had revolted against the Crâl, whom they hated much; and not being sufficiently powerful to subdue him, they greatly desired the coming of the Turks to join them, that they might appoint a new Crâl, and expel the former. This was what afterwards occurred. Then the Vazir moved from Belgrad; and his advanced troops made an attack on the Majars, to drive them from the environs of Bodom; but were unable to prevail against them. By these movements, the whole country of Wallachia was thrown into great confusion: and to increase the disorder, reports gained ground of the speedy arrival of the Tartars, under their Khan, to march through Wallachia on their passage. The Majars fortified their whole frontier line, and made vigorous preparations for war.

All this fell out to our misfortune; for the sables which we brought with us from Moscow, and delivered to Constantine Voivoda, he had never fully paid us for; and he remained indebted to us in nine furses of reals, which he continually promised us he would discharge. When he fled, the debt still subsisted; and he put us off from day to day, and from one time to another, until happened to him what happened; for he was extremely avaricious, and of very little honesty. On his final retirement and flight from the Principality, our condition would have been left wholly destitute, had not this Beg undertaken to pay all the debts due by Constantine, in conformity with the usual practice of the Beks; with whom it is a rule, that whoever succeeds to the dignity shall pay the debts left due by his predecessor. Accordingly, the Beg gave his promise to our Lord the Patriarch; and requested his prayers to the Almighty, that he would be pleased to guide his mind, and that there might be no war nor confusion to impede the payment. This, therefore, we sat down anxiously expecting, and looking also to another affair. The case was, that Constantine, and all the Grandees of the State of Wallachia, had refused to permit us to depart from their territory at that time, wishing us to wait until the aspect of affairs and fortunes should change, particularly as regarded the Pasha of Silistria, who was Melik Ahmed Pasha. Him it pleased Almighty God to depose; and after him came Fazli Pasha, who was subsequently put to death by the Vazir, for refusing to make war on Constantine, who had promised him a large sum of money, and for tyrannically promoting one man and putting back others. The Vazir then

bestowed the Pashalik on Cadiri Pasha, as has been already mentioned. The whole purpose of this poor Beg was, to pay us, and expedite our journey onwards, after dispatching all our wants to our fullest desire: but the times did not favour his wishes; and he was reduced to the utmost straitness, by the importunity and pressure of the Turks for tribute on the one side, and by the scantiness of the revenue on the other, in consequence of the ruin and desolation of the country. We sighed over him, and felt pain for him, especially on seeing how the Capigis from the Vazir came to urge him, night and day, to arouse himself up for the approaching campaign. They always took him on their way, whether going or coming; sometimes on their mission from the Vazir to the Pasha of Silistria; sometimes from the latter to the Beg of Moldavia and the Khan of the Tartars, to stir them up to war, and to march them up speedily.

The greatest part of the people of Wallachia again quitted their homes, for the tops of the mountains, or the interior of the belts (الباطات) or great lakes, on the borders of the Danube, from which the water is supplied. These they passed in boats; and went to dwell in the islands, in the midst of them, through fear of the Tartars, who are the true plague of this country. Our confusion, in consequence of these events, was very great, and we felt ourselves utterly ruined.

Despairing of our personal safety here, we could discover no place of refuge, no means of liberation, but by quitting Wallachia altogether, though we should even be compelled to leave our property behind us, to save our lives; for the affairs of the province were sinking into the very depths of disorder, and linking themselves with perpetual wars. Our greatest fear was founded on the saying of the wise, that the towns of the Majars are impregnable fortresses, and their lands a succession of difficult posts. Should then the Turks and the Tartars be unable readily to subdue their country, they would take up their winter-quarters there and in Wallachia; and thus our distant hope was cut off, and we said, "To trust our persons and property to any chance of fortune is better than to expose our hearts to the rending tortures of winter-flights, and the misery of having our luggage dragged from mountain to mountain and from place to place." Our mind was now made up, to send away, first, all our heavy luggage and goods, in the gross, to Galatz; and thence to dispatch them afterwards in vessels, by the Black Sea, with some of our company, to Sinope, in order to be released from their care and incumbrance, and that we might remain in concealment till the time came satisfactorily to arrange our affairs. And so the business was managed. At first, indeed, we found no carriages for our transport, neither on hire nor on compulsion: for when the Beg, on the Friday the



eighteenth of Tamoz, departed suddenly for the Tabor or camp, all the merchants were thrown into confusion, and could procure no loan on hire for any one, as the hirers-out of carriages kept out of the way of the forced service of carrying the Beg's baggage, by hiding themselves and absconding: and those carriages which the Beg had with him of his own, it was his wish should be employed in removing his wife and children. We were therefore perplexed and confounded; nor could we find any resource, but our distress on this account was extreme. Bokaresht was emptied of inhabitants, and we remained alone. Our cares were all absorbed in our luggage; but there was no one who would lend himself to us for the journey to Galatz, nor give us any counsel on the subject; so much fear was there of the coming of the Tartars, whose way lay in that direction, and who might meet us as we went; in which case, God help us! And this was indeed a well-grounded fear. We were unable to sleep at nights, in consequence of our alarms and apprehensions, and through the continual barking of dogs. At length, it pleased God to relieve us, by inspiring the Beg to recommend us to his deputy, the Great Frank; who found for us two carriages, which we loaded, in spite of the owners. In the same direction of flight we found many companions; and I, the poor Writer of these Memoirs, was dispatched with them from Bokaresht, on Tuesday the thirteenth of Tamoz, in the afternoon. We travelled through solitary and retired deserts, and over desolate and abandoned fields, till we grew gray with fear. Besides Almighty God, and His providence, there was none to help us forward on our journey. In regard to the Tartars, we had made up our minds, if they should meet us, to tell them that the Beg was sending the two wagons as a present to the Khan; for, as it happened, the Beg had appointed one of his servants, especially set apart for carrying messages to and from the Tartars, to accompany us. Another intention we formed was, that if we should be straitened and molested, we would hold for the banks of the Danube, bearing off either to the Port Velodge, or to Cornistalo opposite Silistria, or to Braila. By the will of God, we passed the River *Sirat*, which is the boundary, and reached Galatz in seven days; having travelled along in the most vehement fear, but, praise and thanks be to God! without meeting with a single disagreeable face; and we rejoiced exceedingly at our arrival there. We found a vessel from Trebizond, laden with corn, and bound for that place; and we agreed with the captain; and having chartered it, we stowed our goods in the cabin. We left our companions on board, with a store of provisions; and they set sail, with the blessing of the Almighty.

Then I hired some men, armed with muskets; and having bought provisions

for the road, I set out on my return. All our friends were very fearful for our safety; and our own apprehensions were principally on the score of the Turks, who were on their march to join the Pasha; for they robbed and murdered all they could overpower in their way. But our greatest timidity was occasioned by the total emigration of the whole people of the country, on our track of march; for we found not a single person, not even a dog or any other animal, from Galatz to Bokaresht. We stumbled on some dead bodies in our path, and the whole world was a blot. Except Almighty God, we had no companion of our journey; during which our eyes were continually going the round of the horizon; and at night we could sleep only in open fields, removed from the road, for fear our steps should be traced and we should be overtaken and swept away. We reached Bokaresht on the Saturday preceding the Lent of Our Lady, and the last day of the month Tamoz, in forty days in all, with our hearts rent by continual fears, and the loss of our horses, which we killed with the fatigue of almost constant running both day and night. And God be praised, for making our provisions last us! otherwise we should have perished of hunger, as we had no means of replenishing. We did not find our Lord the Patriarch in Bokaresht; for, by reason of the many alarms and fears which occurred in the town, and its entire destitution of inhabitants, he had left it, and was gone to Piteshti, where he took up his residence, and I joined him. He rejoiced much at our safety, of which every person had despaired: and we escaped, indeed, from destruction only by the mercy of God, and the blessing of his Holiness's prayers and intercession.

Then I equipped myself, in company with a body of servants on horseback and in arms, to go and wind up our affairs in every place where we had money deposited or debts owing to us, or where there had been taking and giving and changing of coin with the inhabitants. These, on the occurrence of the present disorder, had dispersed themselves in the mountains; and I began to go round to them. But first I went to Torghisht; and had an interview with the Beg at the Tabor at Ployeshti. On this day, whilst I was on my way to the Beg, I saw the coming up of the Khan and the Tartars, accompanied by Chapka, Beg of Moldavia, and the Cossacks. The Beg offered many presents to the Khan. During my visit to the Beg this afternoon, I gave him a letter from our Lord the Patriarch: on reading which, he called the Frank (Vernik), and said to him, "See where the money is, belonging to the Patriarch; and sum up with the Archdeacon the various items due to him, that you may accomplish the payment." There

was one person who owed us a sum of five hundred reals. He had been a Gumrukji, or Receiver of Customs, and had failed; and it was the desire of Constantine Voivoda to hang him, as a defaulter. This person, with his friends, came to us, and intreated us much; and, on their depositing pledges in our hands, we lent them two purses. One purse we recovered; and after that the Gumrukji died, leaving a daughter and a son-in-law. These defended themselves against our suit, brought before the Great Vestiari, who rather favoured their side; and he and I disputed the matter vehemently. He kept saying to me, "Let me write you an order to go and receive your debt from the friends and partners of the deceased, as they became bonds and sureties for the money." But I answered, "No; I will take the money only from the heir of the deceased: and let him look out and arrange the matter with the partners." Whilst we were thus contending and disputing, all the Grandees took my part, and gave me their best assistance against the Vestiari, who was a great tyrant, and was the person who had treacherously intrigued against Constantine Voivoda at the time he sent him with the tribute-money to the Vazir at the Dardanelles, as we have previously mentioned; though it was Constantine who had raised him to his place and dignity. From the greatness of his pride he now reared himself up against this Beg also; and had concerted with some Archons, that they should go, and they accordingly went, to lodge a complaint against the Beg with Cadiri Pasha; saying, "The Beg has been planning treachery against the Soltan; and has made an agreement with the Majars, between whom and himself a correspondence by letter has lately been maintained." Now this was true; for the Beg, out of the greatness of his indignation against the Vazir, who was continually urging him, by unceasing messages, to send him purses of money, sheep, horses, &c. until at last he heaped upon him I know not what expenses and pay for the Turkish troops, and had given him not a moment's time to breathe since he had sent him to take possession of his dignity—the Beg, I say, roused to indignation at this harsh conduct, had recently made a treaty with the Crâl and the Majars, and had entered into an alliance with them, to the intent that he should attack the Turks and Tartars in the rear, and put them all to the sword: so that he was in secret leagued with the Majars, though outwardly he appeared their enemy. As soon as the Pasha heard this, he was much enraged against the Beg, and determined to send and inform the Vazir of it. The Beg, alarmed beyond degree, hastened to the Pasha, and bribed him with sixty purses, according to what I was told by one of his courtiers, to pardon him, and effect a reconciliation

between him and the denunciators. But the Beg laid up and concealed in his mind his spite against them all, until now, when I and the Vestiari were disputing, and all the bystanders were wondering at my boldness in contesting with him: for there was none who had the power of contending against him; and even the Beg, in spite of himself, feared him; because the Vazir was his intimate friend, and had agreed with him, that he should hold inspection over the Beg, and constantly write to him an account of all his proceedings. When the Beg heard of our dispute, he sent for the Vestiari to come to him in his chamber in the pavilion, and they began to converse together. Suddenly, a company of Tartars, in arms, made a most unexpected appearance, coming from the small door at the back of the pavilion; and placing themselves near the chamber where the Beg and Vestiari were talking, they stood in attentive observation. At this moment, one of my friends, who was in possession of the Beg's secrets, approached me, and said to me, by signs, "Go outside; for these soldiers have been called in by the Beg, to put the Vestiari immediately to death; and do not be alarmed." I had not yet passed the outer door, before a shout was raised, and the threatened tumult ensued; for the Tartars, dragging away the Vestiari from the presence of the Beg, cut him limb from limb. The persons standing by were panic-struck, and, rushing to flight, fell one over another.—May God reward the kind friend, who prepared me for the occurrence, by his warning advice!

Then they slew the Aga—I mean the Aga of the Sakman, and the Irmâsh or Sobâshi, and threw their bodies out. In the mean time I was speaking with our greatest friend, the Bostanik Eustrati, and had just bid him farewell. He had had some intimation of the affair before the death of the Vestiari, and had secretly called his servant to bring him his horse; but as he did not come quickly, the Bostanik at once mounted a horse of those standing at the door of the pavilion, and galloped away. Scarcely had I turned round, before I heard a cry; and on asking what was the matter, we were told that the Bostanik had fled, and that the mounted guard were gone in pursuit of him. Night however intervened, to keep them separate; and the poor fugitive, alighting from his horse, hid himself in the forest. The peasants soon discovered him; and, stripping him, brought him in the morning, at a quick pace. The command of the Beg went forth, that they should cut off his head before they brought him in to him: and they cut off his head accordingly.

The Beg also sent and caused to be strangled our friend at Torghisht, the Frank Berza.—God have mercy on the souls of both these victims! slaughtered

by the Beg because they had issued a report that he was plotting treason against his sovereign. Without a moment's delay, he took possession of all their money and estates; and out of them gave to the Pasha what he had promised him. During this night, great terror prevailed throughout the army: and I, in particular, was dreadfully harassed with fear.

Afterwards, the Beg furnished me with a bundle of letters in his own hand, directed to all the places where money was due to us, to enforce its recovery: and I returned to Torghisht. Thence I went to Piteshti, and afterwards to Raminko, where I recovered all the money due to us, to the amount of a thousand dinars and upwards. Again I returned to Piteshti, on the first of the month Ilól, the opening of the year SEVEN THOUSAND ONE HUNDRED AND SIXTY-SEVENTH of the World; and moved away our Lord the Patriarch, with all our effects and company, to Bokaresht, whence I again went to Torghisht. Returning finally to Bokaresht, I joined the Patriarch. No exertion was spared, on my part, to hasten our departure from this land of evils; and I was, as a courier, riding about, on the backs of horses, day and night, for nearly two months; during which I rescued all I could come at of our property.

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## SECT. VIII.

*FINAL DEPARTURE FROM BOKARESHT.—DESCRIPTION OF THE CONVENT OF SLOBOGIA YANAKI.—ARRIVAL AT GALATZ.—INVASION OF HUNGARY BY THE TARTARS.—FORMER RELATIONS BETWEEN HUNGARY AND THE PORTE.—RECALL OF THE VAZIR TO ADRIANOPE.—REBELLION OF HASAN PASHA.*

In Bokaresht, we lived on the hospitality of the Beg's deputy: and having at length completed our preparations for the journey to Galatz, we set out from the former place on the ninth of the month Ilól; and came to *Vintiaradge*, or the 'Cold Fountain,' a place situate in the middle of a vast plain. Hence we arrived, in the evening, at a small town called *Soleimâni*, which gives celebrity to all the surrounding country. The next day, we descended upon some villages lying on the River Yalonitsa; which we mentioned before, as resembling the Ghotâ of Damascus. These villages had been desolated by the Tartars. Thence we proceeded down the side of the river, to a convent dedicated in the name of St. Michael and the rest of the host of Angels, and called Slobogia Yanaki, or the Free Estate (Frank Almoins) of Yanaki. This Yanaki is the person who

built the convent of St. Saba in Yâsh, or Yassi, of Moldavia. It is related, that he sent, and purchased, with his own money, a collection of Cossack slaves, men and women, from the country of the Tartars, and, giving them their manumission, settled them as servants around this convent. For this reason they call it Slobogia, in the Wallachian language, that is "Free Estate." It is on the further side of the River Yalonitza, which in this part grows to a sea or large lake, in consequence of the number of streams flowing into it. Upon it is a bridge built of wood, which is used as a passage; but we crossed over it in a boat. The convent is surrounded with vast walls of stone, like a castle; being only one day's journey distant from Silistria. We staid in it till the Festival of the Cross, on account of the continual heavy rains which fell during this month of Ilól, accompanied with violent storms of thunder, lightning, and hail. We then travelled onward, through an extensive plain, amidst all the delights and beauties of the spring season, traversing lands which are famous for the breeding and feeding of horses, which are valuable for their beauty and noble race: and on the morrow we came to the River Sirât, and passed the town of Brayila. Near it is another large town, which we passed: and at a little distance we crossed a bridge over the river, which is the boundary between Moldavia and Wallachia, leaving Brayila on our right. From the bridge to Galatz, it is an affair of two hours' travelling. Having reached this place in the evening of Friday the seventeenth of Ilól, we alighted at the Convent of St. Demetrius. I then went to Yassi, on some affairs of necessity which still remained to be transacted, and again returned.

In Galatz we staid for a space of two and twenty days, seeking for a ship to carry us over the Black Sea to Sinope; but we found none. The reason of this was, that the Vazir, on equipping and marching his army to war with the Majars, had sent all his عازق, and stores of wheat, barley, biscuit, and other articles of food, large and small guns, and other apparatus of ammunition and arms, in ships from Constantinople, by the Black Sea, to the Danube, to be conveyed up the river to him, at his head-quarters at Belgrad. No sooner had the Vazir begun his operations against the Crál of the Majars on that side, than the Crál's own troops abandoned him on the other; being induced by their disloyalty towards him, and their indignation against him, particularly because he had delivered most of his soldiers, as captives, into the hands of the Tartars, as we have before mentioned; and these were mostly of their own connexions and families. Again, when the report was spread of the treachery of Mikhna

Voivoda, and his secret treaty with the Majars against the Turks and Tartars, he was forced, in spite of himself, to perform a deed of zealous bravery before the Khan, by opening to him one of the celebrated defiles of the Majar country, named Tlajno, by fraud: for the Majars reposed confidence in him. The Tartars, thus entering the country in a main body, spread like an inundation, and conquered a number of castles and forts. To the towns and villages in those parts, which are all of wood, the Tartars, it is said, wantonly set fire; and the conflagration ceased not to rage over the whole district for a length of time, shewing itself at the distance of several days' journey, and darkening the air for a whole month with its smoke. By this means, the strength of the Majars was broken down, and nothing of theirs was saved but the largest forts and castles. From Brashob they sent large presents to the Khan, to the Cossacks, to Mikhna and to Chapka, to each in particular, consisting of valuable sums of silver and gold, to induce them to cease the war, and not to desolate the environs of their city: and in like manner, messages were sent to them from the other Seven Castles of the Saxons. In the mean time, the Tartars arrived before the Castle of Figârâsh, to which we mentioned that Constantine Voivoda had fled; and we were told, by a person who was in it, that the main body of the army was never able to approach it, because the guns reached to a great distance; and it is said that upwards of one hundred and eighty shots were fired at them, killing great numbers. But the Tartars made captives of a vast multitude of the village inhabitants; until the Majars turned upon them, and defeated them; and the people of the country occupied the mountains, and defiles behind them, and killed them by hundreds. Between the Tartars, and the Cossacks and Wallachians, arose a great animosity, occasioned by the circumstance, that whilst the latter were marching forward to the fight, and breaking their way into castles and towers, the Tartars came and snatched the plunder out of their hands. On this account they slew of them a great slaughter; the news of which reached the Vazir, and greatly delighted him; for the Turks also had conceived an enmity against the Tartars. However, the country of the Majars was filled with armies; and fires were lighted in it, which ceased not to befoul the air with smoke for a whole month at least. We saw the conflagration from Galatz; and we knew distinctly what it was, because the country of the Majars is all lofty mountains, which are seen at a distance.

As to the Crâl, no sooner did he perceive the treachery of the country against him, than he fled, with Constantine and Stephani Voivoda, before the face of the

Vazir, to a very strong fortress, and much celebrated for its strength, called Boda ; and there he fortified himself. In consequence, a number of forts surrendered to the Vazir, which were in the hands of the Turks at the time of Soltan Soleiman, and had been afterwards recovered from them by the Majars. Next, the Prince of that part of the country, a great Bano, submitted, with five thousand men, and was graciously treated by the Vazir ; who made him Crâl over the Majars, with their consent ; but on condition that he should stand for three years ; and go, with the Bega of Moldavia and Wallachia, at the end, of every three years, to kiss the Soltan's hand, according to the rule and practice : when, if the Soltan confirms them in their dignity for a second period, it is well ; if he does not, they remain at his court till their turn comes again. The duty imposed on the Majars used to be a present of twelve thousand dinars to the Turk ; which an Ambassador took every year, at the Feast of the Nativity, to the Soltan's Court. Here, at the end of the twelve months, he was succeeded by another, having to the expiration of a whole year remained in Constantinople. He had a plentiful allowance of meat &c. in the Soltan's name and account ; to which, on the completion of the term, another came and succeeded. This Crâl had interrupted the tribute paid to the Turks, through the excess of his power and petulance, for many years ; but the Vazir now re-established it, at forty thousand dinars annually.

In the mean time, the Khan and the Bega ceased not to subdue forts, and to gain battles, until they effected a junction with the Vazir, at the place where he was ; and whilst the Vazir was giving up his whole thought, and all his endeavours, to the intent of marching to besiege the Crâl, all at once there appeared before him, in the course of one day, no less, it was said, than seven *ساتلات*, one after another, with Khatti-sherifs from the Soltan, commanding him to arise quickly, and repair to his presence, without question or excuse, even for the smallest delay ; which, though it were to bring him seven Crâls alive, would not be accepted. The case was, that Abaza Hasan Pasha, who had been Aga of the Turkomans, and had been made Pasha of Aleppo by the Vazir, had declared open hostility against the latter, and, rising in person, and marching with his troops to Brousa, had done much mischief in that town. There were in his company, it is said, above five-and-twenty Pashas. He sent to his Highness the Soltan, begging to be judged before him, with the Vazir, on the subject of the disorders which were prevailing, and the wars which were excited and carried on ; such wars as none of the preceding Soltans had ever counte-



nanced, &c. The Soltan, on receiving this application, was much incensed against his Vazir; and more particularly when the Vazir's enemies brought it to his knowledge, that the Vazir had himself sent and invited the said Hasan Pasha to urge his suit, to the vexation of "you, his lawful sovereign, whose armies he (the Vazir) has taken to himself, to your Highness's entire deprivation, so that, on the arrival of this petition in your imperial presence, not a single soldier will be found near you;"—and this assertion was perfectly true. The Vazir, having been made sensible of the urgent reality of the message, arose, in spite of himself, and returned to the Soltan; and the whole army, after having taken the famous castle named *Biavofa*, on terms of capitulation, marched away, and gathered round the sovereign, who removed his quarters from Adrianople to Stamboul. There he began digging trenches, in front of Escudar or Scutari, and fortified the place with artillery, lest Hasan Pasha should come and plunder it. In Constantinople he enrolled soldiers; and sent them thence, to fight against the Pasha at Brousa. The Pasha defeated them; and using clemency towards all who were not slain in battle, he established his affairs on a firm footing, until the Soltan commissioned against him Murteza Pasha, Pasha of Diâr Bakar, with a number of other Pashas; and that happened which will be hereafter related.

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## SECT. IX.

### *FLIGHT OF THE INHABITANTS FROM GALATZ.—THE PATRIARCH SAILS FROM THAT PORT.—PASSES ISMAIL AND CALKI.*

ON the departure of the Vazir, he gave orders for the transport back to Constantinople of all the stores, ammunition, guns, and other heavy baggage, too numerous to be described, in boats, such as they had been brought in. His whole intent was, originally, to have wintered in the country of the Majars; and his return now fell out to their best advantage and felicity. Without a moment's delay, Capigis were appointed to the dispatch of this business; and, tracing the route back with the stores and heavy baggage, they came with the rapidity of fire, and entering on their lists all the vessels to be found in the River Danube from its mouth to the city of Belgrad, mostly stationed in the small ports of Moldavia and Wallachia, marketing corn for Constantinople, and about four hundred in number: all these they embargoed for the capital; and we were therefore thrown into the greatest confusion, and the most severe distress,

particularly in the contemplation of the approaching winter. Through this very fear of traversing the Black Sea, even in the most favourable season, we had waited these two years; seeking pretexts, and hoping that God would facilitate to us the means of travelling by the way of Romelia. We had a great desire to visit the Holy Mountain, the residents on which had sent an invitation to Our Lord the Patriarch, and were very anxious that he should come to them. His Holiness would have gained considerable lucre from them, by confessing them, and granting to them Papers of Absolution; and thence we might have embarked directly for our own country, in some ship belonging to Christians on the White Sea. But to facilitate our journey by that route, had, up to the present time, been utterly impossible.

When the people of Galatz saw our trouble and distress, they assembled together, and, in a body, advised us not to go away now, in this winter season, when the danger of a sea-voyage would be so great. We, however, ceased not to make inquiry, until we found a ship belonging to a Christian from Sinope, laden with barley; and we agreed to give him two hundred piastres to carry us to that port; which agreement was carried into effect.

At this time the people of Galatz began to flee away also, and, crossing the Danube, made for themselves *اكواح*, reed cottages, in the land of the Turks, where they took up their abode. Some located themselves in the vessels which had anchored in their port. The occasion of this was, that when the Vazir had retired, the Majars pressed heavily on the Khan and his Tartars and the two Beks, and they were driven to the necessity of retiring also. As soon as this circumstance came to the knowledge of the country people, they hastily withdrew out of the line of their march; and for our parts, so anxious were we about it, that we could hardly credit our senses, when we had at last deposited our luggage on board the ship, and found ourselves embarked, clear of that immediate danger. But God was pleased to aid us, and to guide us.

We departed from Galatz on the morning of Wednesday, the thirteenth of the month Teshrin Alavval; and passed by *Timárobo*, which is the famous town the Greeks call *Errina* (الرينه). Between it and Galatz is the reach of the river, called *Balcovi*; wherein we met with a violent storm, and a total revolution of the air. It is a place always much to be dreaded. A story goes, that, within a recent period, one of the fishermen dug a hole in the bank, to hold and hide his boat; and that the waves, rolling into it without intermission, at length broke through it, in such a manner as to form a large island.

Next we came to Castle Sâkchi on our right ; for on our right was the province of Romelia ; and this is the castle built by Sultan Othman, when he came to make war on the Poleş. Here he passed the river, making a bridge over the Danube, which, in this part, is of small breadth. We were shewn a place, like a gulph or channel, between two hills, in which the remnants of a building are still seen ; which building is said to have been a stone bridge. The Danube, at times, exhibited a great breadth—of perhaps four or five miles.

Then we came to the celebrated town of *Smil*, called by the Turks *Ismail*, because they have shelved\* it on their hearts. In this town are said to be more than twelve thousand families of Wallachians and Bulgarians, who flee from the tyranny of the Turks, and come and dwell here, where life is pleasant, where they enjoy equity and security, and where the imposts are trifling beyond the Kharadge. The only public officer is the Prefect. This town and Errina are the property of the Khâsikia Convent, and formerly were a part of the territory of Moldavia ; but one of the Begs gave them to the Turks. \*Between them and Galatz is a distance of two days' journey. Before we reached these places, we came to a spot called the *Chatel*, or "the Separations"; from which the descent to the Black Sea is by three separate channels, each of these divisions of the Danube being entirely independent of the rest. One is called the *Salina* Strait, or Channel ; the second, the Channel of St. George ; and the third is this by which we made our passage to *Ismail*. From the last-mentioned place we proceeded to the fort of *Calki* ; where we heard the Azân, or Mahommedan call to prayer ; having been now about six years without hearing it, but only bells.

لأنهم صحفوها علي خاطرهم \*

**LONDON :**  
**PRINTED BY RICHARD WATTS, CROWN COURT, TEMPLE BAR.**  
**1836.**



THE  
**TRAVELS OF MACARIUS,**

*PATRIARCH OF ANTIOCH:*

• WRITTEN

BY HIS ATTENDANT ARCHDEACON, PAUL OF ALEPPO,

IN ARABIC.

PART THE NINTH:

CONCLUSION OF THE TRAVELS.

•  
**BLACK SEA.—ANATOLIA. SYRIA.**

TRANSLATED

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&c. &c. &c.

LONDON:  
PUBLISHED FOR THE ORIENTAL TRANSLATION FUND  
OF GREAT-BRITAIN AND IRELAND,  
BY RICHARD BENTLEY, NEW BURLINGTON STREET.

M. DCCC. XXXVI.



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# PART THE NINTH:

CONCLUSION OF THE TRAVELS.

## BLACK SEA, ANATOLIA, AND SYRIA.

### BOOK XVII.

#### BLACK SEA.—ANATOLIA.

##### SECT. I.

*ISMAÏL, TO CALKI.—MODE OF CATCHING FISH.—TRADE IN STURGEON AND CAVIARE.—VOYAGE ON THE BLACK SEA.*

From Ismaïl, soon after our departure, we came to extensive plains, all desolate (ماربوز) marshes; which, it is said, are impassable in summer, for the immense quantity of gnats and flies, and (الصوص) pirates in boats, which infest them. It is a place evidently marked with the anger of God. We passed by a bank or mound for fish, (and in particular for the Morona or sturgeon,) which is called *Telyân*; where they catch fish for Government, always on bail or contract. In two days we came to the celebrated fort *Calki*; which is a large and magnificent castle, of ancient standing and very strong defence, being of the most solid structure, and well furnished with guns. It is reported to have been built by the Genoese Franks, whom the Greeks called to their assistance, giving them this castle, with the Castle of Caffa; both of which forts remained in their hands for a length of time. Here inquiries are made, as to the ships, and their crews and cargoes. It is the extremity of the Dobroja Romelia, and the mouth of the channel of the Black Sea. Its inhabitants are in continual dread of the Cossacks of the Don, and their pirate vessels; by which, according to their own account, they have so frequently been plundered. All the villages in the neighbourhood are inhabited by Tartars; and there are said to be within the environs, fourteen *Telyân* for

catching fish, and in particular the sturgeon. These are every year constructed anew by the people of the place; because, upon the thawing of the ice on the Danube, the stream carries away the stakes, by the violence of its overflow. The workmen go therefore and cut from the hill of the fort *Sakpigi* some twelve thousand rafters of wood, to re-construct them annually; each rafter costing a thousand Othmanis. Having brought these to, the Danube, they plane off the heads (كالحوايتق) like spear-points, and drive them into the ground, in a row from end to end; leaving only, on one side, an opening sufficient for the passage of a boat; whilst at the further end is a narrow channel enclosing a kind of small house, all of wooden stakes fastened in the ground. When the morona or other fish approach this enclosure, they are made, by an excellent contrivance, to fall into it; and the company of persons charged with this occupation strike them with long spears, till they are killed; for the fish have no means of retreating. Then they draw them out with the hand, and, loading them in their boats, bring them to the officer of the customs who in this district is entrusted with the management of the revenue arising from the morona and caviare. Many ships are continually arriving in this place from Constantinople and the islands, to purchase the sturgeon, which they salt and stow in barrels: and in the same way they deal with the caviare, apart.

We were told, that the great capture of fish used to take place previously to a period of five or six years ago; when, in the morning of each day, from the beginning of the month Ilól till the commencement of the Christmas Lent, that is, before the setting in of the frost, there used to be taken in this port from three and four hundred to seven hundred sturgeon. It was then the habit of the Amin, or Commissioner, to send to the captain of each ship stationed in the port, a single fish, with portions also for each of the crew; but, of late, a cursed Commissioner came, who has broken off this practice. Thus, as the capture is diminished, we waited three days before we could obtain one, of about eighty okkas, which we purchased for four Venetian dollars and a half. The caviare is taken by the Commissioner, and is at a lower price at Galatz.

The person who sold us the fish informed us, that formerly such a fish would fetch no more than a single dollar, at the furthest. The full-sized sturgeon weighs two hundred okkas and more. To arrange ours, we brought in a butcher, who cut it all up into pieces: and, blessed be the Creator! nothing whatever of the fish is lost; for all its bowels and intestines are caviare, which they take and place on a board by itself; and having added to it a quantity of salt, they set on it another

board or plank, with large stones, to press out the blood and blue water. On becoming dry, it is packed in barrels. As to the carcase, we salted it, and pressed it with stones till its moisture was cleared away; and then we filled with it two large barrels, throwing aside as useless not even the minutest particle. The skin and gristle are even better than the flesh; and the (ارس) flavour of this fish is not to be described. When we wished to cook some of it, we used to put water, with onions and saffron, into a pan; and on the water boiling, we threw in the fish: and, wonderful to say! as soon as the fish was boiled, there was a large quantity of oil found floating on the surface: for the flesh of the morona is replete with pure oil.

We were told by a Christian of Scio, settled in this place, who manufactures caviare and sells it, that seven or eight years ago a large capture was effected; and among the fish was the king of the sturgeon, a short thick creature, of the weight of one hundred and twenty okkas. On its belly were three projections, like horns, standing out close together: and on its back, he added, was found written, in pure and elegant Arabic, the following sentence: "God is the King of ages, the Trine in Persons." They afterwards skinned it; and one of the Grandees, having placed it in his hotel, refuses now to shew it to any one; but the fact has resisted all concealment. This was a sign on the part of the Creator, to make the Arabs dumb with their own tongue: for if the writing had been in any other language, not one of them would have given credit to it: and this was indeed a great miracle!

We then departed from this place; and having rowed along about eighteen miles, we came to the well-known channel or opening into the Black Sea; where from sixty to seventy vessels had been waiting for more than two months for a favourable wind to sail out, being bound for the Nile and Danietta, and other ports of the Méditerranéan. The small ships, as soon as the weather becomes favourable, go out, impeded by no hindrance or delay; but the large vessels hire, each for themselves, a Tambâz (طنباز); which means a Danube Lighter, a boat covered over convexly, and stowing a great quantity of grain. This boat they bring with them from Calki; and empty a part of the ship's cargo into it, to lighten the ship for the passage of the bar. As soon as the ship is fairly out at sea, they reload the grain from the lighter. This strait or channel is called *Boghâzi*, in all languages; and is of considerable breadth. In that part where its waters flow into the sea, it becomes itself like a sea; and to a great distance out, its water is drawn fresh: more especially, when the wind blows down its current, are its

waters then prevalent over the briny tide : but if the wind sets in from the sea, in that case the sea-tide prevails.

Many ships were waiting for the wind and weather, to sail out : and many had consumed their sea stock, and were sending to obtain a fresh supply. As we amused ourselves in looking at the boats which were constantly going to and fro, God was pleased to favour us ; and suddenly, early on the Sunday morning, a favourable breeze, well known to the mariners, sprung up ; and immediately the small vessels set sail, and passed us. The captain of our ship, on this, gained courage, and followed them out ; until we came near to two blocks of wood used as marks, and set in their places every year, on the right side of the passage, to warn the ships from going aground : for the part under water there is full of rocks ; and should the wind carry the vessel beyond the limit, it is sure to be dashed to pieces, or at least upset, from want of depth. On our arrival at these buoys, our ship was found to be overladen ; and the captain had neglected to hire a *Tambáz*, to lighten her burden. The consequence was, that being raised out of the water by the violence of the wind, she touched the ground as she sank again, and was battered and shaken. All on board, with one voice, called on God for help : but the wind still continued to toss the vessel, and she struck three or four times. Had she not been newly built, she must have gone to pieces ; and, as it was, she only escaped by a miracle and the blessing of God ; for the *sentina* was filled with water, and the poor sailors were employed, day and night, in drawing it out with buckets, turn by turn. As for ourselves, our wits flew away, and our hearts were broken ; and our Lord the Patriarch was in the captain's cabin, making an *Ἀγιασμός*, with a *Παράκλησις*. But as soon as we got out into the deep main sea, the wind changed, and closed the passage ; the tide from the sea overcoming the current of the Danube : and there was a great storm. All the vessels which made their passage out pursued their voyages ; but those which were unable to do so, returned, to wait for another opportunity.

## S E C T. II.

COAST OF MANGOLIA: CAFIRNA.—COAST OF ROMELIA: VARNA.—TOWN AND CONVENT OF SOZOPOLI.—CARBI.—PONTO HERACLEA.—AMASTRI.

THE wind, luckily, was favourable for us; and in two days and a night, having performed a distance of two hundred and fifty miles, we came to a *scala* and harbour on the coast of Mangolia, Costanja, and Caliacra, the name of which is *Cafirna*. Here, by our humble intreaties and appeals to the captain of the ship, he came to anchor with us; and we passed out at sea a most melancholy night; for it blew a gale; and during the whole night we were unable to taste the relish of sleep, from the rolling of the vessel. We were indeed perishing and dying by the effect of the sea-air, and nothing whatever remained in our intestines. The moment we saw day-break, we preferred our request to the captain; who, yielding to our intreaties, put us on shore; and we went up to the aforesaid town, which stands on the top of a hill. Alighting at the house of a Priest, we staid with him till Friday at noon, for the wind had changed; and here we recovered our spirits, and enjoyed the smell of the fresh air. As soon as the wind turned again favourable, the people of the ship came to take us; and we went with them, as going to the slaughter.

To the ship, however, we returned, with whatever reluctance: and on Saturday morning, having sailed a distance of seven and twenty miles, we came to the well-known city of *Varna* with its castle, situate also on the territory of Romelia. At sea, in the mean time, a very heavy storm had been blowing. From this place we departed on Monday morning, to come to the town of *Sozopoli*, celebrated for its Convent of St. John the Baptist, placed in an island near them; but subsequently removed by the Turks, because one year some Cossacks of the Don took refuge on the island, being harassed by a storm at sea. Immediately the Turks sallied forth to attack them; and the Cossacks, having collected their forces within the said convent, slew a great number of the Turks, who were unable to prevail against them. Afterwards, the Cossacks embarked in their ships, and went away. By order of the Emperor, therefore, the convent has been removed, that the Cossacks may not again find shelter in it. The wind now wafted us over the depths of the sea, until we approached a *scala* and harbour, at a distance from the last of one hundred miles, and named *Carbi*; near to which is a large and well-known island, containing the Convent (الذين لا ينامون) of the Sleepless, of whom an account is given in the life of St. John of Cokh.

Having advanced about three hundred miles further, we crossed the Channel of Constantinople, from the Romelian side; and arriving off the coast of Caramania, we drew near to the city called *Ponto Heraclea*. This is the town in which St. Theodorus the *Στρατηλάτης* suffered martyrdom; and it is a place of some celebrity. The meaning of using the word *Ponto* is, because all the coasts of the Black Sea (and we ourselves remarked this circumstance) are round and concave; and the import of this Greek word is to that effect. The design of the captain of the ship was, to steer his course from the channel of the Danube, through the middle of the sea, by the well-known Island of Serpents, to Sinope direct; but the winds were unfavourable to his purpose; and, more especially on account of its being the winter-season, he yielded to a dread of launching forth into the centre, and acted on the safer plan of making his way from port to port. We had already suffered severely by the length of our voyage through the middle of the river, and our long stay on board the ship until our arrival at Cafirna: but now we were visited by a bonanza, or galena; that is, a total want of wind or dead calm, during which the sea was perfectly still: and we remained in this situation upwards of eight days. The consequence was, that our fresh water failed us, and we became a prey to thirst; for the captain began to deal out the water to the whole ship's company by measure and rule. Nor had we any fresh provisions left, but cabbage; whilst, in such a situation and circumstances, our souls had a relish for nothing except fruit and *جيس* and pomegranates, &c., things not to be found. Our hearts now burned within us from sea nausea; and we began to despair of ever gaining the land, for the breath of wind there was drove us away from it. We had a great desire to see this city of *Ponto Heraclea*, and all the wonders that are related of it, in regard to its marbles, its edifices, and its ancient monuments; for it is a Grecian town of high antiquity. We continued to range about it for three days, still driven back by the wind, until it pleased Almighty God to relieve us by the springing up of a strong westerly breeze; and cheerfully turning our backs on this place, we advanced a distance of one hundred miles, having the mountains and forests of Caramania on our right; and came to the famous city of *Amastri*, of which St. George, whose festival is on the twelfth of Shebat, was bishop. It used to have in its vicinity a small castle, now ruined and destroyed; there remaining only, at the highest part of it, a tower for bells; in which there is still said to be one bell left, which they toll on mounting guard in the summer nights for fear of the Russians. This town is built in a very pleasant situation.

## SECT. III.

COAST OF CARAMANIA.—ENOPOLI: AK LIMÁN.—DISEMBARKATION  
AT SINOPE.

FROM Ponto Heraclea, as we have already said, we coasted along the celebrated mountains of Caramania, which are covered with forests and timber for ships. Of this timber, great quantities are carried to Constantinople, Egypt, and almost every other country; for it is extremely cheap: and in this very town of Amastri they build numbers of ships, most of the peasantry of these mountains being able artists in all works of carpentry and ship-building. The Pasha of Pollo (بوللو) has the government of Amastri; near to which is a large river for ships to harbour in winter, called, in Greek, *Partheno*, or The Virgin, after the name of a city, whence it flows through a course of eighteen miles to the sea. All these countries are more or less in a ruinous condition; the principal brunt of oppression being on the part of their rulers. But the worst of all, for them, is the invasion of the boats of the Russians from the Don, who carry their devastation to the utmost. From this Amastri, at the distance of fifty miles, is a town called *Cetro*; to which many ships resort from Constantinople, Egypt, and all other countries, to purchase masts, timber and tackle for ships, &c., and it is a noted place. Hence to another town, named *Enopoli*, it is fifty miles; and from that place, to the city of *Sinope*, it is one hundred. During this whole winter season, every year, the merchants and travellers perform the journey in caïcks from Constantinople to Trebizond and the frontier of Georgia, regarding it as the most favourable time for the voyage. Whenever the sea is calm and tranquil, and free from storms and disturbance, they are on the move; but the moment foul weather makes its appearance, they pull their boats to land, and there lie still.

We arrived at *Enopoli* on the Sunday preceding the Lent of Christmas; having been promising ourselves, that on this very eve we should have reached Sinope, to celebrate the Carnival there, and congratulate one another on the happy termination of our voyage. But such good luck was not our portion; for at sea it was a perfect calm the whole day; and the ship was spinning round and round, to no purpose. On this account, a bitter sorrow and a severe grief fell upon us, far beyond all power of description, so much were we impressed with a dread of the winter gales, and of the violent dangers of the sea, and its malignancy: for, as we mentioned on a former occasion, this sea has been marked with the name of Black, because all its deeds are black. The consequence of our delay was,



that we kept the Carnival, not with flesh meat, but with sturgeon. At the beginning, however, of the evening, God was pleased to favour us; and there appeared in the sky an extensive and vehement redness, which was a sign of an approaching gale, suitable to the prosecution of our voyage. After midnight, accordingly, it blew a strong breeze, which carried us over the water at a great rate; so that at day-light next morning we had passed over a distance of one hundred miles; and were come to *Ak Limân*, which is only nine miles from Sinope, and within sight of the castle. In the mean time, the strength of the wind had increased to a perfect storm; and the sea beat with such violence against the ship, that it was every moment in danger of foundering. The sea would open into a deep vale, into which the vessel, descending, would appear for ever sunk, until she was again dragged aloft by the haul of the wind upon her sail. We were much frightened, and threw into the sea a piece of the Panagia, the same which the bishop raises over the holy chalice at the time the "Ἄξιον ἔστιν" is chaunted, according to the custom of Christian countries; as we mentioned in due course, on a former occasion. We recommended ourselves to the protection of all the Saints, especially to that of the holy Martyrs Γουρία, Σαμωνᾶ, and Ἀβίβης, whose commemoration-day it was, and whose assistance we had already invoked the preceding evening, with Παράκλησις and prayers, to obtain a favourable wind. As at that time they procured us our desire, so to-day, by their intercession, they rescued us from the abyss and the beating of the sea waves, the sight even of which we all of us, and particularly myself, were quite unable to endure. By their holy intercession, we arrived at the back of the island of Sinope\*, making a port at some distance from the town. This was in the morning of the first day of the Christmas Lent. Offering up our thanks to Almighty God, we immediately went ashore; hardly believing our senses, that we had reached land, after having been pent up in the ship five and thirty days; of which twenty were in the River Danube, the other fifteen on the main sea. From Galatz to Sinope we had made a traverse of one thousand four hundred miles: five hundred miles from Galatz to the mouth of the Black Sea; and thence to Sinope, nine hundred: such is the calculation of geographers. Then we walked

\* The position of Sinope is on the isthmus of a peninsula about six miles in circuit, ending in a considerable cape. The walls have double ramparts, defended by towers, mostly triangular and pentagonal. There are but few janissaries in the town; and they admit no Jew. The Turks, who mistrust the Greeks, oblige them to lodge in a great suburb; that is, without any defence. The water here is excellent; and they cultivate olive-trees of a reasonable size. The Cynic philosopher Diogenes was a native of this place.—TOURNEFORT'S *Voyage to the Levant*.

over land, a distance of nine miles; and entered the quarter inhabited by the Christians, which is situated outside the walls. Here we were lodged in the house of a great Archon, where our luggage and suite were also accommodated. We rejoiced in exceeding great joy at our safety; and congratulated ourselves on again tasting fresh fish from the sea, and fresh fruits of the earth; such as, green figs, pomegranates, love-apples (باذنجان), &c.; and on beholding wild fig-trees on the mountains and growing by the houses, and olive-trees, and pomegranate-trees; and shrubs and herbs of our own land, such as شجر القندول, سلتى السیده, القرينه, which we had not seen for more than six years. We passed a blessed night, and were as though we lived again after death. The chief blessing of all, which it pleased God to grant us, was, that we passed the Black Sea before winter came on.

In regard to what happened to the rest of the ships, which entered with us from the mouth of the river into the main sea, we have to relate, that the wind scattered them, and that not one was able to arrive at Constantinople. Many of them were wrecked; and the remainder lay up for the winter, in the environs of Sozopolis.

• As to those vessels which did not sail out with us from the channel, they, for want of a favourable wind, remained there to pass the winter, and could not move away till after the Immersion.

#### SECT. IV.

##### *DESCRIPTION OF SINOPE.—BATTLE BETWEEN THE TWO PASHAS, HASAN AND MURTEZA; AND DEFEAT OF THE LATTER.*

THE situation of the town of Sinope is very fine. It is an island, or promontory, stretching out into the sea, like the peninsula of Constantinople, in the shape of a tongue. The castle or fort is at the extremity; and is of very great dimensions, extending without the walls of the city, and having a double wall with towers and moats. It is very prominent and strong, and well furnished with guns: and has, moreover, a second castle within it. At the mouth or neck of the promontory is the third fort, which is also very strong. Its structure is of the most solid quality, of long standing; and the work of the Genoese Franks, who held possession of this city from the time they took Constantinople out of the hands of the Greeks. The sea beats the sides of the walls of the town on

the north and south : and on this south side is the main inlet of the sea under the promontory, the waves wholly encircling the aforementioned castle. The creek from the beach to the main is a bow-shot in extent. The surface of the flat ground here is all sand ; so that, if they wished, they might dig through it a moat, and the sea would entirely surround the town. The structure of the walls is so lofty, that they appear as it were suspended on the tops of the mountains, like the walls of Antioch. When you enter on the land side, that is, by the aforementioned sandy plain, you come upon a narrow passage, between two walls leading from gate to gate, one within another, by which only one horse can pass at a time—a truly impregnable fabric ! Over this city rules the Pasha of Casmon ; only they never suffer him to enter it : such is their regulation : nor do they grant any such permission to any other of the Pashas. They do not allow even the Capigis, who come from Constantinople on the Emperor's affairs, to execute whatever he has commanded them : they do not allow even them, in greater numbers than three or four at a time, to enter their walls. This is the custom prevailing with them ; and though many of the Pashas have employed various artifices to effect an entry into the town by stealth and in disguise, they have always failed in it, as a thing impossible. It is therefore in the ineffable enjoyment of perfect peace and justice. The houses of the Christians are outside the city walls, to the westward : but the whole peninsula is under their subjection and appropriation ; and many of them have houses also within the walls ; for in the summer season they are in much dread of the Russians, and, in consequence, they venture to leave no property in their houses outside.

It was told us, that, forty years ago, the aforesaid Cossacks invested the town, and took it at the point of the sword, together with all its forts ; making a copious plunder, and a great number of captives. In it is a Terskhana or dock-yard, in which they build many ships and galleons. They were at this present time engaged in building a galleon of the largest size ; its length being fifty ells, and its breadth twenty-five. The life of the Christians in this place is spent in perfect ease, happiness, and security. The tribute and exactions imposed upon them are all applied to the pay of the troops in garrison within the city ; and the Priests there are like magistrates and governors. The people generally are fond of possessing slave girls, and Mamelooks or male slaves. The place contains upwards of a thousand Christian families ; and in each family are five or six captive men and women, or more. There are seven churches without the

walls of the town. The first is in the name of Constantine and Helena: the second bears the title of The Entrance of Our Lady into the Temple, and The Annunciation; the third is in the name of St. Nicolas; the fourth in the name of St. John the Divine, and is of ancient date, with a lofty cupola. There does not exist a more ancient church than this. Close to it is a large church in the name of St. Κυριακή. The sixth is in the name of St. John the Baptist. The seventh is on the sea-beach, in the name of the Martyr Theodorus of Thyron. In the tabernacle, on the chair, is a marble stone, shaped like a seat, on which it is said that St. Andrew the Apostle sat, when he came to this town and the neighbouring country, the inhabitants of which received the faith at his hands; and, in particular, the people of this town of Sinope glory in him. It is they, however, that collected tumultuously about him, and ate his thumbs *αολη*: the towns, therefore, around them load them with reproaches, and say to them, "It is you who ate the fingers of St. Andrew the Apostle, out of the hardness of your hearts." In this church is the tomb of the Martyr St. Foka, the Sinopean, concealed. Morning and evening they strike the wooden bells in their churches, there being no Turkish houses among them. In the quarter where the houses of the Christians are, on the north side of the peninsula, is an ancient royal palace of stone, which they call the Παλάτι, which has existed since the time of the Christian Emperors; a magnificent building, and surrounded by many ruinous out-houses in the hands of the Christians. It contains an ancient church, dedicated by the title of The Divine Ascension. The structure of all their churches is after the plan of the churches of Constantinople and that country. The Armenians here are very few in number; and are weak and poor, being totally without means or resources. They have a church, the rent of which they pay to the Greeks; that is, they pay, annually, five and twenty piastres for the ground-rent; as it is an estate belonging to the churches of our community, who hold the Armenians in great contempt, and every now and then demand from them the ground on which their church stands. The Metropolitan of Amasia exercises jurisdiction over this town; and he constantly resides here, because his See of Amasia is in ruins, and entirely destitute of Christians. From this town of Sinope to Tocat it is a distance of fifteen stations. Those, therefore, who wish to pass to Tocat with heavy loads, go by sea to a town called *Æneos*, in Turkish *Onia*, distant from it two hundred miles, and a scala or port to the city of *Cajà*; to which merchants resort from Moldavia, Wallachia, the country of the Cossacks, Poland, Diarbekr, &c., with red reeds and Morocco leather; and from Aleppo,

with taffety and Indian blue cloth, and other merchandize, on account of its vicinity to Tocat; for between the two places it is only four days' journey. It happened that we afterwards repaired to this port; which is within a harbour formed by the entrance of the sea into an immense bay.

On the Thursday of the second week of the Christmas Lent we were invited to the Church of St. Nicolas; where we made some holy oil, in the presence of all the Clergy and laity, for a man who designed to make a pilgrimage to Jerusalem: because it is a custom with them, that when any person among them is about to undertake a journey, he shall confess, and invite the Bishop and Clergy to church, to make some holy oil for him. He distributes tapers to all who assist, puts candles in the candelabras and before the images, lights up all the lamps in the church; and, before the beginning of the prayers, makes a number of metanoias to the Head of the Clergy and the assistants; begging of them pardon, if any offence has arisen to them on his part, if he has spoken irreverently to any of the Clergy, or if he has neglected his obligations to any of the assembly. They all then grant him remission; saying, "The Lord forgive thee!" and after that, he lights his tapers, and receives the holy mysteries. At the conclusion of the prayers, he bequeaths, with oaths and stipulations, all that he possesses or is due to him, in the face and with the testimony of all the congregation. In such manner this person did, on the present occasion. After we were come out, they set for our Lord the Patriarch a chair in the church-yard; and the whole congregation having seated themselves, the pilgrim furnished them with portions of meat, and distributed cups of brandy all round. To all the Priests and Monks he made a present in money.—How remarkable this excellent custom is! And so he set out on his journey with the blessing of God; and we sent by him letters to our country, to inform them of our approaching return.

On Sunday, the second of Christmas Lent, we performed Mass in the Church of St. Kyriaki, which is near to that of the Theologian. We said Mass also on the third Saturday, in the Church of St. John the Baptist, to keep the vigil: and on the Feast of the Nativity, as the Metropolitan of the city was come from Constantinople, we attended Mass in the Church of St. Nicolas.

On the Festival of the Circumcision, it is the custom with them here to send to the Head of the Clergy, or to the ministering Priest, long cakes of عفرات, with sweets compounded of boiled almonds bruised with honey, &c., a present of no inconsiderable bulk and value. So also on the eves of the Nativity and the

Immersion, they bring him cakes, wax, incense, wine, and a sum of money, that he may mention their property in his prayers.

On the Festival of the Immersion, we robed, together with the Metropolitan of the city, in the Church of the Baptist, which is dedicated also by the title of The Immersion; and the Metropolitan made many apologies before he would put on the Sako, saying, "It is not lawful for me to put it on in the presence of your Holiness:" and he spoke the truth, as he had no *Φελόνιον*. Then we went forth from the church, as soon as the "*Ορθρον*" was over, in grand procession, to the sea-shore; and there the service was performed as usual, our Lord the Patriarch reciting the Prayers. After the dipping of the cross in the basin, he went and threw, with all his force, a wooden cross into the sea, in compliance with their custom. Immediately several men, who were ready stripped, started off, and, diving into the sea, brought up the cross; to which great honour was paid, in the presence of the Turks and others, even surpassing that which is paid to it in Christian countries. After he had sprinkled them all, we returned and finished the Mass.

We were now disposed for our immediate departure in the prosecution of our journey: only, on account of the reports which were spread abroad concerning Jelali Hasan Pasha and those with him, and the wars which were rising up between his party and Murteza Pasha of Diarbekr, we were induced to make some delay. The case was, that the Vazir had sent an appointment to the latter to make war upon the former, and had written orders to the whole country to take up arms: so that there arose to fight, under the banners of Murteza Pasha, according to the accounts of credible persons, a multitude amounting to one hundred and twenty thousand men, of Turkomans, Curds, and ploughmen. With Hasan Pasha, as we were in like manner informed, were only twelve thousand men; but they were vigorous and chosen soldiers *سارجا* and *سکمان*; for the whole army of Abshir Pasha, with his officers and Agas, had joined him, together with Mirza Ali, by whose aid Abshir had formed these heroes. As soon as information of this affair reached Hasan Pasha, he arose from Brousa, and came to Eski Shehr; on his march to which place he cut off all the springs of water which were on the line of road between him and Murteza Pasha, and filled up the wells with earth for the distance of three or four days' journey; at the same time turning all the running waters upon the roads and grounds behind his army, in such a manner that the whole surface became mud and soft clay. The consequence was, that when the enemy came up with him, they were dying of

thirst and fatigue, and the harassing of the skirmishers behind him; whilst he, I mean Hasan Pasha, and his army were fresh and hearty. At this critical moment he rushed upon them; and battle having been joined, he defeated them; and was unable, in the heat of victory, to restrain his men from the slaughter, however much he wished it, being still balanced between fear and hope as regarded the Sultan. His army, it is said, put to the sword more than seventy thousand of the army of Murteza Pasha; the most part of which consisted, as we have already mentioned, of ploughmen and raw subjects, totally unacquainted with the practice of war. As for Mirza Ali, he slew of the enemy what exceeds all description and computation, until he came up with Murteza Pasha, whom he was on the point of capturing alive. But Hasan interfered between them, and pushed his entreaties to the Mirza and the rest of his army, until he at length succeeded in putting a stop to the carnage. From Murteza Pasha, however, and his troops, they plundered every thing they had with them, taking all their booty, and stripping them of their clothes: and from the Pasha they took all his treasure, which he had received from the Emperor, and even his pavilion, and his furniture and servants, giving him scarcely the opportunity of making his escape with life to Angoria, where he placed himself within the protection of the town walls. Those of his troops who escaped slaughter dispersed themselves, in flight, among the mountains and valleys. After this, Hasan Pasha returned in great joy and gladness towards the country of the Arabs, to Maraash and Intab; where he took up his quarters.

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## SECT. V.

### *SIEGE OF ALEPPO BY SEIDI AHMED PASHA.—DEPARTURE FROM SINOPE. CARSA. AMISON.—ARRIVAL AT GENOOS.*

It was Hasan's desire to make himself master of Aleppo, and tyrannize over it. He had a Kakhia or steward, whom he appointed, in his absence, his Lieutenant in Aleppo. The name of this man was Hammamgi Oglou; and he had sent repeatedly to him, to urge him, that he would use all his artifice to become master of the city. But the favour of the Almighty saved Aleppo from this second ruin; it having been sufficiently punished by what had been inflicted on it through Seidi Ahmed Pasha, who had come from Constantinople to take the government of the town as Pasha. Into his hands, however, the grandees would

not, on any account, deliver the power; but rejected him for their Motesellim or Governor, because he was accompanied by a number of Agas, and the greater part of the above-mentioned troops of Abshir Pasha; of whom they felt much dread, knowing how they had conducted themselves formerly in Aleppo, and what tyrannical and hostile acts they had been guilty of. The Pasha marched, therefore, and laid siege to Aleppo for forty days; in the course of which he cut down the trees of all the gardens and orchards, to supply himself with fuel, as it was winter time, and excessively cold weather: and he made a *لحمية* under the ground. There was at that time in Aleppo a just judge, or Cadi, named Mosalla Effendi. This venerable man called the inhabitants together; and having exhorted them to the defence of the town, he himself began to carry away the earth from the mount in the Mazar Sehri, which was covered with rose-bushes; and having gradually removed the whole mass, he formed, in the angle of the town-wall, opposite to the place it had formerly occupied, a large mound, since known by his name, from which they fought with the guns which he placed upon it. Then Seidi Ahmed Pasha captured the houses situated on the outside of the walls in the Christian districts; and his troops plundered them, besides committing the grossest outrages: for these had incurred his enmity and hostility in the highest degree, the inhabitants of the interior having forced these suburbans to carry on the war against him from the roofs of their houses; and if God had not inspired him with mercy, many horrors would have ensued. At length, the Aleppians sent a representative to Constantinople, declaring their unwillingness to receive the Pasha: and, in reply to it, a message came, that he should rise and depart from Aleppo; in lieu of the government of which place, the Pashalik of Belgrad was conferred on him. He immediately marched away. And now Ibnol Hammamgi made haste, and sent to remove all the guards from the gates of the city, and replaced them with his own troops: but this presently reached the ears of the Aga or governor of the castle, who took the alarm, and remained on the alert for the preservation of that fort. The former therefore failed in his scheme; and it was said, that some of his Agas reprimanded him, saying thus to him: "If you wished to take the castle, it was your duty to consult with us; and we would have formed and carried into effect a sure plan, such as was employed by Ibn Jân Plato of former times, to the full effect of taking the castle. The plan would have been, for you to bind twenty of us Agas hands and feet, and to send and imprison us in the castle, under the conduct of two men each; so that we should have been sixty in all; whilst the men at the gate of the castle are but few: and by this



stratagem we should have captured it without difficulty." It was added, that Ibnol Hammamgi repented much of what he had done. This was, however, a favour and especial grace of Almighty God towards the Aleppians, as we have before observed. Afterwards, they rose against the same Ibnol Hammamgi, when he came as Motesellim or Lieutenant-governor on the part of Mahmoud Pasha, Pasha of Adana, and drove him from Aleppo. Whilst he was marching on his way, he was murdered, before he had time to join Hasan Pasha.

As soon as accounts to this effect reached Sinope and the neighbouring towns, the inhabitants became secure and the roads safe, after having been beset with fears and alarms: the troops of travellers and the caravans were again in motion; and we, on our part, made strenuous preparations for our journey. Already, having been wearied with our stay here in Sinope, we had thrice hired vessels to leave it for *Ænoos*; but the people would not suffer us to depart until the present favourable news were confirmed; when they bade us farewell, and we set out on the morning of Saturday, the last day of Canon Essâni. The Sinopians wept at parting with us. We embarked all our goods, and our whole company, in a caïk, which we hired for sixteen piastres. We chose this kind of vessel, out of the apprehension we felt at the idea of going on board a ship; and knowing that a caïk was a safer and pleasanter embarkation for us, as we should pass along the sea-shore close in land, and, when they saw a strong gale or a storm arising on the water, they would make for the beach, and draw the boat, with every thing in it, by means of a cogged wheel and ropes, high up on shore, where we should remain in safety. In this way we travelled a distance of eighteen miles; and came to a small town named *Carsa*, containing some fine large houses, an ancient church dedicated to St. Michael, and another newly built on the sea-shore, in the name of St. Parasceve. Hence proceeding, we arrived at a place where we christened a new ship; and crossed a river, at its fall into the sea, called *Cara Boghaz*: then another river, called *Kizzil Boghaz*. In passing them, we endured great terrors, by reason of the rapidity of their streams. Shortly after we sailed by the city of *Amison*; and passed the River of the Wolf, celebrated for its connexion with St. Gregory the Wonder-worker, and called, in Turkish, *Char-chahna*. We then sailed by the town of *Janika*, famous for its brown linen; and came to an ancient church built on a high rock, and dedicated in the name of St. Nicolas. We paid our devotions to this church, which is very near *Ænoos*; and this town of *Ænoos*, or "The City of Wine," we entered on Carnival Sunday, being met by all the inhabitants.

## SECT. VI.

*DESCRIPTION OF CENOOS.—TRADE OF THE INHABITANTS.—TOWN AND CARRIERS OF ARGOSTI.*

OUR voyage to Cenoos, from Sinope, lasted nine days; for we were much delayed by bad weather and the roughness of the sea. We were first taken into the Church of St. Nicolas, which is magnificently built of stone: and then to the Church of Our Lady, surrounded with stone walls. We were invited into the cloisters of the latter church; which possesses a beautiful garden, containing a low orchard tree with broad leaves, resembling those of the Kabar, and hardly to be distinguished from it. The buildings of this town are of stone, and are large and strong: they are finer than those at Sinope: and the inhabitants are more reverent and religious; for we observed in them a reverence and religiousness, an eager resort to prayers and church service, a submissiveness and humility towards our Lord the Patriarch, such as we had never yet beheld in our time;—and, what is most remarkable, is, that, whilst we staid with them, we had no occasion to buy any thing in the market whatever; for the women fore-ran the men in bringing us table services and bread, and various kinds of meat one upon another; and arrack, wine, and other liquors, in such quantities and diversity of quality as to exceed description. They all stood, by night as well as by day, attentive in our service. The wine of this country is excellent: it is of a dark red colour, and made from the black grape of vines trellised on the trees; and is very cheap.

The occupation of the women of Sinope and of this country, and of all the people in general of these confines, is the linen-trade. Not one of them failed to come and present his wife and family to our Lord the Patriarch: and they received from him Papers of Absolution. We staid with them many more days, than would otherwise have been necessary, having to wait for a caravan to come from Tocat;—when at this season it is usual for them to be continual, being made up of merchants of Caffa, of Moldavia and of Poland, as we before mentioned:—because we wished to return home accompanied by our cattle: and in this way they would be conducted, without labour, at their ease, and without hire. But not one arrived.

The affair now became pressing; and we were advised by the people here, when they saw our impatience to be gone, to write a letter, and send it to a town inhabited by Christians, and named *Argosti*, in the neighbourhood of the new

city of Cæsarca, the inhabitants of which town are all carriers for hire, to ask them for twenty mules. Whilst the messenger was gone to them, I began to prepare the packages; making the bales into such a shape as to suit mules: for now for more than six years we had had nothing carried on the backs of cattle, but had filled (الحرارة) the sack to the mouth, and, having sewed it up, used to throw it into the cart. On the present occasion, we were obliged to labour hard, to make up the burdens, and then to cover them over with sloping tarpaulins: for it was the winter season, and the snow was on the ground; and mules carry no more than seventy okkas in weight. We had with us a bale of sables; consisting of eight large bodies, eight باجات, and two bodies and a half of بورغاز. Through my fears for its sake, I bound it up in a coarse linen sack, with a cered linen bag over it, and inserted the whole in a (حرارة مجلدة) leathern sack. In like manner I dealt with a bale of entire bodies of ermine, making it into one burden; and with a chest of picces of brocade and Venetian velvet, satin, and such like. All these bales had their leathern sacks, where the inner sacks were old, or of coarse hair-cloth; and we folded them over them, and sewed them, so that no person could see what they were, or covet them in his thoughts. To produce a contrary effect, I made them look mean and contemptible; and if any one looked on them, they were not likely to catch his eye. In the same way, to cover up the pieces of furniture, I made for them, according to their shape and size, bags of cered linen: and all this was out of fear, lest the rain should touch them. But, as it would be impossible for me to know one bale from another, nor what was in any, without some especial contrivance, I sewed upon each, with red or yellow wool, a word or two, to indicate what it contained; but in such sort, that I myself could not perceive what it was at a little distance, and so most assuredly no one else. The rest of the clothes, furniture, and sundries, I packed up after the same fashion. The chest containing the cope of our Lord the Patriarch, which chest I had had made like the robe-chest of the Patriarch of Moscow, being covered with leather and iron, and shut up with a lock and key—containing, moreover, his crown and censer, copes for a Priest and Deacon, and other appurtenances for Mass—this chest I made up for one burden; so that, if it should be wanted, it might be readily accessible.

And now the hired carriers, we before mentioned, came to us, accompanied by their Priests, and ready to perform the service for us with all joy and gladness. These persons knew none but the Turkish language. It was desired of us, that we should say Mass in Cœnoos on the first Sunday of the Great Lent: but they

were not so fortunate as to obtain the consent of the Metropolitan of Sinope, who had met us among them, and had conceived some jealousy at their love and kindness towards our Lord the Patriarch. This town is not within the Metropolitan's jurisdiction: but he had taken a lease of it from the secretaries and clerical archons of the Patriarch of Constantinople, to whose See it is attached, the revenue being collected by his officers. Between our master, therefore, and the Metropolitan there arose a division of mind, in consequence of the prohibition enforced by this prelate of the Patriarch's Mass. But the Metropolitan soon repented of his conduct, and afterwards was very solicitous to be forgiven. These poor people, however, extremely desirous as they were of the Patriarch's Mass, did not attain their pious wish.

Thus, then, on the Thursday in the second week of the Great Lent, we loaded and set out from this place, conducted forth by the men and the women and children, composing the whole population of the town, and weeping and lamenting at our departure, to a place at a considerable distance; where they took leave of us, with wishes for our safe arrival. God prosper them, and cherish them!

Then we came, by a rough and very narrow road, through mud and clay, over the ridges of the mountains: this being a safer route than by the roads of Tocat, as they supposed, because its frequenters are few; but we met with snow on these ridges, more than we can describe. In all the villages in these districts the houses are separate, like as it is in the country of the Druzes. They call the inhabitants rayots, and slaves; and most of them are the property of Hasan Pasha El Jelali; whose residence, as well as that of the Vazir, is at present in a village named *Koboli*, on the road from Tocat to Sinope; according to the information we received. We now crossed a large river, called, in Turkish, *Ili W'edràsi*. God deliver us from more such crossings! so violent was its current, and so widely spread its rocks and stones. At night, we had no place to sleep in, but under the vault of heaven, with fires burning around us, and the poor carriers—God be merciful to them!—keeping watch. At the end of three days, it was with difficulty that we reached the already-mentioned town of *Argosti*; which is on the summit of a barren hill, exposed to severe cold and hard frosts. For this reason, no grapes are grown in or near the town. The houses are of large structure; and there is a church, called by the name of St. Nicolas, in which we assisted at Mass, on the second Sunday of Lent. The Priests pray and consecrate in the Greek language, without understanding what they say: for the language of all of them is Turkish, as we have already observed. Concerning

their political condition, we were told, that, besides the Kharadge, they give no more, any year, to the Government than the Moslems do : and that the Moslems, at every period of time that a new Aga comes to them from Constantinople, pay him, each person, a Sanbadge *سنج* of twenty piastres, or something less ; and that they are used with an indescribable degree of tyranny : so that they would prefer having to pay tribute as Jews or Christians, rather than as Mahometans ; and it would be lighter for them.

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## SECT. VII.

### DESCRIPTION OF CÆSAREA, OTHERWISE NIKSAR.—VILLAGE OF OMÁLA. COMANA.—TOCAT.—VILLAGES OF BIZARI AND BISCÁVI.

WE departed from the Argostians early on the morning of the Tuesday ; as we delayed on the Monday, in consequence of the great quantity of snow which fell. They took us down a valley of great extent and declivity, by a wretched narrow road ;—and God have mercy on the soul of any one who should chance to slip ! his destruction was inevitable !—till at length we descended to the new city of *Cæsarea* \*, called, in Greek, *Χερσαυρία* ; and now called, in Turkish, *Niksar*. The fort extends along the top of the hill ; and its water descends from the vicinity of the town of Argosti ; being conducted, as they told us, along an artificial channel. This city contains lakes of water and gardens ; and its situation is very pleasant. All its gardens and plantations are watered by irrigation ; and the crops of corn are tall, by reason of its being an enclosed valley, with mountains all around. We durst not appear here in our character of Christians ; for

\* “ Mazaca, the capital of Cappadocia, took the name of Cæsarea in honour of Tiberius ; and is now denominated Kaiserich by the Osmanlis. The antiquity of this city is attested both by Strabo and Josephus ; and its supposed founder was Meshech the son of Japhet. It was the royal seat of the Kings of Cappadocia, and continued to increase in splendour after its annexation to the Empire : it struck a number of medals, consecrated temples to the Emperors, and celebrated public games in honour of Septimius Severus and his sons. It was adorned with an amphitheatre, and many temples ; and when pillaged by Sapor, king of Persia, in the reign of Valerian, contained a population of no less than four hundred thousand souls. Its dimensions were contracted by Justinian, who rebuilt the walls : it was raised to the dignity of an Apostolic See ; and gave birth to St. Basil, who was buried near the town. The army of Alexius Comnenus is said to have encamped amidst the ruins of the city, which had been destroyed by an earthquake ; but it was afterwards rebuilt, and by turns became subject to the Sultans of Iconium, the Princes of Karaman, and the Grand Seignior.

“ It is situated on the south side of a fertile plain of great length, and at the foot of a stupendous mountain, called Argæus. Two branches of this mountain advance a short distance into the plain, forming

most of the people are soldiers and scriptural Mahometans : and we sighed to visit the ruined churches, which we saw at a distance, of the grandest architecture, and with the cupolas still existing,—as it is related in the New Chronicles of Eljanâbi concerning this city, its beauties, and churches, saying, “ The wise king Ahmed the Ghazi, after having made many conquests in Caramania, marched to the siege of *Χερσαυασία*, which is the city, the abode of fortune, Nîksar ;”—and it was, as he records, one of the largest cities in the world. The belief is spread among the people, that a hot spring here, called Eboas (ابواس), now at a distance of several miles from the town, was formerly in the very centre of the city. This place contains a stupendously large church, of the most magnificent architecture, called *Θαυματουργός*, with many monuments still remaining. The Moslems fought and strove much, until they made themselves masters of this city, and plundered it of all its treasures. Its vine-bowers are low and small.

Then we passed through the whole place ; and crossed the great River Eddib, flowing in the vale by the side of the town ; and came in the evening to a village of Greeks and Armenians, the name of which is *Omála*. Here the vines grow as in our country, and the inhabitants are all vintners. Around the villages is a great number of the *سجلب* tree: it is much in the form of the *جوز* tree ; only that its leaves and fruit bud from the trunk, like hair.

From this place we sent a courier to a Christian Gentleman in Tocat, named Haj Simeon, to take his advice concerning our entrance into that town : for we dreaded it much, by reason that most of the inhabitants are Armenians or Jews ; and we, though a small company, made a great noise in the country. We came therefore to an unanimous resolution ; and sent our heavy baggage and burdens by our servants, in the capacity of merchants owning the cargo. These went

forming a small recess, in the centre of which stands Cæsarea, surrounded on three sides by mountains. The area of the city is inconsiderable ; and the houses, although built of stone and mortar, are mean in their exterior appearance. It is the emporium of an extensive trade ; and the resort of merchants from all parts of Asia Minor and Syria, who come to purchase cotton, which is here cultivated in great quantities, and either sold as a raw material or manufactured into cloth. The inhabitants are stated to amount to about twenty-five thousand souls ; of which number, fifteen hundred are Armenians, three hundred Greeks, and a hundred and fifty Jews.

“ The plain of Cæsarea is irrigated by a river called the Karasu, or Black Water (formerly the Melas, which has the same signification), that flows from west to east, entering the Euphrates at Malatia. Although an inconsiderable stream in the autumn, it, as well as the Kizil Ernak, frequently inundates the country during the melting of the snows. Mount Argish rises in a peak from the plain, similar to Mount Elwund, near Hamadan in Persia, but is of far greater elevation ; and at this season of the year, when the whole of the surrounding country was parched with drought, the mountain, half way from its summit, was enveloped in the snows of perpetual winter.”

and stopped at the khân in Tocat ; whilst we staid behind, without luggage, and kept with us only a package of copes and necessary clothing. We agreed also that we would make our entry by night : and, accordingly, we did not set out from Omâla till the afternoon. On our way, we passed by the *Comana* mentioned in the history of the Chrysostom : it is a small town on the right side of the road. It was only from Niksar onward that we again saw houses of brick, flat earthen roofs, and sofas.

In the evening we entered Tocat\*, anciently called, in Greek, *Κωνάσω*, now the name of a place outside ; and alighted near the church, which is ancient, with a very small cupola ; where we said Mass on the third Sunday of Lent. But all the houses round the church belong to the Jews. The houses of the Christians are scattered, to the number of forty or fifty. Round the town, indeed, many of the villages are Christian. On Monday evening we went to visit a large ancient church, dedicated to The Assumption of Our Lady, in a village near the town called *Câksi*, the inhabitants of which are all Christians and Armenians. On seeing the church, we were astonished at its venerable architecture : it is of magnificent dimensions ; and has its lofty cupola suspended on four blue marble pillars, from the neighbouring quarries ; and is replete with grandeur. The opinion is, that it is of the building of the Emperor Theodosius the Great. We performed in it an *Ἀγιασμόδος*, and the Patriarch asperged the whole congregation. In the morning, we went to the visitation of the Tomb of St. John the Chrysostom, and it was with very great devotion and desire. The tomb is situated on the road we had come from Omâla to Tocat, and there is no other way to it. Before we had gone so far as to reach the village of Comana, we were shewn a heap of stones in a field, by the side of the road, wherein the *جرن*, containing

\* "The city of *Tocat* does not appear till you come to the gates of it ; for it is situate in a nook, among great mountains of marble. This nook is well cultivated ; and filled with vineyards and gardens, which produce excellent fruit. The houses are handsomely built, and for the most part two stories high : they take up not only the land which lies between these rugged hills, but likewise stretch themselves along the tops of the hills, in form of an amphitheatre, in such a manner, that there is not a city in the world of a situation so singular. Not to lose any ground, they have even built upon two very frightful, rugged, and perpendicular rocks of marble ; for one sees an old castle on each of them. The hills on which the city is built have so many springs, that each house has its fountain. The chief trade of *Tocat* is in copper vessels, as kettles, drinking vessels, lanterns, candlesticks, which are made here very handsome, and are sent to Constantinople and into Egypt. The workmen of *Tocat* have their copper from the mines of *Gumiscana*, which are three days' journey from *Ἰτεβισονδ* ; and from those of *Castamboul*, which are much richer than the other, ten days' journey from *Tocat*, on the side towards *Angora*. *Tocat* may be looked on as the centre of the trade of the *Lesser Asia*."

the body of the Saint, is said to have been found. A light is continually burning within it; and around it are the ruinous foundations of a convent, which must have been large. Near to Comana also, on the side of the road, is a very large rock, of a great height; that which St. Gregory transported hither. In it are dug several cells; and at the top is a likeness of this miraculous Saint, as mentioned in his history, and known by all to the present time. Others say, that the Chrysostom transported it hither. At the top of it is a kind of tomb, to which we ascended; as we did to the cells, which we entered, and performed our devotions in them. On the tomb is an ancient Greek book; which we were unable to read, as it is much decayed through length of time. We were struck with great admiration at this extraordinary wonder, which is a piece of a mountain standing on the face of the earth. "The wonders of God are in his Saints, and all his is will in them."

In the midst of a vineyard in Comana, they shewed us an ancient cupola; in which they said was the tomb of the Martyr Basilicus, over whom the body of the Chrysostom was placed; and this tomb is visited at the present day. From Comana we went to a village called *Bizari*, opposite to Omala, on the top of a hill. Between the two villages lies the road. All the inhabitants of Bizari are Armenians. This village contains an ancient Roman church, on most of the stones of which are crosses. It is called by the title of The Festival of the Cross. It stands on four pillars, with a lofty cupola, in which the image of the Saviour, in gold, is still remaining. It has also a cupola with the portraits of the two Saints, with their names written in Greek. The altar still subsists in its original state; it is of the shape of the base of a pillar, painted and marbled. The *جرن* which contained the body of St. John the Chrysostom is of blue marble; and is placed on the right-hand side, before the gate of the third tabernacle, close to the wall. It is said, that when the Emperor Arcadius took the Saint's body away, the *جرن* was without cover; but lately, within these sixty years, the Saint appeared, in the night, to an illiterate elderly man, saying to him, "In such a field the cover of my tomb is buried. Tell the people of the town Bizari, with whom my tomb is, to come and take it, and place it on my tomb." The man awoke in astonishment; and, coming early in the morning, dug in the place which the Saint had pointed out to him. It is the same place which we have just before mentioned as a heap of stones in that field. There the cover was found. To the relation it is added, that one of the great men of Tocat made an attempt to carry it to that town; but the buffaloes would not stir from



the spot, nor yield a step in the direction of that city, but only towards the above-mentioned Bizari. When the men grew tired of beating them, they let them go their own way; and the buffaloes never stopped moving till they came to the latter place: and in this, say they, the Saint displayed a miracle, for there were five or six buffaloes together. We performed, at the Saint's tomb, a *Παράκλησις*, with numerous metanoias, and a great quantity of lighted tapers; and we took a blessing from it. To the Janicos (الجانكوس) we made a present of a small sum of money.

On the right of this church is another, in the name of St. George: and just outside of it is a small church, dedicated to St. Gregory the Wonderworker, in the possession of our creed. By what appears to our mind, the convent, the ruinous foundations of which are seen near Comana, close to the stony (كومة) heap of earth, where the covering of the Saint's tomb was found, must have been really and truly the convent where the holy urn (جرن) formerly was: and when that convent was ruined, they must have removed the tomb hither. There are many remains spread over this country of the building of churches and monasteries, which are said to be of the time of the Chrysostom; who, after he had guided them to the faith, and baptized them, built for them these churches, which they know, and name, still up to the present period. Most assuredly the body of the Chrysostom was taken along that road by which we came from Cenoos to Tocat: and this is commonly said among the people here. To continue the transport from Cenoos, they placed the holy reliques on board an imperial ship, and thus carried them to Constantinople.

We afterwards returned to Tocat: and on Friday, our Lord the Patriarch passed to another Caucasian village (كاكسي), named *Biscâvi*, and performed Mass there on the fourth Sunday in Lent, in a church dedicated in the name of St. Michael. In this town is also another church, dedicated to the Virgin; and the inhabitants are extremely religious. Not one of them failed to make his confession. From them we hired cattle and carriers, having already prepared ourselves for the prosecution of our journey: and then we returned to Tocat.

## SECT. VIII.

*DESCRIPTION OF TOCAT.—PAOLOS.—SIVAS.—EXECUTION OF HASAN PASHA AT ALEPPO.—DESTRUCTION OF HIS FOLLOWERS.*

THE city of Tocat is built in a valley between two hills. Its waters are abundant; its fountains near at hand, among the houses; but the quality of the water is at the same time rather heavy. Its castle is of the foundation of the Mahometans, on the ridge of the hill. It is a great mart, frequented by the whole world. Its markets are fine; and all its streets, both large and small, are paved. The Armenians in it are numerous; and they have seven churches within the town. They had an eighth church, on an eminence, overlooking the city; but the Moslems destroyed it. There are round the town, also, Roman monasteries, of which I visited I know not how many.

We then hired some carriers from Keliz (كلز); and set out from Tocat, in company with a caravan, on the Tuesday of the fifth week of Lent; after we had been bidden adieu to by all the Christians, headed by their Metropolitan, who conducted us without the town. In the evening we came to a khân, in ruins, at a short distance from Tocat. On Wednesday morning we came to another khân, near a town of Christians, called *Paolos*: and on Thursday we arrived, by a rugged road, at a large new khân, like the khâns on the road to Constantinople, with shambles and hot baths, in the neighbourhood of a town which they call *Yengi Shchr*; as it resembles its name-sake, which we mentioned in the beginning of our travels, near Broussa.

On Friday, as we approached *Sivas*, we suffered from cold, from a piercing wind, and from frost, what exceeds description; for it is a place famous for its frigid temperature, both in summer and winter. As the air is cold, so are the lands and waters; and there is no green grass to be seen in the whole country, nor any verdure whatsoever, with the exception of the evergreen of the forest-trees. No vines grow here; nor are there any orchards, nor melons, nor cucumbers; nor any herbs, until the approach of Pentecost.

As soon as we arrived in the town, we unloaded our baggage in the khân: for ourselves, we took up our lodgings in some of the houses belonging to the Christians, which are as many as forty or fifty. These Christians have a stone church with a lofty cupola, dedicated in the name of St. George; which they built entirely new, in the reign of the late Sultan Muṛâd. Its area and spacious court are enclosed within immense walls of brick; and around it are their tombs,

together with those of the Armenians. They forced us to celebrate Mass for them in this church, on the fifth Sunday in Lent; and our Lord the Patriarch consecrated for them a Deacon. These are truly religious Christians. This city is that which is called, in Greek, *Σεβαστία*; and from this name they have styled it, in Arabic, Sivas\*. This is the town in which the forty Martyrs suffered Martyrdom. The place of the lake is now become dry ground. The case is, that its situation, as we saw on our passage to it, being in a low hollow, very deep below the town, which is on a lofty eminence, the waters of the latter, and its refuse, used to descend into it, and, having no outlet thence, they formed an immense lake; for the waters of this country are abundant. Afterwards, it appears, when Tamarlang destroyed this town, together with its walls, leaving to it now only the vestiges of its former grandeur, the waters departed from the lake, and it became dry ground, such as it now is. As to the place wherein they deposited the Martyrs, it is an arched vault, observable at a distance, filled inside with water, being near to several springs of water, flowing from two different places. To this water they still give the name of *Ἀγίασμα*; and we drank of it, admiring our happiness in receiving such a blessing. They told us, that every year, on the morning of their festival, there come forth from it two fish, as a miraculous token. Afterwards, they took us to the place where they burnt their holy bones: it is outside the walls; and is the site of a large church, the ruins of the pillars and corner-stones of which are still visible. It is here that the members of our church and the Armenians make their graves. Some of these tombs are ancient, with sloping covers: and tapers are burnt, where the traces of the tabernacle are apparent. On the day of their festival, the Christians come with their Priests, and perform a *Παράκλησις*, and chaunt their rubric. On this day we went to see a large college of some note, beautiful for its pillars and decorations of marble. The whole of it was built of the materials of the before-mentioned Church of the Martyrs, and is of the foundation of the Great Amir Shahinshah, as it is written in the history, at its proper chapter, year 670. It is burnt to the ground; and it is said that the famous Cara Yasgi set fire to it. In its immediate neighbourhood are the ruins of another church

\* "The city of Sivas was first called Cabira, and afterwards Sebaste, in honour of Augustus: it is celebrated for a victory gained here by Lucullus over Mithridates, and for a long siege which it stood against the Romans. It is situated on the north side of a plain, watered by the northern branch of the Kizil Ernak: it is dirty and ill built; has a town-clock (a wonder in this part of the world); and is the seat of the Pasha. The inhabitants are a coarse and rude people, and great breeders of horses. The castle is in ruins; and not far from the town is a celebrated Armenian monastery."—KINNEIR, p. 556.

and small sanctuary, in the hands of the Turks. We gave a fee to the servant ; and having been admitted, we performed our devotions within the precincts ; as they say that they contain the tomb of its bishop, St. Philasius, wherein his body is in preservation up to the present time : but the tomb is hidden. This town has a castle on a hill, in ruins ; wherein was the palace of Abshir Pasha, and his wife Miriam the Georgian. Lower down is a garden belonging to the palace, with cherry-trees and *خوخ*. In truth, the air of this town is cold and dry ; and the frosts it is subject to, are well known. We were now at the end of the month Adar, and yet, through the severity of the cold, we were unable to go out from our apartments. Around this town is a number of convents, which were formerly in possession of our Romani or Greek Church, but now they are in the hands of the Armenians. I went to visit I know not how many of them. In this town we ascertained the truth of the report concerning the murder of Hasan Pasha Eljelali, in Aleppo, and of all the Pashas who were with him ; as also of the arrival there of Elkebelli, son-in-law of the Vazir, being appointed Pasha of that city.

The case was, that when Hasan Pasha had settled at Intâb, he received intelligence that Murteza Pasha was coming to Aleppo with his troops ; and immediately sent against him the Tartar Ahmed Elba, so much celebrated for his valour, with one thousand brave soldiers, to go and intercept his march at the castle of *Boghras*, near Bilan, and stop his passage. He came therefore to Keliz, and ate and drank, and rested for some days ; when suddenly the news reached him of the arrival of Murteza Pasha at Antioch, and afterwards at Aleppo, whither the inhabitants of the suburbs had removed all their stock of provisions, and their household goods, to the interior of the city ; which, with its whole population, was thrown into the utmost terror and confusion. Murteza Pasha alighted at the house of the Ermenezi (*الارمنازي*), and the other Pashas and soldiery took up their quarters in the other houses. Murteza now sent and endeavoured to inveigle Hasan Pasha, by letters, promises, and oaths, to come and present himself before him, without fear or apprehension ; swearing to him, on the holy volume and the sword of the Sultan, that he would use no treachery towards him ; and assuring him, that he would take him and reconcile him with the Sultan, from whom he had nothing to dread. Hasan Pasha, in the mean time, was a prey to rage and vexation at the conduct of his troops, over whom he had lost all controul. They were become insolent and riotous ; and went about the country, plundering, violating, and carrying off what they pleased,

with none to hinder them; till at length they came to one of the villages belonging to Hasan Pasha, near Keliz, where he was dwelling, and made an attack on it. Entering the stables, they cut the (فدانيين) yokes of the oxen with their swords, and took them; and they also plundered the stores of grain. As soon as Hasan witnessed this outrageous behaviour on their part, he cursed them; and mounting his horse in a passion, he suddenly set off for Aleppo, fearless of the consequences. His officers in vain exerted all their prayers and persuasion to induce him to turn back: he obstinately proceeded, till he arrived at Aleppo, where the news of his approach at first filled Murteza with terror. But soon the Pasha's fear was turned into joy; and having communicated with Hasan, he ordered him an apartment in his own house; at the same time quartering each of the Pashas, who attended him, with some officer of his own of the same rank, and treating them all with mirth and festivity; until one day, having sent a sudden notice, he instantly ordered his guard to put Hasan Pasha to death, and they cut off his head. To his subordinate officers he sent slips of paper; and each of them killed one of the Jelalians, and brought his head and placed it before the Pasha, together with the body. These were then taken up, and carried to be thrown in a heap, on the outside of the Bankosa Gate. In consequence of this event, there was great rejoicing and thanksgiving to God, throughout the country, and in all the mosques; and the Pasha ordered that the bodies should not be buried, but be left to be devoured by dogs. The heads he immediately sent, on the tops of spears, to Constantinople; and on this particular occasion, also, there was great pomp and rejoicing. On each head was stuck a piece of paper, bearing the name of its once owner. Subsequently, a Khatti Sherif was issued, for the confiscation of the property of the rebels, and for the prosecution and chace of every person who had been connected with Hasan Pasha; commanding their houses to be razed, their children to be slaughtered, and their wives to be sold to slavery. The Sarja and the Sakman (الصارجا والسكمان) were ordered to be put to death, wherever they were found, without form or trial; and their names and banners to be annihilated. All this was carried into effect, until every remnant of these rebels was destroyed from the face of the earth, and the world was purified of their villany.

## SECT. IX.

## DEPARTURE FROM SIVAS.—OLĀSH.—CANGHAL.—ELMAGHAIR.—DESCRIPTION OF THE CITY OF DERINDA.

WE set out from Sivas early in the morning of Monday the sixth week of Lent; and suffered, from the roughness of the country, the bitterness of the air, and the depth of the snow on the ridges of its well-known mountains, more hardships than it is possible to describe. In the afternoon we came to an Armenian village, containing two wooden khāns, and called *Olāsh*. Here we halted two days, in consequence of a great fall of snow, and because the way from this place to the next stage, called *Canghal*, is very difficult, being a narrow gully, along which two caravans, the one going and the other coming, are unable to pass, so close is it; as we shall again have occasion to mention. At the end of two days we set forth; and again suffered from the cold and the ice and the bitter blasts of wind, what exceeds description. Our faces became as black as a negro's; and when we ascended to the top of the mountain which they call *Delkeli Cāya*, we became stupefied and bewildered; and our eyes were frozen up by the immense snow around us, and the road disappeared from our ken. But God was merciful to us, in a courier, who preceded us, and opened a new road before us. Our cattle were ruined with fatigue and falls; and some of the drivers actually perished amidst the hardship of raising and reloading them, after they sunk with their burdens in the snow. In like manner, the horses, with their riders, sank, and were buried; nor was it possible for the horseman to ride with his legs down; for wherever his horse trod, he sank so low, that the snow rose above his back. We presently arrived at the great strait; which is a road where there is room for only one beast of burden to pass; where there is no stepping aside, either on the right or on the left: for should the foot of the animal but slip out of the path, it would sink with its burden, as though it were fallen into an abyss of the sea; nor could it rise it again by any means, for it would be buried and smothered in the snow. The people of *Canghal* are, for this reason, accustomed to come and plant this road with tall trees, like (دژ) tent-poles, on each side, right and left, from one end to the other; so as to be a guide to the eye all the way from *Delkeli Cāya* to *Canghal*: otherwise it would be impossible, without these marks, for any one to find this road at all in the snowy season. This remarkable pass is well known throughout Persia, and at Constantinople, and, as we were told indeed, through every part of the world.

That it is most extraordinary, is true; for we, who had seen and travelled so much, never beheld a more horrid road than this. At Canghal we met with horsemen in succession, who look out and give notice, and are continually going and coming, to prevent the meeting of different parties in this pass, and to make one party halt on the spot till the other is gone by; as should have been done to-day, when, by their neglect, and by the shock of two caravans encountering each other on this narrow path, as load struck against load, one of the beasts unavoidably fell into the deep snow, and unspeakable confusion and tumult, with drawing of swords, ensued. We suffered, therefore, great hardships; not one of us daring to ride on horseback, for fear of such falls; and all walking, for the greatest part of this day's journey. We were told, that last year a caravan was totally lost. The carriers, being no longer able to endure the fatigue of maintaining the loads, in consequence of the great depth of snow and the intensity of the cold, threw down the packages of the merchants, and ran off with their cattle. But being benumbed with the frost, they were overtaken, notwithstanding all their efforts to get clear off, by the merchants; who, to save their lives, themselves now abandoned their property, to the amount, it is said, of twelve thousand piastres: for from Olâsh to Canghal not a village is found, nor a cave, nor a copse of wood; and many of them lost their hands and feet, by mortification. The people of the distant farms, hearing of this affair, came and plundered what was left, and carried off these riches in their sacks. And lately, when Elkebelli, Pasha of Sivas, was returning from Aleppo to that place, his army is reported to have lost upwards of two thousand horses, from *Malatia* to Olâsh. It was with great difficulty that we reached Canghal in the evening; and our spirits returned to us only by drinking of the wine which we had with us. In the morning we again departed; and travelled the distance of half a station in the snow as before, suffering from the severity of the cold wind, enough to freeze us and parch us up. The farm-houses and cottages in the district of Canghal have caves under ground, to serve as a refuge from the frost. Our carriers turned aside from the *Malatia* road, alleging that it was very rough, and took us along the road to *Derinda*: and God had mercy upon us, and we arrived in a land of safety. We had now passed the snows, and had begun to see the ground; and we pitched our tents, and slept there that night. Rising next morning to pursue our journey, we saw no more of the cold. In the evening, we came to a place called *Elmaghair*. All our road for these two days lay along a valley, and a river of flowing water, with which the neighbouring meadows and sown lands are irrigated. This stream is

said to come from the vicinity of Angoria and Tosia, and unites with the River *Eli Bostan*, which is named Chihan: on its banks are (الزيرفون) barren jujube-trees.

On the morning of Palm Sunday, we ascended some high mountains: and on our approach to the city of *Derindā*, these highlands resembled the Malolan country in the territory of Damascus, and the roads in those parts; only that these are exceedingly rugged. The soil is like that of Aleppo, for its red mould and rocks. At noon, we descended upon the town and its numerous gardens. It is supplied with water from a large stream, springing from a rock under the castle. The walls of the houses and gardens are all of brick, similar to the construction of Cara. Its castle is a very fine large building, at the top of a large high hill, with sides of equal dimensions. We were informed that the Othmanlies wrested it out of the hands of the Curds. Its charitable foundations are many; and its fruits, of all kinds, abundant; for its inhabitants are few, and its gardens numerous. We bought an okka of dried mulberries for two Othmanias.

On the morning of Monday in Holy Week we left this town; and passed over an immense low plain, all the sown lands of which are subject to irrigation. In the evening we stopped to sleep in one of the villages on *Eli Bostan*. The situation of these lands is very fine, and their waters abundant. They lie very low, are covered with cottages, and are hemmed in by the surrounding mountains.

## SECT. X.

### ANCIENT CITY OF ELBESTIN.—HAZARDOUS PASSAGE OF THE RIVER JIHAN. PILGRIMAGE OF SOB KERABID.—ZEITON.

On the morning of Tuesday in Holy Week we crossed the River *Eli Bostan*, and entered the township of that name. It is a small borough; but was anciently a renowned city, and is known in history by the name of *Elbestin*. The name of its river is *Elezrek*, or the Blue River, and is the same as the *Chhān* or *Jihān*\*, the source of which is close to an Armenian village in the vicinity.

\* There can be no doubt that the *Jihān*, or *Jyhoon*, was the ancient *Pyramus*, wherever that river may have discharged itself into the sea; and, if the conjecture be correct, that it has changed its former course, one cause of that change is sufficiently manifest in the volume of earth and sand that it still continues to roll down from the interior. This great quantity of deposit has produced a plain of sand along the side of the gulf, somewhat similar in shape, and equal in size, to that formed by the *Ghiuk Sooyoo*; but the elbow, where the current that sets round the gulf, quits it, is obtuse, and without any shoals. This river, half a mile from its mouth, is 490 feet wide, and is the largest of all the rivers on the south coast of Asia Minor. Xenophon, in his First Book of the *Anabasis*, gives it (the *Pyramus*) the



This town had walls formerly; as it is related of it in the history entitled “Pearls for the Threads of the History of the Turkish Empire,” (درة الاسلاك في دولة الاتراك) that in the year of the Hegira seven hundred and fifty-four, in the days of the Sultan, the upright king, Saleh, son of the Sultan, the protecting king, Mohammed, son of Calavon, marched forth the Emir Seif Oddin, Arghon, Elkamili, the depositary of the Imperial power in Aleppo, and with him the troops of Aleppo, for the city of Elbestin, in quest of the Emir Craja, son of Dilghadir, Prince or Chief of the Turcomans; to seize him, and take all they found with him, scattering the collection of his multitude, and hastening the amputation of his root and branch. On arriving at the city, they found it empty of Sakman; for the Prince, as soon as notice reached him, fled, with all his attendants, and escaped. The invaders immediately quartered themselves in its palaces; and thence went forth daily, to destroy its walls, and raze its monuments. Soon its streets became as a last night’s dream, and its frequency as the morrow of a departed caravan.—Still, the traces of its ancient buildings are apparent, and the sites of its churches and convents are marked by heaps of stones.

We staid here two days; and on the morning of Holy Thursday we set forth; and, having proceeded three hours’ journey, came to the bank of the River Jihān, to cross it by a ford known only to the people of the country. It was at the height of its overflow, in consequence of the melting of the snows: and as it was found impossible to take us over by fording, they unloaded the packages from the backs of the animals, and the neighbouring peasants, who were all Turkomans, stripped naked, and, distributing among themselves the smaller burdens, carried them across the river on their heads. For the heavier, they brought two large timbers, which they bound together, forming them like a boat or raft: and on this, and others of the like, they placed the bales; which they dragged, thus loaded, from the bank of the river to the deepest part, by means of buffaloes. Then loosing the buffaloes, they pushed off with the rafts to the opposite shore; and, discharging the bales, returned to take others by the same conveyance, until they had carried over the whole of our luggage. Many of the persons were busied, till night came on, in carrying over their goods on their

the breadth of a stadium, or 600 Greek feet, at the place where it was crossed by Cyrus; but we need not conclude, from thence, that it has so materially diminished. Xenophon, probably, expressed himself in round numbers of this river, as well as of the *Cydnus* at *Tarsus*, and the *Sarus*, where the army crossed, to which he respectively assigns the breadth of two and three plethra (200 and 300 feet); whereas the former is no more than 160, and the latter but 270 feet wide, near their mouths.”

horses. There remained myself, our Lord the Patriarch, and the Metropolitan Gerasimus, who had made up our minds to pass in the boat, which was to be towed up for us, as safer and more convenient. As soon as it came, they loaded it, and we went on board. No sooner had the buffaloes drawn it into the deep, than it inclined with us, first on the right, and then on the left; deluging us with water on both sides, to above our girdles. The bales fell down from their places: and had it not been for the attendance of some Armenian people in the water, and the favour of the Almighty, we should have been altogether drowned. The spectators called, "Alas!" and gave us up for lost, and shouted and hallooed; for the river runs with a strong and deep stream. Those who were able, hastened to our assistance; and by the intercession of all the Saints, they saved us, and put us on shore, deprived of our senses like dead persons. On recovering, we cursed our condition, from fright, terror, and drowning. We stripped ourselves of all our clothes, and covered ourselves up with our cloaks only, almost perishing with cold; and it was a most especial bitter night for us, particularly as we could procure no fire-wood, and our other shirts and clothes were all packed up. However, we spared no expense in obtaining what was to be purchased for our restoration to vital warmth: but it was impossible for us to rise from the spot where we were seated: there we remained, just as we sat down, till the next morning.

Early on Good Friday, the caravan proceeded: but we staid behind, with those travellers on horseback whose bundles had fallen into the water. Having beaten up the neighbourhood, they engaged the peasants to draw out their packages. This delay was very convenient for us, who staid, till near the approach of noon, drying our goods and wardrobe in the sun. We then mounted our horses; and again, on this day, suffered great hardship from the roughness of the road. Indeed, we had as yet seen nothing equal to it: for this route by Zeitoun (the well-known Armenian town) is notoriously bad, all the way from Eli Bostan to Marhash. It winds on ridges of hills; and through valleys, the bottom of which is covered with rapidly-flowing streams, issuing down from the tops of the mountains; and here and there are springs, throwing out water like rivers. Withal, the path is narrow, admitting but of one horse to pass at a time; and, O heavens! if any of the baggage-cattle happened to totter, and its feet to slip, it would tumble the whole descent, with its burden, down to the bottom of the valley. And how many burdens were carried away by the River Jihān! for the whole border of this river is without the smallest flat, to make a bank. We did not

arrive at the station till after night-fall; and it was only angels, undoubtedly, that carried us. This road is all but impassable by day-time; how then were we saved along it by night? The harassing difficulty of the route was particularly great for our Lord the Patriarch, being a corpulent man: and it was impossible to escape the jolting by walking on foot; for when we alighted to walk, we stumbled on brooks rushing down from the heights with the force of large rivers, which we were unable to pass without again mounting our horses: and in this way we reached at length the station, which was at a mill, between two mountains, in the middle of the valley; but both ourselves and our horses were nearly dead with fatigue. As soon as our company, who had for the most part preceded us, were aware of our approach, they came forth to meet us at a distance, with lanthorns and torches.—These two nights were equivalent to all that we had suffered during our absence from home, in vexation and labour; and *actions are judged of by their ends.*

On the morning of Holy Saturday we rose early, to pursue our way, which lay over mountain-ridges covered with deep snow. The mud was therefore equally deep in those parts where the sun had effect. And this mountain-track we pursued till noon; when we descended into the Valley of Zeitoon, with its vineyards. We passed by the Pilgrimage of *Sob Kerabid*, that is, of Mar Johanna, or St. John the Baptist, which is visited by the Armenians from Aleppo. It is an ancient dome, in the midst of hot springs; into which a company of Armenians, who were with us, went to bathe. These waters are beneficial in all chronic diseases. In the afternoon, we came opposite to Zeitoon; and there halted. *Zeitoon* is situated on the flat of a hill, and its houses are built of brick. We sent and fetched some wine from the town; but we could find no eggs there, nor cheese, nor meat; which we wanted for the next day, being Easter Sunday: for Hasan Pasha's men had plundered the whole of this country. We were surprised at the name of this town, Zeitoon; and at first supposed that it was from the great number of olive-trees around it they had so named it. But the case is quite the reverse; for there are indeed immense woods surrounding it, but not a single olive-tree is to be seen in the neighbourhood.

## BOOK XVIII.

## SYRIA.

## SECT. I.

MARHASH.—OSMAN DADA.—BORGE.—ACCOUNT OF MÉTROPHANUS,  
ARCHBISHOP OF ALEPPO.—ARRIVAL AT KELIZ.

ON the morning of the Passover we moved forward. Our breakfast was on cheese, a mould of which had been kept by us since we left Wallachia; and on bacon, which had been given to us at Sivas. Our road this day was again very rugged, over huge mountains like walls, on which we were told they cut the wood for Aleppo. We coasted, for the most part, the River Jihān; and how often 'did it happen, from the narrowness of the path, and the great overflow of the river, that our road was entirely covered with water; and that the beasts, with their burdens, were fairly carried away by the stream, only some being recovered with great exertion? In the afternoon we came to a bridge near *Marhash*, over the Jihān; and we alighted. From this place we began to see the red soil of Aleppo, and the (سندیان) oak, almond, olive, and pomegranate tree in the orchards; and we now smelt the air of Aleppo. *Marhash* is a large borough, with abundant waters, and a handsome castle on the flat of a hill. Here we ate salad and greens, and (الكمأة) the white mushroom. We left on Tuesday morning; and not crossing the ford of the River Ak Soo, or "White Water," through fear of its depth from overflow, we went round by the bridge; and had to exert ourselves much, to wade through the rice-grounds; for all these lands are laid under water, for the rice-plantation. In the afternoon we came to an ancient stone minaret, where, it is said, was formerly a large town, called *Osmanjik*, or *Osman Dada*; and near to the pillar is an ancient khân.

On Wednesday morning we proceeded on our road; and again suffered great hardship, in consequence of the great quantity of mud and clay, and the waters of the rice-grounds. The poor baggage-cattle used to sink to their necks, and their burdens would fall from their backs; and then the carriers had to wade,

with their clothes, in the mud and water, to drag them out and reload them: and it was with the utmost difficulty that we got through, and entered the famous *Durenda* pass or strait, which is a narrow defile between two mountains. On clearing this, we arrived at the top of the mountain, at the place of division of the two roads, to *Intab* and *Keliz*; where a part of the caravan separated from us, to take the *Intab* road, whilst we joined with those for *Keliz*. We soon came to the vine-grounds belonging to the two districts; and in the afternoon reached the town, called *Borge*, and celebrated for its tower.

On the morning of Thursday after Easter, we passed by the town of the Vineyards; and came to the boundaries of vine-plantations and grounds of *Keliz*. The Turkomans were now assembling from all parts of our country, on their departure to the regions of *Sivas* for the summer and their (يديلا) summer quarters. We looked at them with great interest, and had a grand review of them: and truly it is they who are the cultivators of the earth and its fruits, and the source of our joy and happiness. In the evening, I alone arrived at *Keliz*, as a courier *بيئيت عيش كالمبش* : but they would not believe me; and when they looked on me, they were like persons confounded, and not trusting to their senses: for all accounts from us had been interrupted; and it had been asserted of us, that we had been killed in *Wallachia*, during the war of *Constantine*; of which we have given the history, and in the course of which every person found in the convent which we once inhabited was unsparingly slaughtered. They rejoiced at our arrival among them; and we united together in thanking God, and praising his Holy name, for our safety.

I immediately wrote letters to *Aleppo* and *Damascus*, and the other towns of *Syria*; and we sent them by a runner, to inform them of our approach: and our return in this way proved to be the more fortunate course; for our original intention was no other than to go from *Tocat* to *Cæsarea*, and thence to *Adana*, *Antioch* on the *Madik*, and *Antioch* of *Syria*; only we found no companions for that route; and we had no design of coming at all to *Aleppo*. This was because of the multiplicity of wicked and scandalous acts perpetrated among the Christians by the enemy of God, *Metrophanus*, son of the priest *Beshāra*, Metropolitan of *Aleppo*, whose consecration to that See was a judgment of God on its people. For to what purpose did he use the opportunity of the absence of our Lord the Patriarch, but for evil, and the tyranny of his arm, and for numerous frauds and extortions? particularly, during the government of *Abshir Pasha*, he put forth a claim that there were owing to him, by them, some six or seven thousand piastres,

as we were told : and he drove the Pasha to collect this money from them. This the Pasha did by bastinado and slaughter, making the Metropolitan palace into a barrack for his Aghas, an office of extortion, and a prison : whilst the Metropolitan himself was moved to compassion for none of his flock, but harshly persisted in his tyrannies and abominations, defiling the character of the prelacy by his actions, and permanently injuring the Christian interest. The whole of the money, however, Abshir took himself, and used it to pay the Sarja and Sakman, without giving the Metropolitan a single piastre. Observe the actions of this impious wretch and abandoned of God ! observe his impiety and hypocrisy ! which he carried to such a pitch, that he even extended his fraud and extortion to the abuse of the register of the (خام) raw silk which they collected every year from the Christians, at the Feast of the Nativity, for the poor— an excellent custom, which had existed since the time of the former Patriarch, Ephthimius, known by the appellation of Kurma ; and in the time of our Lord the Patriarch, when he was Metropolitan, had come to increase. But now, in his days, this infidel has been the cause of its being laid aside, for the reason we alluded to ; for, by the register, they began to lay hold of the Christian ; saying to him, “ You gave last year (suppose) five garments’ value of raw silk [or, You gave more or less] ; and this shews the value of your property, as you were considered to give a tithe of what you possessed.” This and other such hideous transactions he was guilty of, to an extent which, in description, it would be tedious to pursue : and he became bold and barefaced in his vices and deformities, in his drunkenness and other irregularities, making the very sound and name of Greek a jest and derision among the other nations. In the time of the Patriarch Kurma he used himself to administer the Church revenues, and managed its property with his own hands ; but at the beginning of the Metropolitanship of our Lord the Patriarch, it was recommended to him to appoint forty Vakeels or Deputies, two of whom should annually stand before God and serve the Church, from the day of the festival of the Forty Martyrs till its anniversary. And this affair having been thus established, the temporalities of the Church prospered, by the blessing of God ; its cellars were filled with oil from year to year ; wax torches were stored up in its recesses ; and its treasury was furnished with every thing needful ; until the time of the person we are speaking of, and his Metropolitanship, which befel, as a visitation from God upon the same. Then the business was so changed, that the Vakeels began to be appointed by legislative degrees, by orders of the Pasha, by the preponderance of contests and animosities, and by the weight

of purses of money and protections, to the effect of overwhelming the Church with thousands of debts:—God reward them as they merit! All these affairs and circumstances came to our hearing at Keliz; and we were greatly angered, particularly our Lord the Patriarch, who ceased not to execrate the Metropolitan, and to curse him, praying vengeance upon him with all his heart.

At the beginning of his Metropolitanship, when he first began to practise his vices and enormities, the Patriarch had sent to cut him off from the priesthood: but he went to his holiness at Hemah, and employed many persons to intercede for him; promising before God, and swearing the most sacred oaths, that he would renounce wine and spirits, and all intoxicating liquors: and after we had written and taken on his account legal bonds to this effect, backed by the grandees and doctors of Hemah, the Patriarch pardoned him. On this he sued for a fine, before the Magistrates, against the Christians of Aleppo, for having read the Istatikon of his deprivation and excommunication; being supported in this suit by his son and relatives. Afterwards, on returning, in the company of our Lord the Patriarch, to Aleppo, he relapsed into his former state, and broke his oaths in secret. Thus he was continually disordered; and from his great assiduity in the abuse of inebriating beverage, he became afflicted with diseases and sicknesses: but still he held on, until God at length destroyed him by the dysentery (بدا الزنطارية); as will shortly appear, in the course of this history.

I had in the mean time written a letter, by the courier, to my own house, and cautioned my family not to spread the news of our coming; but I desired my sons Ananias and Constantine to let me see them, to satiate my longing desire for them after such a distance of time; it being now seven years, all but three months, since I had parted from them: for we had positively settled not to go to Aleppo, but from Keliz to direct our steps to Damascus. No sooner, however, had my uncle Elhodge Elias, with my sons, set out and come to join us, than the report was spread in Aleppo; and immediately numbers of friends, Christians, Priests, Deacons, and other classes, hastened their steps towards Keliz, to visit us; and greeting us with the most cordial salutations, they intreated us to arise and come to their city; for that the rarity of the visits of our Lord the Patriarch to them was an imputation on their character, and that they should be disgraced before all the other towns, when it was heard of his near approach to their city, and yet sudden turning aside from it, though his own place and country. As for the late Metropolitan, the averted from God, the ravenous wolf, that scattered

the flock of Christ, and delivered them into the mouths of wolves; as soon as he heard of our arrival, he fell sick of a fever, and died to all appearance; but it proved to be a trance, from which as he recovered, he sent to excuse himself from attending us, by reason of his infirmity.

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## SECT. II.

### *SOLEMN ENTRY INTO ALEPPO.—CONDUCT OF THE ARCHBISHOP OF EMESSA. VISIT OF THE METROPOLITANS.*

WE performed Mass in Keliz on New or Low Sunday, with' all joy and exultation: and in this place we staid the length of fifteen days. Having been perseveringly solicited by the visitors from Aleppo, and by those of the Priests and Ayans who were come to ask his blessing, the Patriarch at last inclined to their desire, and consented to go to Aleppo; but on condition that he should collect among them his proper dues; and that whatever he spent in the service of the Pasha, and all the presents, should be at their cost: and to this they engaged themselves one with the other. We set out therefore from Keliz with few things, leaving the rest there; and arriving near Aleppo, at the village Bilirmon, we alighted there, to remain till evening, and make our entrance privately. But the Christians, speedily hearing of our approach, came out in entire bodies of every sect, to meet us; and flocked upon us troop after troop, in multitudes. If we had entered Aleppo just as we came up, it would have been more convenient and more quiet; for whilst we alighted to stop at the village, the concourse and sally of the people increased, and the affair became so urgent, that we were forced to arise and move towards the city. The women had come forth as far as the Khanakia; and we were unable to pass over the bridge Bâsh Cubba for the pressure of the crowd, and the throngs of those meeting us: nor, but for the Janissaries and Yaskias who walked before us with staves, should we have passed on at all. When we came to the Turb Elmesihin, we saw from a distance that the Fazâ or Campo was entirely filled with people, and it was with great difficulty that we moved onward. To the church, in conformity with the usual practice, we found it impossible to proceed, both on account of the multitudes, and because evening was come on; though the Priests of the various congregations were ready, from their love and respect for the Patriarch, to receive us in their robes—God be bountiful to them! The Metropolitan also, who has been



already so often mentioned, came to meet us, quaking and trembling at his condition, for which he grieved and lamented audibly: and God is witness, that, from the change of his person and countenance, we should not have known him. He came walking, and was supported by four bearers, as he knelt and supplicated; and, through the closing in of the crowd, he was nearly trampled on by the people's feet. In this way we entered the Metropolitan palace; where we yielded ourselves to repose, and threw off all the cares of travelling from our minds, praising God for our safety and happy arrival in our native country, and for being again united with our lovers, companions and friends. Our entrance into the imperial and well-guarded city of Aleppo\* was on Thursday evening, the twenty-first of the month Nisân.

\* "The city of Aleppo, including its extensive suburbs, occupies eight small hills of unequal height, the intermediate valleys, and a considerable extent of flat ground; the whole comprehending a circuit of about seven miles. Besides the wall, the city was formerly fortified with a broad deep ditch; which, at present, is, in most places, filled up with rubbish, or converted into garden-grounds. On the north side is Bab al Nâser, formerly called The Jews' Gate; but that name was changed by the son of Saladin, Milek al Daher, who rebuilt the gate more superbly than it had been before. Under it is a lamp, constantly burning, near an iron grate; and the Turks may often be observed to stop there for a few minutes, and to mutter certain prayers or ejaculations. According to the Missionaries, it was once the residence of the Prophet Elisha; and the lamps are kept burning in commemoration of this saint. The castle of Aleppo is, by the natives, deemed absolutely impregnable, if not attacked by surprise, or surrendered by treachery. The city is supplied with good water from two springs which rise near Heylan, a village about eight miles distant to the northward. It is conveyed thence, by an aqueduct, partly on a level with the ground, in some places covered, but mostly open; and partly subterraneous, refreshed by air-shafts. After making several turnings, the aqueduct enters the city on the north-east side; and the water, by means of earthen or leaden pipes, is distributed to the public fountains, baths, seraglios, and to as many of the private houses as choose to be at the expense. The public fountains are neat, plain buildings, with large arched windows, guarded by an iron grate. The gardens are separated from each other by low stone walls; and are supplied from the river, by the aid of Persian wheels. Aleppo, although encompassed by hills, is well ventilated, and enjoys a pure penetrating air. The westerly winds, predominating in the summer, serve to moderate the excessive heats; which, were it not for this kind dispensation of Providence, would render the country in a great measure uninhabitable, considering the cloudless sky, the intense power of the sun, with the reflection from the white chalky soil, and the stone walls of the houses. The olives produced at Aleppo resemble the Spanish olives, but are not quite so large. The annual produce is little more than sufficient for pickling. The gardens afford several varieties of grapes; particularly a small white grape, reckoned superior to the rest. The large grapes produced in the houses, upon the vines that cover the stairs or arbours, are of beautiful appearance, but have little flavour. The ripe grapes begin to appear in the market in September; but the height of the vintage is not till November. The pistachio-tree is cultivated with great industry; and the nuts are reckoned superior to those produced in any other part of the world. Besides a considerable consumption of them at home, large quantities are exported to Europe. The pomegranate is common in all the gardens. There are three varieties of this fruit; one sweet; another very acid; and a third, that partakes of both qualities agreeably blended. The number of inhabitants has been computed at three hundred thousand. The language universally spoken by the natives is the vulgar Arabic."

On the eve of the following Saturday we made a procession of the whole Priesthood, with the Deacons, at the time of the *Εἰσοδος*, according to the custom of this country, in grand commemoration of the Martyr St. George, whose festival was on the morrow ; and thus our Lord the Patriarch was met on this eve by all the Priests of the various congregations, in their copes ; and was conducted into their churches with the utmost veneration and respect. The next day we performed Mass with a grand procession, and a distribution of wax tapers to all applicants ; and the Christians, God bless and prosper them ! met together in great solemnity, to do honour to our Lord the Patriarch, whom they vied with each other in entertaining at dinner and supper ; having arranged among themselves, that when he dined at one place he should sup elsewhere. And so eagerly did they press forward for the honour of entertaining him, that at times it happened that two or three were at one and the same moment in preparation of a banquet. Nor were their good works and charities less multiplied and abundant. Against their Metropolitan, for his conduct towards them, they still came with complaints : and the Patriarch lamented their case ; whilst the Metropolitan himself continued stretched on the bed of sickness.

The courier whom we had sent to Damascus was now returned, and had brought us news of the greatness of their joy at our approach and personal safety ; which they expressed to us in letters ; conveying also a request, that his Holiness would speedily come to them, to take in hands the reins of government, and management of their affairs ; for that they were become like vine-stocks after the vintage. At the same time, they also complained of the Metropolitan of Emessa, son of Amish, a second Judas, and of the enormities which he had committed among them, and the injury he had done them. For they had sent and invited him to dwell with them, as deputy ; and he went and performed Mass in the Patriarchal See, occupying the Patriarch's throne, and wearing the sacco, consecrating to holy orders and standing at the *Καθέδρα*—all this without the permission of the owner of the See. They accused him of performing unlawful marriages for money ; and of perpetrating great enormities, greater even than those of the Hemahian, the Metropolitan of Aleppo. When he heard of the approach of our Lord the Patriarch, he was ashamed and confounded ; for he had been continually reporting of us, that we had been killed, and could never possibly return ; and he had been telling the people, that he was now the person to exercise Patriarchal authority over them ; thus ungratefully proving treacherous to his lord and master, who ordained him Priest, and consecrated him Bishop.

And as the Metropolitan of Aleppo was afflicted with the love of drunkenness, this man fell a prey to the temptation of hoarding money, and hardness of heart and avarice; as we shall relate in his history; which, if it please God, we will give at full length.

Afterwards he fled from Damascus, and repaired to the Convent of Sidenaiia, where he remained: and apprehending the rage of the inhabitants of Damascus against him, because he had forced them to contribute large sums of money to the Governors, and knowing their complaints against him to their spiritual master, he employed himself in writing to the Governors petition upon petition to their prejudice, from his retreat at Sidenaiia; until we sent him a letter, commanding him to arise and come to Aleppo. Hither also repaired, to present to us their salutations, Kyr Melatius, Metropolitan of Terapolis; Kyr Nicolaus, Metropolitan of Akkar; and Kyr Naocaptis, Metropolitan of Ladikia. In the mean time, letter came upon letter from Damascus, beseeching the Patriarch to arise and reach them, and adhere to them with his suite; until at length our purpose was fixed; and having sent and fetched the remainder of our baggage from Keliz, we began to pack up, and start upon the journey towards them. On this, some of the Christians of Aleppo came in, to ask us to take away their Metropolitan from them, that they might breathe and rest, during his absence, for a while. Then our Lord the Patriarch held a meeting on this account, and on the affairs of the Vakeels, all of whom he deposed from their offices, substituting others: and on reckoning the debt remaining due by the Church of Aleppo, they found it to be seven thousand piastres. All the Church property, the copes, and the materials for Mass, were pledged with the owners of the piastres: and all these depredations had been committed by the Metropolitan, to supply himself with money, over and above the sums which had been paid to him and for him by account. What then could the Patriarch do with him? He gave him into the hands of the just Governor, to requite and punish him. And now he asked the Patriarch that he might go with him to Damascus: but the Patriarch refused, by a providential direction of the Almighty, as it will hereafter appear: and we left him to the care of the imps of Satan.

## SECT. III.

*DEPARTURE FOR HEMAH.—ARRIVAL AT DAMASCUS.—RE-CONSTRUCTION OF THE PATRIARCHAL PALACE.*

WE went forth from Aleppo, in company with the Mecca pilgrims, on Thursday the twenty-first of the month *Hazirân*; and on arriving at *Hemah*, we were encountered by tidings of good fortune. The case was, that in Damascus there were two great men of the grandees of the city; one named Abd' Ossalâm, Kakhia of the Janissaries; the other, Abd' Olbâki, Yâsghi of the Janissaries. These men had been very rebellious and headstrong against the Imperial government; and had maintained a secret correspondence with Hasan Pasha Eljelali, in opposition to the Vazir. When the said Hasan Pasha perished, the Vazir sent a Khatti Sherif to Kadri Pasha, Pasha of Damascus, whom we mentioned formerly as being Pasha of Silistria; commanding him, by some stratagem, to cut off their heads. He invited them, in consequence, to the palace; and having beheaded them, sent off their heads to Constantinople: and we now saw in Hemah the persons who were travelling with them. We rejoiced at this greatly; for it was a magnificent boon to us, to judge by what we were told afterwards of these men; namely, that they were watching the hours for the arrival of our Lord the Patriarch; and we were far from having wherewith to satiate their avarice. But God was pleased to put an end to their existence. These, then, who were the chiefs of the rebellion, having perished, the Vazir sent urgent injunctions to the said Kadri Pasha to cut off the heads of all those poor wretches among the Janissaries who had been long remarked for their obdurate animosity against the Sultan and his Vazir: and a multitude of them having been beheaded, the rest fled into Yemen, Egypt, and other countries of Arabia. Antecedently to this, the Vazir had sent two Shozbahi Capicols, with their men: the one Shozbahi of the twenty-sixth Oda, the other of the thirty-second Oda, with from six to seven hundred men; and having removed the Damascus Janissaries from the guard of the castle, he garrisoned it with these alone. The conduct of the former was now subjected to scrutiny; and the wrath of God fell upon them, for the numerous acts of tyrannical cruelty they had exercised on the people; being restrained by no ruling authority, and having no commander:—and thus God granted to the Vazir to have his will of them; and all this fell out to our great good fortune, praise and thanks to the Almighty!

When we arrived at Emessa, the wicked Metropolitan of that place, that

second Arius, came out to meet us; for he 'was' come away from Sidenaiia by the employment of deceit and hypocrisy: but we made him no reproaches about any thing; on the contrary, we smiled at him, took him with us, and comforted his heart, that we might obtain our purpose from him, and accomplish our judgment on him before his enemies, by assembling a council on his conduct and person. When we were gone two days from Emessa, I, in private, began to admonish and chide him, reminding him of his sinful acts one by one; but he met my reproaches with subterfuges and denials.

At last, we entered the fortified city of Damascus\*, on the morning of Friday

\* "The city of Damascus is encompassed with walls, extending about two miles from east to west, and a mile and a half from north to south; but the suburbs are much larger than the city: that to the north is small; part of it is called the Meidan, where they have an open place for riding, and other exercises; and there are likewise several burial places and gardens in it: but on the south, the suburb extends for two miles, and is inhabited chiefly by Turcomen: it is called Babel Elah [The Gate of God], because the gate at the end of it leads both to Jerusalem and Mecca. From the former it is computed to be six days' journey; that is, about a hundred and twenty miles. The Barrady, and two or three streams of water that are brought from it, run through several parts of the city. Damascus does not answer within to its outward appearance: the streets being all narrow, there is a foot-way on each side of them, and a lower way in the middle for horses and cattle, just large enough for one beast; which serves also to carry off the water, after rain. Most of the houses are built, for a few feet from the foundation, with hewn stone; the rest with unburnt bricks: their palaces are very magnificent within, and are built round a court, but make no manner of appearance without; and it is very rare that more than a dead wall is seen from the street. The bazaars or shops make a better appearance, which have wide streets between them; and many of them are open only to foot-people: they are covered over at top with roofs or arches, which are a shelter from the sun, and keep them cool. They have water in such abundance at Damascus, that all parts are supplied with it; and every house has either a fountain, a large basin of water, or at least a pipe or conduit. The waters, indeed; of Damascus are the great conveniency and ornament of the city, and of the places about it; and the division of them is very curious. These waters have two sources; the Barrady before mentioned, and a river called the Fege. After these streams are united, the river is called the Barrady, till it comes within two leagues of Damascus; and then it is divided, by art, into eight streams. This division of the waters into so many streams, which run so near to one another, may be looked on as a very extraordinary thing; and the place is so pleasant where they begin to widen at the field of Damascus, that it is very much frequented as a place of recreation, where neither verdure nor trees are wanting to make it a most agreeable scene.

"The Pasha of Damascus conducts the caravan to Mecca that goes yearly from Damascus. He has a body of Janissaries, under their Aga: out of these they take what they call the Capicules, who are guards to the gates of the city; each of them having a gate allotted to him, and a certain district near it, over which he has a sort of absolute power.

"The Patriarch of Antioch ordinarily resides at Damascus, who has under him forty-two Archbishops and Bishops. This Patriarchate is worth forty purses a-year; which revenue arises partly out of a tenth of what the Bishops receive from every family throughout the whole Patriarchate, which, from each house, is from four to twenty shillings a-year; and partly out of what he receives at Antioch, Damascus, and the country about them, which is his own peculiar diocese; being fifteen piastres for a license to bury, and five for every marriage, which all the Bishops receive in their own dioceses."

the first of the month Tamoz, being met by the Christian community with all veneration and respect, and with joy, gladness, and exultation. We now began, first of all, our service to the Pasha, by waiting on him: as we also waited on all the Ayans of the town, with presents of wax-tapers, sugar, and cloths. Then we commenced paying our debts. The first on the list we owed, was to the house of the Khoja Nasir 'Oddeon; the whole amount of which, by legal judgments, was nine thousand and odd piastres; which we paid, writing a discharge between us and them: to another creditor we owed two thousand piastres, and paid him; to another, two thousand five hundred; to another, a thousand; and to another, five hundred: and in this way we paid about fifteen thousand piastres. The Patriarchal house also claimed certain sums of money, and cloth, and musk, and fur, &c. We expended on the Pasha, and on the rest of the servants of the grandees, more than three thousand piastres. The house of the Patriarch, and the (قاعة) court enclosure, had crumbled to ruin; for the most part being built of bricks, and the wood having decayed with age. We therefore razed them to the ground; and built a new palace suitable for ourselves, with cells for the Clergy, and porticoes, houses of privy with water running through them, (مخازن) store-houses, and paved courts. The (قاعة) court-yard we paved with materials of various sorts and colours; and I sent to Aleppo for yellow and green tiles, expending on this pavement, and the pond in the centre, about six hundred piastres. In front of the palace I erected a facing of black and white stone, from the foundation to the top; and on it I set a spring and fountain, formed with variegated mosaic and coloured marble, flowing with water, which, breaking as it falls, cheers with its sound the heart and mind, and dispels melancholy from the brain. In its structure, I set up two pillars of marble, twined and rounded after the fashion of the ancient Greek pillars: for I took the master, and shewed him some pillars at the door of the Mosque called the Genezari, outside the Toma Gate, the bases of which are مسجد like the Grecian bases. The two pillars, with their pedestals, cost thirty piastres; and are, at this moment, an object of the greatest admiration to the beholder. All this had relation to the saying of the sayer, 'that the masters of this time and age are unable to work like the ancient workmanship.' In the centre of this place I set a porphyry table, an ell and a half in length, and three in breadth, with a frame round it of white marble and black قاري: and in this black and white facing I set the date, in three lines of poetry, formed with the beautiful new-glazed tile, in such a manner, that no one should be able to alter it, or adapt it to a different sense, in any part, from

beginning to end. Over the door of the portico I placed a yellow slab, with the date of the building upon it in Greek, and in Grecian characters, for the Children of Greece to read. The court enclosure was dark; and I therefore opened two high windows into it. In the corner of the summer-house, which is called Mishrâca (مشراقه), I built a water-closet, with a high cupola and arches, and water-basins all round, in imitation of the privies of the grandees of Damascus, which they build of grey stone. To the court enclosure I opened a large window; and placed in it a solid iron window-frame, with a latch, of the weight of six and thirty pounds; whereas in the place of it there was formerly wood. Near to it I opened a secret door into the grey stone porch; and made this door like the surrounding materials; so that, when it was shut, no one knew it was a door. I enlarged and heightened the gate of the court, building it up with grey stone: and all these gates and doors I framed with the wood of the Syrian and white mulberry-tree, that they might not decay by length of time, making solid work. The porch behind the court enclosure was all vaulted: and I widened the court, and paved it with black marble. Here was the water-cistern, strongly built up with black marble, and collected by me into one, from the several which used to exist in the houses of the neighbours: and near to it was made a private door for the domestics. From the court-yard there was taken up more than a mountain of earth; for we removed the soil, and put stone in its place. The method of building at Damascus is with قصرمل and red earth, their earth being burnt; and not like the building at Aleppo, with its peculiar earth and lime. For the pounding of the earth a hundred piastres did not suffice us. The pond on the premises used to be very large, with gardens all round it: but I reduced it in size, and increased the open ground for walking. For the lemon and orange trees I made enclosures, like the mouths of wells, with stone, having a (برواز) selvage, a pretty piece of workmanship; and I paved round them, including the whole court-yard. All along the walls I set an (تزرط) edging of black and white (بلاط) tiles, for the people to sit on: and the whole place, from being narrow and confined, became spacious and roomy. The beauty of the (تاعه) court-yard, with its lake and fountain, was a subject of talk in the city of Damascus; and many of the grandees came from time to time to see it. We expended on the whole of this building about three thousand piastres. Of all its embellishments, nothing would be so worthy to excite your desire and envy, my Brother, as the beautiful rows of narcissuses, hyacinths, and other flowers, placed on the steps of the fountain, from top to bottom, with the water breaking amongst them; the

(قناني الخمر) wine-bottles on the banks of the pond, all round, with the water-pails meeting each other;—and then to see us sitting in the new portico in front, drinking to our God, with our cups in our hands. And I pray to the Almighty that He will move every reader of my poor history, and every hearer, to the visitation of the Holy Jerusalem, and to the view of this admirable spot, which I had so well learnt how to arrange: and certainly, if a whole treasury of gold had been in our possession, its entire expenditure would have passed through our hands, and this edifice would have stood as a memorial to future ages, for men to beg a blessing and a reward for us from the bountiful Sovereign of the universe; for though the money we had with us was the produce of Christian alms, yet its employment on these good works was undoubtedly a most meritorious act.

#### SECT. IV.

##### *THE PATRIARCH'S KHAN IS REBUILT AT DAMASCUS.—DECEASE OF THE METROPOLITAN—AND ERECTION OF A DIVAN KHANAH AT ALEPPO.*

THERE was belonging to the Patriarchate, a khân, which had been bequeathed to it, opposite the porch door of the Patriarchal palace: and over it, in stories, were apartments for the poor: but it had latterly become an abode for prostitutes; and many attempts had failed to drive them out, for their hypocrisy, and the vices and enormities they were continually committing. But I expelled them at once; and having levelled the whole building to the ground, I raised it again from the foundations, making it two stories high; the lower story consisting of nine large and roomy workshops, and the upper of eight; something handsomer, and more spacious. The yearly rent of the khân having been formerly only five and twenty piastres, now rose to more than a hundred and twenty: but I laboured excessively at its re-construction, especially on account of the vast quantity of earth within it:—and God give us refuge from the Damascus edifices! You have no sooner made a hole in a vault, than the whole wall, both above and below, is in ruins. On this khân we expended about two thousand piastres. For the pounding and sifting of the earth alone, one hundred piastres did not suffice us. To this building I made a small door, like that of the Metropolitan palace at Aleppo; and over the threshold of one of the shops I wrote the date of its construction.

In our absence, the Aga had settled in the old Patriarchal palace, and made it



his lodging, having been admitted by the gate of the oven ; and it was with great difficulty that we drove him forth. I then closed up the two gates with stone, and made a single new gate for entrance ; the outside being handsome, and deeper than the Metropolitan palace-gate at Aleppo ; and formed with large polished stone, with a wicket-gate ; and another similar to itself, inside ; both resembling the gates of a castle. And now, thanks to God ! the inmates no longer fear that any one will break in upon them ; for no one's hand has strength to break the gate ; so deep are its pannels, deep enough to hide the whole body of a man. For the rest, the masters and able workmen were about two years employed at the building of the palace : but the khân we made all our endeavours to finish before the winter, by multiplying the masters and labourers, who were, in all, from sixty to seventy persons : and it was completed in the space of eighty days ; at which the Moslem lords wondered much. For if the work had been for them, the operatives would not have done it in two years ; but as these were all Christians, they were ashamed before us, and worked with their whole hearts at the charitable undertaking, more particularly as it was for their countryman, their Church, and their Patriarch.

It was the custom for the house of the Patriarch, from the time of the former Patriarchs, to receive every week two loads of wine from Sidenaiâ. This custom in our absence was interrupted ; but I laboured much, and exerted myself, until I set it on foot again.

Soon after our arrival at Damascus, there came the Metropolitan of Saida, the Metropolitan of Beirout, the Metropolitan of Baalbec, and the Metropolitan of Terapolis to us, to present their salutations to our Lord the Patriarch ; and his Holiness then dismissed them in their various directions, to collect the Noria, or contributions, for him as usual. He himself went on a visit to Sidenaiâ, on the first of the month Ilôl, the opening of the year SEVEN THOUSAND ONE HUNDRED AND SIXTY-EIGHTH of the world : and I staid in his place in Damascus.

Six days after the Festival of the Cross, a courier reached us from Aleppo, with great news, full of joy and gladness ; informing us of the death of the Metropolitan of Aleppo, on the thirteenth of Ilôl, after a short illness, in which all his bowels were voided, and by which he surrendered life amidst his tears and lamentations. All rejoiced at his death ; and God visited his people, and freed and released them from trials and temptations. The arrival of the courier with us was in the afternoon : I instantly dispatched couriers on horseback to Sidenaiâ, to carry the news to our Lord the Patriarch ; and he received it after supper,

before he was gone to bed. He was elated with joy—not taking pleasure in the Metropolitan's death, but in the release of the inhabitants of Aleppo from his wickedness; and rising, he immediately performed a *Παράκλησις* to the Mother of God, in thanks and praise to her, who brought him these happy tidings in her convent. I then sent to impart the joyful intelligence to the rest of the Heads of the Clergy of the *Ἱεραρχία*, who were all highly incensed against him.

At this time, an idea occurred to our Lord the Patriarch, that he would apply himself this year to the concoction of the holy *Μύρον* or ointment; and not merely on general grounds, but because there remained of the ointment made by the late Patriarch Joachim, son of Ziadah, scarcely more than one gallon: and we now therefore wrote down the names of the drugs and (مقاتير) aromatic roots in a book, and began to buy and collect them; sending to obtain from Egypt the oil of balsam.

At the commencement of the Fast of the Nativity I passed over to Aleppo, where I remained till the tenth of the month Adar. I had begun here, also, to build a Divan Khanah, which was absolutely requisite, and two vaults for prisons and the (مونه) stores; both on account of what passed, in my absence, of frights, horrors, alarms, plunder and rapine, on the part of the lord Ahmed Pasha, as we mentioned formerly, and but now from fear of Hasan Pasha and Murteza; and also because there had fallen to my purchase a beautiful marble pillar for cutting into slabs, together with three stone arches of grey, yellow, and black stone, at an easy price of about two and thirty piastres. Thus the undertaking prospered, and the edifice was completed in a manner suited to the plan. I was building in Damascus what I have mentioned, at the same time that in Aleppo they were carrying on this building in my absence.

I then passed back to Damascus, in company with the (مقاصد) Pilgrims for Jerusalem, and joined my father; and kneeling down to his Holiness, received his blessing.

## SECT. V.

### PREPARATION OF THE HOLY MYRON.—SIX SEVERAL CONCOCTIONS.

WE now set about completing the affair of the holy ointment; and having collected all the materials and utensils for Palm or Passion Week, we pounded the drugs in the (هاون) mortar, for five concoctions. We pounded the parts of

each concoction, and placed them in a large paper by themselves, writing the name upon them.

These were the parts of the first:—Of دار شيشعان وهو نوار اي زهر القندول one hundred and twenty drachms; of fed cassia-wood, sixty drachms; of Yakouti amomum, sixty drachms; of liquorice-root, thirty drachms; of the ذريرة reed, thirty drachms. Of these we bruised and broke to pieces those which required it, as appointed in the book: then they are steeped in holy water and old wine, being covered to the depth of two or three fingers in a clean vessel, on the eve of Palm Sunday, to be boiled on the morrow. In the original copy of the prescription, only one part is prescribed; for example, of the flowers of قندول forty drachms, whereas we made it thrice as much, that is, one hundred and twenty drachms, and so of the rest. As I have given an account of the ingredients in the first concoction, so I shall hereafter do of the others.

On the Friday preceding the Saturday of Lazarus, our Lord the Patriarch, after Morning Prayers, proceeded, with the Heads of the Clergy and the Priests, to the Church of St. Nicolas; and having performed prayer over the fire-grate, and an *Ἀγιασμός*, he sprinkled with it the place, and the two new fire-grates which had been set up, towards the east, in the middle of the said church, upon the pavement; which they therefore covered with clay, that it might not be injured: and hither were brought two large brazen vessels, after being whitened.

On the morning of Great or Holy Monday, after prayers, the Patriarch went, as before, with the Heads of the Clergy, the Priests, Deacons, and laity, to the said church, and made a beginning of the service. We then brought the materials of the first concoction, which we had steeped over night in holy water and old wine of the country, in the proper vessel; and they were emptied into the large pan. Over them was poured the quantity of eight and twenty pounds of pure oil, and as much old Damascus wine, with holy water: and each time the Patriarch added an ingredient, he chaunted, saying: “In the name of the Father, and of the Son, and of the Holy Ghost, one God.” Then he used a leaf of (غار) laurel, a leaf of (اس) myrtle, a leaf of (حصالبان) rosemary, and a small quantity of the male rosemary. The old wine and the holy water he threw in to prevent the oil from burning in the pan; and the leaf of laurel and rosemary for the sake of the scent. We engaged, to assist us, two physicians of the town, and gave the direction to them; as the management of such operations is their art and profession: for otherwise, who unassisted could attain his end? the holy divine traditional directions having been forgotten for a number of years.

We had prepared and broken up, as fuel, some dry wood of the oak. The first thing our Lord the Patriarch took in hand, was three clumps of wood, with three stalks of hemp, and three lighted tapers, which he placed in the grate: then he wetted a part of the remaining fire-wood with hot holy water, which was set over the second grate for this purpose: then he placed it over the lighted tapers with a portion of the hemp, after having sprinkled the grate with the *Ἀγιασμὸς*; and he lighted up the fire in the two grates. One of the Priests sat on a chair opposite the grate, to maintain the fire; wetting the wood, piece by piece, with the aforesaid hot water, and lighting it by little and little, so as to keep up a gentle flame; as it is regulated in the book, which says, "It is necessary that the attendant on the fire should be watchful, and keep it burning at a gentle rate. When the grate is hot, he must sprinkle on it some of the warm water; and be cautious not to throw on it any cold water; nor must he ever cease stirring." And according to this direction the Priest acted, constantly stirring with a wooden ladle with a long handle, for fear the liquid should boil over and run away, setting fire to all around. Every now and then he put into it a quantity of the warm holy water before mentioned, as it is directed in the book:—"Whenever the water is diminished, you must add to it some of the tepid water, by a little at a time; and beware of using cold."

From the moment the fire began to burn, our Lord the Patriarch in his Epitrachelion and Omophorion, the Heads of the Clergy in their Epitrachelia and Omophoria, and the Priests in their Epitrachelia, were reading the holy Gospels; and the Deacons, with their girdles, were chaunting the Epistles, and Prophecies, and Psalms of David, and all the other chaunts and prayers, all of them with their heads uncovered, from the beginning of the lighting of the fire until the evening. So also the Deacons, with their fans, were fanning the cauldron, and making the changes of dress: and a large torch was burning in a candlestick before the grate.

The indication, when you wish to know whether the water is all gone that was mixed with the oil in the cauldron boiling over the fire, is, by observing as long as the oil *يبقى* bubbles some water still remains in it; but as soon as the bubbling ceases and is gone from it, and the oil is at rest, then is the time to add to it what you please of the warm water. When you have stirred the mixture, and find that the aromatics and odours have been well mingled with the oil; and when you perceive that the strength of these aromatics and odours is gone forth into the oil, and its smell is good; take it off from the fire, and leave it the whole

night, till the next day, to cool. Thus we did; and placing over the mouth of the cauldron a large towel, we tied it fast, lest any thing should fall into it. On the morrow we strained the oil through a clean napkin; and removed it into another vessel, as it is ordained in the original prescription. The aromatics are sifted like grain, and are removed into another vessel by themselves.

On this day we got together the ingredients for the second concoction: they were the best bitter costus, sixty drachms; the red rose of Irak or Jor, cleared of the stalks, sixty drachms: white makasiri sandal, sixty drachms; ladanum, Jaoli frankincense, ginger, cloves, and عيدانه, of each a drachm: and dry (قسط) costus, thirty drachms. The whole is bruised small, particular pains being taken to break up the wood; and over all is poured sufficient holy water to cover the mass, which we thus steeped from Holy Monday at noon till Tuesday morning, when we took it, and put it on the oil which had been boiled the day before. The Patriarch lighted the fire, as we mentioned the first time: the stirring was kept up; and water, when wanted, was added, by little and little, from the warm holy water: and the boiling was continued full four hours. Then we took off the mixture, and left it till the afternoon to cool; when we strained it as before, and put away the drugs, with those of the first concoction. In the mean while, the Heads of the Clergy and the Priests recited the Prayers; and the Deacons, with their fans, performed the changes till the end.

We had been steeping the ingredients for the third concoction since an early hour of the morning of this day; and having brought them, we put them over the oil, as it had been already boiled and purified; and the Patriarch again lighted the fire. This is the quantity of the ingredients of the third concoction: ذرنب sixty drachms; picked bark of the red cassia, twenty drachms; جوزبوا) nutmeg, fifteen drachms; the best spikenard الجيد العصافيري thirty drachms; the best (قرنفل) cloves, thirty drachms; (بسباسه) mace, thirty drachms: and we boiled them from the afternoon of Tuesday till the evening. Then we took the mixture off the fire, to cool and strain it as usual on the Wednesday morning, separating and laying aside the aromatics in a heap.

We had pounded the requisites for the fourth concoction, on Tuesday: they were these: صيب جيدا دار صيني cinnamon and cloves, thirty drachms; the best red Arabian myrrh, sixty drachms; عود هند خالص choice lignum aloes (وهو بخور العود) thirty drachms; the best Irak saffron, thirty drachms. Of these we bruised those which required it; and having poured upon them water enough to cover them, and more, we steeped them through the Tuesday night in the holy

water, until Wednesday morning, when we laid them on the thrice-boiled oil, and boiled it again, with the usual slow fire, from morning till noon. The same ceremony was observed as the first time, in reading verses, flapping fans, &c.; and we then removed the mixture from the fire, to cool; purified it; and put the aromatics aside by themselves, in a heap.

Afterwards, we collected the ingredients for the fifth concoction; which were as follows: the best red Falak astrac, one hundred and twenty drachms; which we put to the boiled oil, with three pounds of despumated honey, and holy water as before. We then set the whole on the fire, on the Wednesday afternoon, till the evening, until all the moisture of the water was gone from it, and the bubbling had entirely ceased; and its scent was good. The indication and trial of this was, that the physician who presided over the operation brought a new cotton-wick, and, having dipped it in the boiled oil, applied it to the flame of a taper; and when lighted, it did not flicker or spirt. We now knew, therefore, that all the watery moisture was evaporated from the mixture; and we took it off from the fire. In this interval of time we had pounded the ingredients for the sixth concoction; which were, دار صيني cinnamon or قرفة cloves, one hundred and eighty drachms; the finest scented Asafiri spikenard, sixty drachms; the best red bark of (سلجدة) cassia, thirty drachms; (بسباسه) mace, twenty-four drachms; the best عود الهندي التاقلي Kakoli lignum aloes, sixty drachms. These we reduced to a powder, which we bolted through a silk sieve; and afterwards the Patriarch threw it on the boiled oil, and mixed them together. The physician then added the oil of balsam, which was one hundred and fifty drachms, in a brazen vessel, held over the fire till it melted. Together with it he added fourteen miscals of the purest powdered musk, and an equal quantity of the best amber; mixing these two up together in a like portion of the old myron, which the Patriarch laid on the boiled oil, and stirred the whole: and we covered up the mixture till the morrow.

This night, a great and evident miracle appeared from some of the images on the door of the tabernacle of this church; and this was, that, soon after dark, they poured forth virtue, that trickled from them like a stream of water; at which we were astonished.

## S E C T. VI.

*CONSECRATION OF THE MYRON.—ERECTION OF A NEW PULPIT.—THE CASIDA OF IBN 'ODDIB.*

ON the forenoon of Holy Thursday, the Patriarch attended in the church, and began to pour the myron into new glass-vessels, which had never been used; whilst all, with their heads uncovered, were chaunting the *Τροπάριον*, and “The Lord is my pastor, &c.”; and we put them aside in rows. Then the Heads of the Clergy, and Priests and Deacons, went and robed with our Lord the Patriarch; and came and took the vessels, singly and in couples, in procession, with torches preceding them, and seven pairs of fans, with which the Deacons fanned, behind them; and all chaunting, “Have mercy on me, O God, &c.”; until they entered with them into the inner Mariamiya Church; and having placed them on the holy table, they began the Mass. At the time of carrying round the body, the Priests carried the vessels of myron round before it, as it is directed to be done; and the Deacons followed with their fans, until, having re-entered the church, they replaced the vessels on the holy table; when the Patriarch bent his head, and recited over them, to the end, the usual and appointed prayers. After Mass, we deposited the vessels under the holy table, until the morning of Easter Sunday; when we took them, and laid them up in the myron treasury.

For this Easter festival I made a new pulpit, with four handsome gilt pillars, and a cupola, in the inner Mariamiya Church; and the first thing I read in it was the Gospel for Easter. Before this, I had sent to fetch from the Church of Beirout a piece of a marble slab, a large squared and polished stone; and I laid it over the table. This, which was previously very small, I had removed; and set in its place a new table, with arches, pillars, and a marble column in the middle. On it I wrote the æra, and placed on it the said slab; and it came to make an extremely beautiful appearance: Thus likewise, the next year, I placed over it a stone cupola, with four marble pillars, of a handsome octagonal form, with rings of brass, shining like gold, with *كبير*, above and below, of the same metal, resembling the workmanship of the ancient Romans, and headed each in the same shape, with four entablatures to face on all sides; on the front one of which I wrote the æra. We fortified the cupola with two iron shafts, from arch to arch, to prevent its shaking: and expended on it ‘*all together*’ above four hundred piastres.

I set up also another large pillar of fine marble, of an octangular shape, with

a fountain at the top of it, for the Priests to wash their hands. The three doors of the tabernacle I made of mulberry-tree, to shut and fasten; not as they were before, mere doors. The myron treasury or repository is in the door porch of the chapel of the Saints Cyprianus and Justinus, which issues upon the treasury, in the كليل of the wall built by the Romans, and was of great depth. I now made to it a floor of division, with a trap-door of walnut-tree, and put the large (قراية) flagon of myron below, and the smaller vessels above: and made for it a pure iron door, with a lock to fasten it, with a stone door outside, on which they lay (جبصين) mortar, that its place might not be known.

A certain Priest of Damascus, the Khori Johanna Ibn Oddib, had composed verses on all these circumstances and incidents, and particularly on the preparation of the divine myron, forming a Casida; in which he celebrates the praises of our Father and Lord the Patriarch, Kyr Macarius of Antioch; saying:

If you wish, O brother! to make yourself acquainted with an agreeable history, which may cause you an increase of grace,

Listen! My subject is the beginning and sequel of the Patriarchate, possessing the golden word,

Of the Father and Lord Patriarch, Kyr Macarius of Antioch, the Aleppian.

When approached the death of the late Patriarch who preceded him,

Euthymius the Greek, a Sciot by birth,

He sent and called him to Damascus, and appointed him his successor

To the Apostolic See of Peter, the supreme in station, with the consent of the

Heads of the Clergy of the province, of the dignified Priesthood,

Of the assembly of Ecclesiastics, and of the whole congregation of the Orthodox.

This was on the eleventh of the month Teshrin Elavval,

In the year Seven thousand one hundred and fifty-six since the first man.

He staid in Damascus about nine months, and went forth then to visit his province.

He returned to Damascus, from Aleppo, after he had spent two years of his Patriarchate,

And again resided here for three years;

After which he set out for the city of Aleppo, seeking a passage into the country of the Christians,

In company with his son, the blessed Archdeacon Paul,

And those of the Priests, Deacons, and disciples, who joined them.

The reason was, the accumulation and multiplicity of debts and pledges



Which encompassed his See by the conduct of the fraudulent.

The duration of his absence was full seven years,

During which he encountered all kinds of evils and enthralling hardships.

But God brought him back safely in the end, after hope had been cut off;

And on Friday morning the first of the month Tamozi, in the year Seven thousand one hundred and sixty-seven, the affliction ceased.

This, indeed, was a day full of great joy,

When sorrows and cares gave way to permanent cheerfulness.

No sooner were our ears saluted with the voice of his admirable instruction, Than our souls revived after a long trance.

He had great trouble, on account of the payment of the debts;

And cleared all the holy vessels that were pledged.

On the eve of the commencement of the month Teshrin Essani,

The Archdeacon his son sent letters to the city of Beirout,

And brought us, by order of his father, a beautiful stone, perfectly white and polished,

With which he renewed the holy altar in the bright tabernacle of the Mother of God;

And we began again in the Lord to be joyful, congratulatory, and cheerful,

And to move from feast to feast with perfect delight.

Then he began collecting vessels, drugs, and (عقاقير) aromatic roots,

For the concoction of the holy myron, the reverend and the venerable;

And he did a good work, for which he will be remembered to the end of time, conferring a blessing on every person who is anointed with it and believes.

He inquired into what was left of the myron prepared by the Patriarch Ibn Ziâdah,

And found no more than a قراة قزاز flagon-full.

He began the operation on Great Monday, the first day of Passion Week;

Continuing it till Holy Wednesday in the evening, when it was completed.

It was done in the presence of the whole body of Prelates and dignified Priests,

And of the Deacons and Servitors and Monks.

The Patriarch was robed in his Omophorion and Epitrahelion,

And read the Gospels, with Glorias, Kyrie Eleisons, and Halleluias.

So, also, the Heads of the Clergy, dressed in a similar manner,

Read, together with the Priests, the Gospels, Epistles, and Psalms in chaunt.  
Some of the Priests and Deacons sat attending to the fire ;  
Others were employed in stirring the mixture, not neglecting at the same  
time to glorify God.

The Deacons chiefly were fanning with their fans, and singing Halleluia ;  
And all, both within and without, were in admiration.

And now the Chapel of St. Nicolas became like a royal garden,  
Being beautified and perfected in the midst of this great and splendid mystery.

And, oh ! the wonders that took place in it on the eve of Holy Thursday,

When the divine virtue flowed abundantly from the images ;

And all the assembly, both great and small, beheld it,

And praised the Omnipotent God in his Holy Trinity.

The whole Christian Church afterwards, with the women and children, pressed  
forward,

To give glory to God, and to ask the benediction of the Patriarch.

Some of them took of the ashes, for a blessing to themselves, and a protection  
to their children ;

And some took of the refuse of the drugs, for the cure of diseases.

Others took of what was cleared away from the myron and the skimmings,

For the sanctification of the bed-ridden, and cure from *العاهات* murrain.

On Holy Thursday, which was the sixteenth of Nisan,

Of the year Seven thousand one hundred and sixty-eight of the world,

Our Lord the Patriarch made a grand procession ;

And the Heads of the Clergy and Priests carried the vessels with perfect  
reverence,

Whilst the Deacons carried the fans and the rosaries *بزفونة*, and flapped in  
the midst of chaunts and hymns.

They removed the myron from the Church of St. Nicolas to the Inner Church ;

And placed it on the main altar, called Alfâzila.

At the great Eisodon, they carried it round *وزجوه بئانيه*

In the whole of the great church, and returned to the exalted city :

And after the Lord Patriarch had read over it the appointed prayers,

We deposited it under the splendid high altar.

On Holy Saturday the Archdeacon erected a new gilt pulpit,

In the beautiful and venerable great Inner Church ;

And in it he read the Gospel of Easter, for the first time ;

As the celebration of the Mass was held that day, in this edifice.  
 Afterwards, the vessels of the myron were carried to its proper store ;  
 And it was laid up, as usual, in the ancient place prepared for its custody,  
 Which is behind the door of the Chapel of Saints Ciprianus and Justina.  
 Here the Archdeacon made a new second floor,  
 Placing the whole of the myron, including the old flagon, under it and upon it.  
 On the vessels I wrote the date of the preparation, in large letters.  
 To the said treasury the Archdeacon had an iron-door made,  
 On which he set a lock for security.  
 This was finished and perfected at the present fortunate æra,  
 The year One thousand six hundred and sixty of the Incarnation of Our Lord  
 the Messiah.

Well done, then, the three things which were made new for us—  
 A holy table, the divine myron, and our preacher's pulpit!  
 And we thank Our Lord and Saviour, Jesus Christ ;  
 And pray him, by the intercession of his to be every way lauded Mother,  
 That he prolong to us the life of our Lord the Patriarch,  
 In health and stability, free from all doubt and suspicion ;—  
 And preserve the Archdeacon his son, of exalted worth ;  
 Granting him all his good hopes, and increasing his piety and grace ;—  
 May he continue to him his offspring, his beloved Ananias, the Deacon ;  
 And inebriate him with a virtuous joy at his admirable son Constantine !  
 Let every one, who reads or hears this composition, pray for its author a  
 reward,  
 In the name of Khorî Hanna, Ibni Rizk 'Illah, Ibn 'Iddhib.

## SECT. VII.

### *COUNCIL ON THE METROPOLITAN OF EMESSA.—HIS EXCOMMUNICATION AND DEATH.*

In regard to the Metropolitan of Emessa, Ibn Amish, it may be proper not to pass over in silence the disgrace that befel him : for we assembled, on his behalf, a Council ; at which were present Meletius Metropolitan of Terapôsis, Philippus Metropolitan of Beirout, Eremia Metropolitan of Seidon, Nicolas Metropolitan of Akkar, Neophytus Metropolitan of Ladikia, Gerasimus Metropolitan of Zabdani,

and Gregorius Metropolitan of Hōran; all the Priests of Damascus; all the Ecclesiastics, and the Ayans, in the Church of St. Nicolas: and all judged him, and established against him, to his face—That he, first of all, stood in the Cathedra: secondly, that he robed in the Narthex, after the manner of Despots (Patriarchs): thirdly, that he ordained Priests and Deacons: fourthly, that he consecrated, to be a Nun, a worldly person, naming her Simeona; (for not finding any Nun to be her surety or godmother, he made a certain Monk, named Simeon, to be her godfather;) and this was done when she was already dead, after the departure of her spirit, for the sake of her succession: fifthly, that he was continually giving forth and saying, “The Patriarch Macarius will never live to return; I am your Patriarch:” and sixthly, that he celebrated unlawful marriages, within the four degrees of consanguinity, both in the city and in the country, to take money. Such enormities and evil practices as these they brought against him, without number; and all unanimously sentenced him to suspension from the priestly office, and excommunication, till repentance. The form of this was written in an Istaticon, which we sent to the whole Ὑπαρχία or province: and all rejoiced at it, for he was to all of them a razor with his tongue. This was the form;

“ PRAISE TO GOD ALWAYS !

“ Macarius, by the mercy of God Almighty, Patriarch of Antioch and of all the East.—It being the date of Sunday the eight and twentieth of the blessed month Ab, in the year Seven thousand one hundred and sixty-seven from the creation of the world, conformable to the month of August, and to Dzi 'l Higgeh of the year One thousand and sixty-nine of the Hegira, a Holy Council was held in the presence of me, who have put my signature and seal at the top and bottom, and in the presence of the Heads of the Clergy of the province of Antioch, in the city of Damascus, in the Church of St. Nicolas, whose signatures and seals are attached at the end; and their meeting and declaration were directed against Athanasius the Metropolitan of Emessa—That he had come to Damascus and occupied the Patriarchal chair, without the command of the Patriarch, and without their counsel or consent; that he had said Mass in the Patriarchal church, and put on his robes outside in the porch; that he had consecrated Priests and Deacons without the permission of the Lord of the See; that he had stood in the Cathedra, to which no one ascends but the Patriarch; that he had dared to utter falsehoods against his brethren the Heads of the Clergy; that he had celebrated unlawful marriages in the city and country, and pronounced them

lawful, on receiving money—this charge being proved against him, to his face, in presence of the said Holy Council, the Priests of the city, the several orders of Ecclesiastics, and the Ayans of the congregation ; moreover, that he had gone to the Sidenaiia Convent, had inounted to the chair, and performed Mass without permission, after the Priests, Ecclesiastics, and Ayans of the congregation had sent to forbid him so to do ; but he would not refrain. Before this, many enormities had been evidenced against him, and registered on his account in the journals, having been established before his face : Wherefore I, Macarius, Patriarch of Antioch, in conformity with the ordinances of the Christian law, by command of the Almighty, and of the Sultan, have adjudged that this man, viz. the above-mentioned Athanasius, be cut off from all and several the degrees of the Priesthood, having no power or authority for the performance of Mass or any other Priestly function, nor to put the Epitrachelion round his neck : and should he transgress our prohibitions, let him be anathematized, and excommunicated from the glory of the Father, and of the Son, and of the Holy Ghost, and from the holy assemblies, until he return and repent, and free his credit from what he has plundered to himself from the Patriarchate, from the Church, from the funds, from the fees, from the living, and from the dead.—And on this, the Holy Meeting separated. Farewell.”

After this, the Metropolitan fled from Damascus by night ; and went to Aleppo, where he remained a year and two months, persevering in his hypocrisy, until the Almighty hurled him to destruction on the eleventh of Teshrin Essani, cut off and excommunicated as he was : and the Arabian country lost a Bachman, I mean, Ibn Ahmah, whom may the Creator reward according to his deeds ! His own couriers brought to us the welcome news of his decease.

## S E C T. VIII.

*THE PATRIARCH MAKES A VISITATION OF HIS DIOCESE.—GREAT DEARTH OF PROVISIONS.—NEW REGISTRATION FOR THE KHARADGE AT DAMASCUS.*

As to our Lord the Patriarch, having staid at Damascus a year and four days, he departed, in the night of the fifth of Tamoz, for Sidenaiia ; whence he passed to Raas, Beirout, Terapolis, and Hemah, wholly occupied with the affairs of his flock. At Aleppo he arrived on the seventh of the month Iyar ; having spent the

Easter holidays at Hemah, and consecrated for them a Metropolitan in the person of the Khori Neophytus the Sciot, who was one of the Deacons of the Patriarch Euthymius, and from the same country. This ceremony took place on Procession Monday, the second day of the glorious Passover, in the year Seven thousand one hundred and sixty-nine, in the presence of Antonius Metropolitan of Baalbec, and Gerasimus Metropolitan of Zabdani. The Patriarch's arrival at Aleppo was the cause of happiness, congratulation, and joy; for there was in that city a Pasha, called Elkhaski, a tyrant and an extortioner, who went to unheard-of lengths in oppressing the people of Aleppo. And this year there had happened a great dearth, extending over most countries, even to Romelia, Wallachia, and Moldavia, as we were told: and particularly felt in Arabia; so much so, that the مكوك makkuk or eleven pounds and a quarter of wheat, in Aleppo, reached the price of one hundred piastres, and could not be had; and so of the other grain. The like was the case in Syria: only the blessed God was merciful to Damascus, in its Pasha, who at this season ruled over it. This was Ahmed Pasha, son of the Vazir Elkuprili, who sent and fetched from Egypt a great quantity of corn, rice, and other grain; a thing which had never happened before; for it had never been the practice for wheat to be exported from Egypt: but he, being a Vazir, the son of a Vazir, had it given to him; and at the same time that the sack of the corn of the country was sold to the countryman at eighty, he bought it at forty and less. If it had not been for this, the people would have eaten one another. As it was, there were days when the price of a pound of bread, made up of all sorts of grain, of the raspings of bones, of (زبل) dung and so forth, rose (God have mercy upon us, and save us!) to three piastres, and even to three piastres and a half; and could not be had at that price, the bakehouses being choked up with crowds of people. Whilst the Pasha of Damascus was performing such acts of bounty as we have mentioned, Elkhaski was doing quite the reverse; and our Lord the Patriarch, through fear of his tyranny, was wasting his days at Hemah, and in the country round about. But soon, this tyrant's wickedness being arrived at its height, God hurried him off to vengeance; for the Sultan (whom God assist!) and the Vazir, having been apprised of his tyranny, were enraged against him, and sent and took him and put him to death: and the joy of the Almighty was shed over Aleppo and its inhabitants; among whom, now, our Lord the Patriarch made his entry with tranquil mind. The Aleppians were delighted at his arrival: and it happened that the very same evening they hanged a man called Abo Joseph

Bâwi, in whose house was the باش العرانيه. This man perished with Judas, and his execution was gladness to all the people of the town.

In regard to myself, I remained as his deputy, in the place of my father, at Damascus; waiting on Ibno 'l Vazir as usual, and associating with all his Agas and Kakhias. When the officer who collected the kharadge passed, the Jews complained against the Defterdar who was in Damascus, being the person who collected the kharadge for the support of the pilgrims, for having taken from them last year one thousand piastres beyond what was commanded by the Sultan. Ibno 'l Vazir was angry with him, in consequence; and, having demanded his accounts, determined on a fresh registration of the Christians and Jews.

Now our Lord the Patriarch had sunk from the kharadge of Ghaza one hundred and forty-one names, in the time of Abshir Pasha; for this Pasha loved him much; and every Pasha of Damascus is authorised to sink the kharadge of Ghaza one hundred and one names and upwards. The Christians of Ghaza were most of them turned Moslems; and still they were charged with the kharadge of the conquered. They therefore combined together, and came and fell at the feet of our Lord the Patriarch; who was moved to compassion towards them, and sank from them what we have mentioned; so that there remained on their account forty names, and no more. But he expended for this purpose about two thousand piastres: the diminution, however, he effected. When the Christians of Damascus heard of this, they were all in commotion; and said to the Patriarch, "You sink the capitation of men who are not of your province; how then are we to be treated?" So he applied his cares and endeavours, and sank from them one hundred and twenty names: from the people of Cara, fifteen names; from the people of Mazonia, fifteen names: and for this purpose they laid out from four to five thousand piastres. Afterwards, through the absence of our Lord the Patriarch for these years, there being no beneficent person to stop the violation of this arrangement, the above-mentioned Defterdar, on coming to Damascus, and learning this, used it as a pretext against them, every year, to take from them, after the fulfilment of their kharadge, one thousand piastres and upwards, until the present time. Now, therefore, the Mutribgi of Ibno 'l Vazir went forth prepared to take the census, and attended by a scribe who was an associate of ours; whose heart we contented, so that he wrote according to our desire: and this was a mercy from God; for otherwise, if he had reckoned the Priests, Deacons, children, and abortions, as is directed in the Boyolerdi, or imperial mandate, with which he was furnished, it would have been

a thing of no good. The capitation kharadge of the Christians of Damascus was, at this period, four hundred and eighty names; the kharadge of the Baalbekkians, twenty; and that of the people of Kafarbihim, a like number. The officer now pushed on his census with such vigour, that a stream of persons went out before him, attended by certain old men, from street to street, and from house to house. In secret, we had given them warning to remove the hesitators and abortions from appearance. In the mean time, the Aga took his station at the entrance of the district, or at the head of the street, and made an admonition, warning, and commination to the principal persons and most knowing and influential of that quarter, not to conceal any one. He, therefore, who was bold of heart, and was not inscribed, being known only to ourselves, passed unnoticed; but the timid stumbled on their own betrayal. The Yasgi had with him a book of blank leaves, inscribed, at the top of each page, with the names of the different tribes of the Damascans by themselves, and of the tribes and people of the country and *البركندا* by themselves; and under the proper title he wrote down each person's name. If he was *اعزب* brotherless, and not married, and had no property, the Aga passed him over; but he wrote down every one that was *اعزب* and *غليب*, and had property. In this way we strengthened our hearts, with the power of God Almighty; and made up the census of the Damascans at no more than four hundred and seventy; and they were thus freed from the annual extortion of the Desterdar. The Baalbekkians were numerous; but we annulled a great part of them, and wrote them down, with the consent of the Aga, at no more than forty-three names; though they exceeded one hundred and fifty, but poor in the extreme. The people of Kafarbihim, who were about two hundred in town and country, we set down at sixty only: and in like way we managed the rest of the titles. As to the affair of boys arriving at the years of puberty; whatsoever boy of these he found, we interceded for him, and satisfied him on his account, either with a piastre, or with two; taking from him a paper, with his signature, for a token, that he might not seize him a second time: for after finishing his register, the Aga, with his servants, started on the search; and seizing whomsoever he found, mulcted his family, and the people of that quarter, for not giving in his name. We, as far as was in our power, contented his heart to the termination of the affair, and the full collection of the kharadge: only I expended a great *نتج*, and all was in the quest of a heavenly prize and reward. If it had not pleased God that I should be present this year at this affair, the burden would have increased



much ; but, through the Aga's great love for us and his intimacy with us, contracted by means of gifts, presents, and entertainments, he would not listen, in our prejudice, to the speeches of our enemies, nor of the heretics, who, out of their hatred and jealousy, whispered the most malicious insinuations against us. Thus terminated the registration ; as well the Defterdar being content with us, as all the Kakhias and Agas of the Pasha, who had each of them recommended us to the kindness of the Mutribgi.

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### SECT. IX.

#### *APPOINTMENT OF IBN 'OLVAZIR TO THE GRAND VAZIRSHIP.—REGULATION OF SUNDRY CHURCH MATTERS BY THE ARCHDEACON.—HIS RE-UNION WITH THE PATRIARCH AT ALEPPO.*

SHORTLY afterwards came the removal of the Pasha from his office ; his father sending after him, to make him Vazir in his place : and he set off with the couriers, with one hundred and fifty horses. He had been engaged in a war against the natives of Maan and of Shahâb ; and had fixed, that, to be admitted to an amnesty, they should pay five hundred purses to his Highness the Sultan ; for the receipt of which sum he left, on the spot, Caplan Pasha, Pasha of Terapolis, with his own troops, and the troops of Damascus. In two days he arrived at Hemah, and travelled day and night till he arrived at Adrianople ; where he saw his father, at whose death he was appointed to succeed to the Vazirship.

During this year that I was Vicegerent to the Patriarch, in conjunction with Kyr Nicolaos, Metropolitan of Akkar, five of the Priests of Damascus died. At the beginning of the Patriarchate of our Lord Macarius, there were thirty Priests ; of whom, up to the present time, fifteen have died—God have mercy on their souls ! At the obsequies of the five, and after their interment, I performed all the rites usual in this country ; giving to the assistants wine and biscuit, and making them drink three rounds to the souls of the deceased. On the tomb or vault of the Priests I laid down a large polished stone, on which I inscribed the dates in Greek. On the tomb also of the Monks I placed a large black stone, to mark the spot.

I established the custom of keeping a register of the names of the deceased ; placing in the tabernacle a book, in which are written the names of those who

die, from day to day throughout the year; so that they are commemorated, by means of it, at every Mass; and the friends of the defunct are warned of the fortieth day, the half year, and the anniversary, to perform obsequies for him, or Mass. After the conclusion of the year, his name was crossed out; and this regulation was to be enforced by the Candilaphthes.

The officiating Priests were in the habit of encroaching on each other in the service of their weeks, burying the dead, baptizing infants, and consecrating tapers without permission from the Prefect of the week, and without the permission of the Vice-Patriarch: but I prohibited them from this, ordering that all the Church business, which arose in the course of the week, should be discharged by the officiating Minister of that week, with the approbation of the Vicegerent; and in this there proved to be a clear advantage to all, a maintenance of due regularity, and an annihilation of the previous dissensions and animosities. I also prohibited the country Priests from performing the duty of the town Clergy, and encroaching upon them; and compelled them to restrict themselves to the discharge of the business of their communities in the villages and country districts.

I enforced the practice, that the Heads of the Clergy should throw incense over the deceased and round his corpse, then to the Assistants, according to the custom of this country, and afterwards to the Clergy.

The Christians on the festivals were in the habit of pressing forward to the participation of the holy mysteries, without confession: having sent, therefore, and obtained from our Lord the Patriarch an Istatikon, I compelled the masters of confession to make a subscription with their names, and to sign papers to be distributed to their disciples who should confess to them, whether men or women; and the Priests and Deacons communicated the mysteries to none without a sealed paper: so that thus the Church was recalled to order.

In Damascus there were superintendants of the kharadge, men of old standing, wicked infidels, with no fear of God, whom it was found impossible to remove from their office, because every year they contrived to bribe the Kharadgi or Collector, and by his protection secure themselves in their places; whence they haughtily exercised their authority over the poor and wretched, leading a luxurious life from year to year on the purse of the Christians. However, I exerted my endeavours at the present time, and succeeded in removing them; replacing them with four others, venerable for their seniority, religious men, and fearing

God : and through their means there was great quiet this year, and much profit to the poor.

It had been usual for the Sheikh or Mayor of the Christian districts to be himself a Christian, and to be appointed with the assent of the Patriarch and his fellow-Christians : but, in our absence, that authority had been usurped over them by an accursed person, one remote from God, and injurious both with hand and tongue ; who had thrown the affairs of the Christians into much confusion, and completely subverted all order and regularity, by his addiction to wine, and his concealment when sought after ; and none had power to remove him. We, however, removed him, to the entire deprivation of his office ; and I appointed another in his place, a man who, during the time of his retention, reduced all things to peace and quietness.

Whenever a new Pasha came, it was usual for the district of the Christians to be required to furnish a certain number of lodgings. On the arrival of Ibno 'l Vazir I exerted myself vigorously ; and by laying out a sum of ready money, and pledging some bales of goods, I purchased a number of houses ; which I fitted and arranged, disposing them after the manner of the most respectable lodgings : so that by this means both parties were relieved and delighted, and the houses of the Christians were saved from being ruined by the Soubashi and his followers, and from the intrusion of the Sheikho 'l Khara. In the mean time, I opened my hand in generosity, and in giving to eat and drink, as is suitable for the conduct of the Patriarch's Vicegerent, and for the Patriarch's house : and the effect of this was, that my word prevailed with every one ; and with the public in general, whatever the Deacon said passed current. All this was done by my father's desire.

During the expedition of Ibno 'l Vazir against the natives of Shahab and those of Maan, much pillage and great losses occurred to all their connexions, whether Christians, Moslems, or Jews : but, to the utmost of my power, I benefitted our community, and repelled these injuries from them.

The Christian women had a hideous custom, which they had introduced in our absence ; and this was, that when any one died, or news came of any person's death, they sallied forth at the beginning of the night, with their families and friends, carrying torches, and, amidst continual shouts of 'Walwalà !' going round to all the houses of their relatives. I sent therefore, and obtained from our Lord the Patriarch an Istatikon of excommunication against whosoever should do this :

and, if any proved obstinate, and did so, I permitted no Priest to perform the funeral rites to the dead body till it stank, nor until they had paid their fines to the Church of God: and I finally put a stop to this bad custom.

This blessed year I incurred great loss and excessive expense, on account of the extraordinary dearth of provisions, and the consequent assaults of the poor on the Patriarchal palace, into which they pressed without my having the power to bar them or shut them out; as also on account of the kharadge, as has been already mentioned. And the twelve months were not elapsed, before my breath was gone; when, panting with labour and anguish, I made an effort to escape from this painful situation; and went forth from Damascus on the evening of Thursday the fourth of the month Tamoz, four days after Ibno 'l Vazir, in company with his Kakhia, Sâlih Aga; who was directed to follow him, with his heavy luggage, his goods, and treasure. Between this officer and me there had existed much intercourse; and I interceded with him, to a great extent, on behalf of the Christian community: of which number was a Priest, linked with ten persons from Maaloula, at whose place had been killed one of the *دالاتية* of Ibno 'l Vazir. As delinquents suspected of the murder, these men had been brought and incarcerated in the castle prison; where the poor wretches remained a whole year, without once having their heads shaved, in the greatest misery; and where two of them had died: for a mulct had been imposed on them, part only of which they had paid, leaving the entire payment unaccomplished. A great number also were in the Pasha's prison, from the country of the Druzes; and many others, on suspicion only, had been confined, as those mentioned above, nearly a whole year, crowded one upon another. For all these, whether Christians or Moslems, I ceased not to intercede, until he had compassion on them all, and pardoned them, by presenting their list for pardon to Ibno 'l Vazir: and by the Divine inspiration, their gaolers set them every one at liberty.

/ Thus I departed with him from Damascus, in company of our friends; and we entered Aleppo after him, on Monday the fifteenth of the month Tamoz. Here we were united with our Lord the Patriarch, and received a blessing from his Holiness: and may the Lord of all Glory, and the God of all Majesty, preserve, at our entreaty, his valuable life! May he prolong his existence in an old age, abounding in good works and attended with tranquillity of mind, with release from debt, and a freedom from unpleasant apprehensions! May he benefit us by the efficacy of his holy prayers; and guide his pure supplications to our good, and to

the good of all the rest of the Christian flock; and not shew us to him, nor shew him to us, in the day of evil; by the intercession of Our Lady the Virgin, the unsullied Mother of God, of St. Peter the greatest of the Apostles, and of all the Saints! Amen! Praise to God always!

THE completion of the copy of this Book was on this day, the Nineteenth of the Month Iyar, of the Year ONE THOUSAND SEVEN HUNDRED AND SIXTY-FIVE of the Divine Incarnation.

FINIS.

LONDON:

PRINTED BY RICHARD WATTS, CROWN-COURT, TEMPLE BAR.

1836.











